

MUNK CENTRE MONITOR

IEWS, NEWS, PEOPLE AND EVENTS FROM THE MUNK CENTRE

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

MUNK CENTRE
FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

AT TRINITY COLLEGE



VIEW FROM THE DIRECTOR

JANICE GROSS STEIN

THICKENING BORDERS

Free trade and globalization were supposed gradually to erase borders among states. People, goods, services, information, money, and ideas move with ever-increasing frequency and speed across borders. This constant travel was supposed to scuff the marks of borders and make them much less prominent.

Contrary to expectations, borders among states have not faded. Except in Europe, they have thickened rather than thinned. Nowhere is this thickening more visible than along the Canada-U.S. border. Long described as the world's longest undefended border, the border is now much thicker with patrols, customs inspectors, and police. Not only has the border thickened, it has moved forward as the two governments, acting under the umbrella of the Security and Prosperity Partnership, have agreed to pre-clearance of people, cargoes, and vehicles. Through pre-clearance, inspectors are stationed forward to inspect at the source, so that traffic of all kind can move more quickly without logjams at the choke points along the border. Moving quickly matters to millions of people in both countries who depend on just-in-time delivery of goods and services.

The border is about to thicken even more. The Congress has passed legislation that requires passports or identity cards for non-residents entering the United States or for Americans who are returning home. Only 20 percent of Americans and 37 percent of Canadians have passports. This absence of documentation would be inconceivable in Europe, for example, where almost everyone has "papers" or identity documents. This speaks directly to the history of Europe in the last century, when war-ravaged states and civilian populations, and "papers" meant the difference between life and death, citizenship or statelessness. No such sensibility exists in North America, which has had no

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From Disgrace to Victory? Korea's Stem Cell Debacle

COVER STORY BY JOSEPH WONG

When I was in Seoul in the fall of 2005, every Korean I spoke to wanted to talk about Professor Hwang Woo Suk and his achievements in stem-cell and cloning research. When I visited Korea again in January of this year, no one wanted to talk about Hwang. In the months between my two visits, South Korea had experienced a deeply felt national crisis, with evidence continuing to disprove Hwang's supposed path-breaking claims. It seemed that overnight Korea had gone from global leader in life sciences research to being the world's number one dupe. Peoples' emotions were understandably mixed. They were angry, embarrassed, worried, and above all else, they were humiliated. I really felt for my Korean friends and colleagues. Below I offer a personal reflection on how a nation's disgrace can ultimately be its victory.



A nation shamed: Hwang Woo Suk resigned from Seoul National University after his claims about human cloning provoked a national identity crisis.

Rise and Fall

Professor Hwang, a veterinary science researcher at the prestigious Seoul National University, gained international acclaim after he and his colleagues published a series of articles over the past several years in the leading journals *Science* and *Nature*. In these publications, Hwang first claimed to have cloned a human embryo. Later he claimed to have successfully cloned 11 stem-cell lines that genetically matched those of the donor patients. If valid, Hwang's findings, and more importantly his techniques, would have spearheaded global efforts in developing advanced stem-cell therapies and genetic research more generally. On the global science scene, Hwang was thought to be a leader in the field. At home, Hwang was treated like a rock star. He was named Korea's "Top Scientist" (a real title!). He rubbed shoulders with industry leaders, university brass, and the government's elite,

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EVENTS TO WATCH FOR

JUNE 8-10

2006 Annual Meeting of the
Business History Conference
The Political Economy of Enterprise

SEPTEMBER 27-30

International Conference
1956: Year of Crises



THE LIONEL GELBER
PRIZE

2005 Lionel Gelber Prize Winner
*Bury the Chains: Prophets
and Rebels in the Fight to Free
an Empire's Slaves*
By Adam Hochschild

The \$15,000 award for the best work of non-fiction on international issues is sponsored by the Lionel Gelber Foundation in partnership with the Munk Centre for International Studies and *Foreign Policy* magazine. For more on this year's winner, see page 5.

FEEDBACK

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VIEW FROM THE DIRECTOR

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recent experience of war on its own territory, no invasion and no occupation, and very limited exposure to threat.

That indifference to security was challenged on September 11th 2001, certainly in the United States. In response, the U.S. almost immediately began and is still thickening the border, despite enormous cross-border flows. What does this thickening tell us about the future of the Canada-U.S. border?

The Canadian discussion about a common security perimeter for North America was clearly a conversation among Canadians only. The "grand bargain" was never on the table. Washington is open to proposals to make borders smarter and more efficient. It is not open to contracting out the security of its borders to any other jurisdiction. In North America at least, no matter how much trade accelerates, no matter how much connections deepen, the state – and its borders – are here to stay. The European model, so prominent in the minds of many North Americans, is a poor fit with the experience in North America and the sharp asymmetries in size, wealth, and power.

If borders are permanent, we need to think about them as more than a thickening line along the 49th parallel. Borders are moving forward, with different degrees of speed and depth on different issues. Pre-clearance of people at airports across Canada by U.S. customs officials is widespread and familiar to Canadians. Practically speaking, the U.S. border is in Toronto, Ottawa, Vancouver, and Montreal as well as other Canadian cities. Agreements are now in place to pre-clear truck cargo in major cities in Canada; the border is in the warehouse and the processing plant. Fast lanes for pre-cleared cargo and pre-cleared drivers limit the bottlenecks at border choke points. Pre-clearance pushes the border deeper into Canada in irregular patterns that are almost invisible.

As the border moves, we need to pay attention to the political consequences of overlapping sovereignties. The imperatives of just-in-time delivery across borders will move Canadians toward greater compliance with U.S. laws and regulations on everything from product approvals, to environmental protection, and security clearance of Canadian citizens and residents. Where and how we thicken the border, and where and how we encourage the border to move will have political, not just economic, consequences.

Janice Gross Stein, Director of the Munk Centre for International Studies, is an acknowledged expert on conflict resolution and international relations, with an emphasis on the Middle East. A Fellow of the Trudeau Foundation, Professor Stein has served on many international advisory panels, including the Working Group on Middle East Negotiations at the United States Institute of Peace. She is currently a member of the Education Advisory Board to the Minister of Defence. Professor Stein is the co-author of We All Lost the Cold War (1994) and The Cult of Efficiency (2001).



Well briefed: Why is the Prime Minister smiling? Perhaps it's because he has just finished reading a recent Munk Centre Briefings, clearly visible on his desk: The Jerusalem Old City Initiative Discussion Document: New Directions for Deliberation and Dialogue. See page 10 for information on MCIS publications.

NEED A SOURCE?

Munk Centre scholars can be contacted for further comment on issues raised in this edition at munk.centre@utoronto.ca.

Commentators in this issue:
 Robert C. Austin, *Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, Munk Centre*;
 Enid Slack, *Director of the Institute on Municipal Finance and Governance, Munk Centre*;
 Janice Gross Stein, *Director of the Munk Centre for International Studies*;
 Joseph Wong, *Director of the Asian Institute at the Munk Centre, and Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Toronto*

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Director of Editorial Janice Stein
 Managing Editor Marketa Evans
 Art Director Lawrence Finn
 Assistant Editor Janet Hyer
 Information Systems Scott Bohaker

Contributors: Ted Thomas,
 Kartick Kumar

Editorial Board:

Janice Gross Stein, Robert Bothwell,
 Rick Halpern, Jeffrey Kopstein,
 Louis W. Pauly, Joseph Wong

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Director: Janice Gross Stein
Executive Director: Marketa Evans
 Munk Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto,
 1 Devonshire Place,
 Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M5S 3K7
 Phone: 416-946-8900
 email: munk.centre@utoronto.ca
 website: www.utoronto.ca/mcis/

CENTRE EVENTS

POSSESSION IS 9/10THS OF THE PROBLEM

Despite the danger posed by Iran, the greatest nuclear weapons threat today comes from individual terrorists, not rogue nation states, says Paul Heinbecker, the director of the Centre for Global Relations, Governance and Policy at Wilfrid Laurier University.

Speaking recently as part of the Munk Centre's Distinguished Lecture Series, Heinbecker delivered a sobering assessment of the international community's current failure to achieve further nuclear disarmament. "The pot is simmering and beginning to boil over," said Heinbecker. "I am quite worried about the way things are going."

Pointing to the recent "illegal" U.S.-India nuclear co-operation pact, Heinbecker said the main obstacle to furthering nuclear disarmament today is the U.S. conviction that the nuclear world can be divided into friends and enemies. "It's a National Rifle Association view of nuclear weapons: that nuclear weapons don't kill, only bad regimes do." Canada's former ambassador to the United Nations added: "The difficulty with that is that a friend today with nuclear weapons could be an enemy in 20 years – and still have nuclear weapons."

Instead of focusing on "bad" countries, Heinbecker called for renewed multilateral efforts to reduce the number of nuclear warheads, thereby minimizing the danger of nuclear destruction. "9/11 changed the prospect of terrorists obtaining weapons of mass destruction and should have changed our attitude toward nuclear weapons," added Heinbecker, who is also a senior research fellow at the Centre

for International Governance Innovation in Waterloo. "Unless we can recapture a shared sense of fate and realize anew the danger of nuclear weapons, we are facing a problematic future."

While acknowledging that "hardly anyone" believes Iran's nuclear program is for peaceful purposes, Heinbecker maintained that "the real issue is not states using these weapons, but terrorists. I don't think rogue states are interested in committing suicide. They won't attack or give weapons to terrorists because the U.S. will retaliate or act pre-emptively."

Still, Heinbecker said "something will have to be done" about Iran. But

taking a tough stand will be a challenge, he added, since several major powers depend on Iranian oil and gas, and it is "unrealistic to expect the Security Council to impose tough sanctions."

Furthermore, the U.S.-India nuclear deal makes it hard to justify denying Iran and others such technology, especially since India, along with Pakistan and Israel, are among the few nations that have refused to sign the 1968 Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT). "Treating non-nuclear states as inferior is just not on," Heinbecker warned. "It won't help with compliance, enforcement or non-proliferation."

Confessing that he now muses for the first time about joining anti-nuclear marches, Heinbecker bemoaned the fact that the initial progress sparked by the NPT has since stalled. Thousands of nuclear weapons have been dismantled, he noted, but thousands more remain, many perhaps in reach of terrorists. Canada should do all it can to kick start multilateral talks aimed at reducing, not just controlling nuclear weapons stockpiles. "These reductions need to become permanent and verifiable," Heinbecker said. "Maintaining the goal of eventual disarmament is vital."



Muscle flexing: Few people believe Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's claim that his country is developing nuclear power for peaceful purposes.

Executives with a Cause

TED THOMAS

A recent Munk Centre event shone a spotlight on one of Canada's lesser known contributions to international development. The session highlighted the work of the Canadian Executive Service Organisation (CESO). Founded in 1967, CESO is a volunteer-based, not-for-profit agency that transfers Canadian technical and managerial expertise to developing nations, countries in transition in Central and Eastern Europe, and Canadian Aboriginal communities. The Canadian International



Bill and Sandy Miles (centre) on assignment.

Development Agency (CIDA) is a vital supporter of CESO and arranges many of the contracts it undertakes overseas.

CESO has about 3,000 volunteers, mostly retired or semi-retired executives, who complete about 1,500

assignments a year. Three of those volunteers were on hand at the Munk Centre to relate their experiences. They delivered anecdotal tales, highlighting the power of individual Canadians working together to affect change in the developing world. By literally "sharing a lifetime of experience," these volunteers demonstrate one of the positive aspects of globalization, through the transfer of much needed business skills and knowledge to individuals and firms in developing economies.

One volunteer, Sandy Miles, related how she and her husband, Bill, had served on eight missions to three continents in the last four years. Their business skills contributed to a tripling of business

growth for a female-owned rug weaving firm in Azerbaijan, as well as to the creation of 30 jobs at a clothing plant in Moldova. While the volunteers cautioned against undue and unrealistic belief that all projects will succeed, it was nonetheless striking to hear that through these eight assignments, the husband-and-wife duo transferred their knowledge of retail management and international trade to over 130 individuals, who in turn impacted over 2,500 people.

At a time when international attention is focused on achieving the UN's Millennium Development goals, to reduce poverty in all its forms by 2015, CESO is proving that individuals can make a difference too, one project at a time.

CENTRE EVENTS



Holding hands: Experts predict warmer relations between Harper and Bush.

The Stephen and George W. Show

Less than 48 hours after the election of a new Conservative government in Ottawa, the Munk Centre’s “Debating the Headlines” series brought together three Canada-U.S. experts to outline likely themes for Canadian foreign policy under Prime Minister Stephen Harper. The panelists, at the Munk Centre’s Campbell Conference Facility, agreed that the new Conservative government will emphasize Canada-U.S. relations and predicted an improvement in how the Prime Minister gets along with George W. Bush. But they cautioned that friendlier relations at the top would not have much impact on the critical bilateral issues below.

“Many of the current irritations in the relationship, such as softwood lumber and mad cow will continue to fester,” said University of Waterloo political science professor Andrew

Cooper. Joseph Jockel, director of Canadian studies at St. Lawrence University in Canton, N.Y., added: “The kinds of tensions emanating from trade disputes won’t be affected by improved Harper-Bush relations as these issues are beyond the limits of presidential powers.”

Jockel predicted that while relations between the two leaders will warm, they will not be cozy. “Harper knows what to do, and what not to do. He knows he has to be cautious – there won’t be a Quebec City love-in with the United States.”

Daniel Drache, associate director of the Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies at York University, shared that view. “For Harper, the best course is to keep the U.S. a friend, but at a distance.”

Overall, the three agreed there would be little change in foreign policy, including the key issue of maintaining Canada’s military commitment to Afghanistan.

Setbacks on the Road to Liberalism

Sporting a bright red Liberal tie, small “I” liberal Bob Rae recently led a lively Munk Centre discussion on “The persistence of religious ideologies: What would Marx and Mill have thought?” Rae, a former Ontario NDP premier who is running for the leadership of the federal Liberal party, observed in his remarks that one of the problems liberals face in the struggle against passionate religious fundamentalism is that liberalism, by its nature, is rational and dispassionate. Why can’t liberals generate their own passion, Rae was asked. “I’m facing that challenge right now,” he quipped to much laughter.

The discussion, part of the Religion, International Diplomacy and Economics Colloquium, was held at the Munk Centre.

Claiming he had no answers, only questions, Rae said the current troubling combination of religious fundamental beliefs with nationalism and quasi-racism is a “threat to world stability.” By way of example, he recalled a recent dinner in

Jordan where he participated in efforts to revise the Iraqi constitution. “I spent one dinner with three Iraqis discussing 9/11. Each of them believed it was a Jewish conspiracy, and each one believed that Jews had escaped the twin towers. I could not believe my ears. This was preposterous, yet it was coming from educated people.”

Such irrational beliefs defy argument and provide a challenge to the traditional liberal view that prosperity through a market economy will diminish the influence of irrational beliefs. The Iraq War experience should give us all great pause, Rae said. “Now, to believe in a painless transition to a liberal society is nonsensical.”

Marx and Mill, said Rae, believed that rational thinking would historically triumph over nationalism and religion. “Instead,” Rae added, “the 20th century was the most violent in recorded history, stemming from virulent ideologies with irrational components. And today, the transition to liberal-rational societies has proven to be more difficult and dangerous than we have imagined.”



Liberal leadership hopeful Bob Rae acknowledged that he found it a “challenge” to generate passion about liberalism.

CENTRE EVENTS

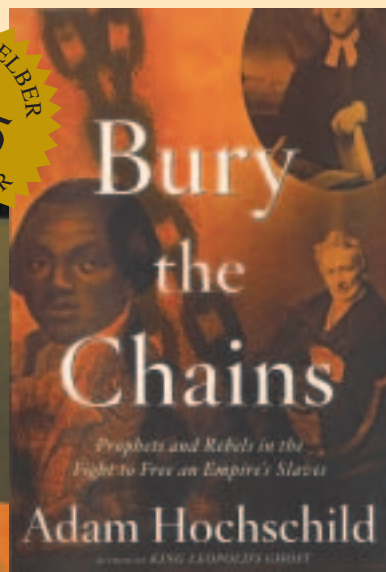
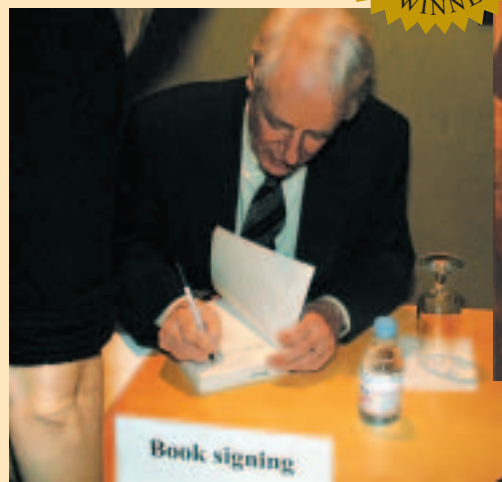
THE 2005 GELBER PRIZE WINNER

A full house was on hand at the Munk Centre in early April for the 2005 Lionel Gelber Prize Lecture and Award Ceremony. As Chair of the Lionel Gelber Prize Board, Judith Gelber presented the \$15,000 prize for the year's best book on international affairs to Adam Hochschild for *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves*. An international jury selected his epic tale of the fight to end slavery in the British Empire.

As Janice Stein, Director of the Munk Centre, noted in her welcoming remarks, Hochschild is the first repeat winner in the history of the Lionel Gelber Prize. His book *King Leopold's Ghost* was awarded the Prize in 1999.

Bury the Chains is the gripping account of the first human rights campaign in history, the struggle to first end the slave trade on which the British Empire depended, and then to emancipate the slaves in the colonies. In his remarks at the event, Hochschild conveyed the extent of the slave trade at its peak in the late 18th century. Close to 80,000 chained and shackled Africans were loaded on to slave ships and transported to the New World each year. Great Britain played the dominant role in the trade, he noted, delivering slaves to sugar plantations in the West Indies, where conditions were so harsh, and mortality rates so high, that a constant flow of fresh slaves was required each year.

In 1787, an unlikely group of 12 men met in a London print shop, with the aim of bringing the slave trade to an end. They launched the first grassroots



human rights campaign in history, pioneering all the tools of civil society so familiar to us today – exposés, consumer boycotts, pamphlets, logos, buttons, petitions and door-to-door canvassing. Ultimately, this small core group was successful – the slave trade was brought down and the slaves emancipated.

In his remarks, Hochschild focused on the story of a leader of the group, Thomas Clarkson, who waged a sixteen-hour-a-day campaign that took him over 35,000 miles by horseback, from waterfront pubs, to the decks of navy ships, to parliamentary sitting rooms.

The Economist has called the Lionel Gelber Prize the world's most important prize for nonfiction." The Prize was founded by the late Lionel Gelber, a historian, diplomat, and "devout Canadian internationalist," according to Judith Gelber. Its aim is to encourage wider public debate on significant global issues. The Gelber family continues the tradition in partnership with the Munk Centre for International Studies and *Foreign Policy* magazine in Washington, D.C.

The other finalists for the 2005 prize were: *The Next Attack: The Failure of the War on Terror and a Strategy for Getting it Right*, by Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon; *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for our Time*, by Jeffrey D. Sachs; *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya*, by Caroline Elkins; and *Taming American Power: The Global Response to U.S. Primacy*, by Stephen M. Walt.

THE 2005 GELBER PRIZE FINALISTS



THE NEXT ATTACK The Failure of the War on Terror and a Strategy for Getting It Right

Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon
A trenchantly argued critique of the U.S.-led war in Iraq by two senior Clinton administration antiterrorism officials holds that the Bush administration's policies have increased terrorism and suggests measures to target militant extremists while better protecting the homeland.

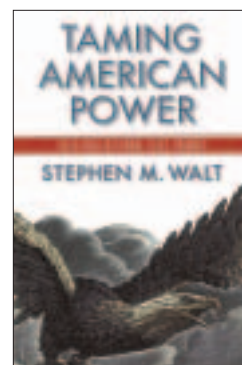
Times Books



IMPERIAL RECKONING The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya Caroline Elkins

Painstakingly researched and detailed, this historical investigation offers a shocking portrait of the scope and savagery of colonial counterinsurgency against Kenya's Mau Mau terrorism, which displaced more than a million people and cost tens of thousands, if not more, of Kikuyu lives.

Henry Holt



TAMING AMERICAN POWER The Global Response to U.S. Primacy Stephen M. Walt

Arguing that America's current superpower status has inspired both international resentment and an array of strategies to limit or inhibit that supremacy, a distinguished Harvard academic offers a "realist" palette of soft-power U.S. responses to rebuild trust and effectiveness in American global leadership.

W.W. Norton



THE END OF POVERTY Economic Possibilities for Our Time Jeffrey D. Sachs

An unorthodox and highly personalized analysis of extreme poverty around the globe by one of the world's most widely known development economists, with a dramatic prescription to sharply increase aid to eradicate the worst of that suffering through the UN Millennium Development Goals.

The Penguin Press

FROM DISGRACE TO VICTORY?

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including President Roh Moo-Hyun. In an over-the-top self-description, Professor Hwang likened himself to being an “evangelist for biotechnology.”

Hwang’s fall, however, was even quicker than his meteoric rise. Beginning in November 2005, questions surfaced about how Hwang’s lab obtained the donor eggs used in his research. The MB television network in Korea first broke the story alleging that Hwang had used shortcuts to obtain the eggs, intimating that Hwang may have in fact paid some of his female research staff to provide their own eggs, a clear violation of research ethics. The reaction to the story was visceral. Corporate sponsors immediately pulled their support of the MB network. Thousands protested MB’s investigative news program, portraying the network as unpatriotic. In a show of support for Professor Hwang, Korean women donated hundreds of their eggs to further his research. People simply did not want to believe that Hwang, a national hero, could have done any wrong. Things only got worse for Hwang in the coming months.

Korea is the most “wired” country in the world. People there describe themselves as “netizens” rather than “citizens,” reflecting the extent to which civil society mobilization is facilitated through internet chat rooms and text messaging. It was through this medium that the validity of Hwang’s scientific claims was initially undermined. Young scientists, some of whom are believed to have been associated with Hwang’s research team, began anonymously posting bits of evidence to suggest that Hwang’s stem-cell findings had been manipulated. It was later deduced, both on-line and after a formal university inquiry, that in fact his research outcomes were fabricated. Based on the findings of the university inquiry, the U.S. periodical *Science*, in March, retracted two papers from Hwang’s team published in 2004 and 2005.

Professor Hwang, Korea’s anointed top scientist, was disgraced, and could face jail time if a Korean prosecution team proves its case against him. Prosecutors are investigating Hwang and his team on suspicion of fraudulent use of state funds, which is punishable by up to ten years in jail, as well as for violating bioethics laws to procure human eggs for their studies. For his part, Hwang has denied the charges.

A Nation’s Disgrace

Since Hwang’s plunge into disgrace, critics have cast Korean nationalism as irrational and blind to the truth, and said that this extreme nationalism facilitated Hwang’s charade. Journalistic accounts point to the fact that a postage stamp was created in Hwang’s honour, that thousands of Koreans wept upon learning about Hwang’s deception, and that many Koreans truly believe that Hwang’s downfall was the result of American efforts to bully Korea and to sabotage Korea’s moment of greatness. Critics draw on, and in turn affirm, hackneyed notions of Confucianism, Asian values, and Korea’s backwardness to explain how Koreans could have been so irrational in their defence of Hwang.



Positive outcomes: Some 1,000 women came to Hwang’s defence, promising to donate their eggs for stem-cell research.

This sort of cultural essentialism, rooted in the worst kind of stereotyping, glosses over the universal realities of national humiliation. Nationalism is irrational. It plays on peoples’ emotions, their aspirations, and their beliefs about one’s place in the world. Nationalism can help deliver wonderful achievements, as it did in South Korea throughout its post-war economic miracle. It also gives people hope in the face of humiliation. Nationalism is thus a defense mechanism, and all societies rely on it. Indeed, many Canadians refused to believe that Olympic athlete Ben Johnson was guilty of steroid use, despite the evidence. When it comes to national myths, truths become secondary. My point is not that this is a particularly good thing, but that it is universal.

Lessons Learned

There are positive outcomes from Korea’s stem-cell debacle. The Korean government first targeted biotechnology and life sciences development in 1982, when the Ministry of Science and Technology outlined its long-term National R&D Program. Momentum developed during the mid-1990s after the government endorsed its “Biotech 2000” plan, which sought to elevate Korea to pride of place among the top few countries that would lead worldwide in biotechnology. These ambitions were backed with large amounts of government funding, an emerging venture capital sector in Korea, and an increasingly sophisticated scientific community.

Yet, success in an area such as the life sciences and biotechnology takes time, a considerable amount of time. Consider that global leaders and first-movers in the biotechnology field – the U.S., the UK, Germany, and Japan – have very few commercial blockbusters to show for their investments. Koreans have learned the hard way that their national aspirations cannot be achieved overnight. Looking for a national star is one thing; constructing a star for national consumption can be disastrous. In addition, Koreans have learned that R & D in biotechnology and the life sciences, unlike other technology sectors, requires upfront regulation and oversight.

Democracy’s Victory

While the Hwang debacle was a major set-back in realizing Korea’s

biotechnology aspirations, it was nonetheless a major boon to Korea’s democracy. This nation’s disgrace has, in the end, been democracy’s victory. This assertion, however, is not the conventional wisdom. Many analysts reason, for instance, that the Hwang scandal was caused by Korea’s authoritarian values and the country’s blind nationalism. Hwang ably manipulated his subordinates because of Korea’s hierarchical culture. In the broader picture, analysts of this persuasion thus believe that democracy in Korea is merely procedural in practice, and that the rule of law and the deeper norms underpinning such institutions remain underdeveloped. They cite, for example, the Korean government’s resolute defence of Hwang’s integrity, even in the face of overwhelming evidence demonstrating otherwise. One prominent scholar went so far as to say the Hwang affair was facilitated by Korea’s “quasi-fascist environment.”

These characterizations are, in my mind, ridiculous. The facts surrounding Korea’s stem-cell research debacle simply do not accord with these sorts of conclusions. The fact of the matter is that Hwang’s younger and subordinate colleagues blew the whistle on him through the internet. Feeble attempts were made by the Roh administration to cover things up, but these efforts ultimately failed. The truth did eventually get out, the Hwang case is being handled according to the rule of law, and there have been consequences for Professor Hwang himself, the academy, and even the President. It is unlikely that this could have ever happened under authoritarianism.

The reality is that the Korean nation has had to confront this humiliating truth head-on, in the public arena, and for the entire world to see. And this, it seems to me, draws on democracy’s virtue. It is democracy and not ‘quasi-fascist environments,’ that provides the space, both psychologically and politically, for citizens to have, and to legitimately act upon, mixed emotions. And if the Korean people have survived this very public moment of humiliation and mixed emotion – peacefully, transparently, and by adhering to the law – how can the revelations of the Hwang scandal be anything but a boon to Korea’s democracy?

Joseph Wong is the Director of the Asian Institute at the Munk Centre, and Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Toronto.

KOSOVO: POISED FOR STATEHOOD

Kosovo's streets were somber in January. Its iconic president, Ibrahim Rugova, died on the 21st after a battle with lung cancer. Rugova was not one to visit doctors regularly, so when he was diagnosed with cancer in the fall, his inner circle knew just how close the end was.

The outpouring of sympathy was striking. Five hundred thousand turned up for the procession, which had all the elements of a state funeral complete with foreign leaders and a host of other dignitaries. Since 1989, when he took over the leadership of the Democratic League of Kosovo, Kosovo's biggest political party, Rugova was the most identifiable figure in Kosovo with his trademark scarf, intellectual look, and devotion to passive resistance. Despite his soft demeanour, he had inner strength — strength that was absolutely vital for survival in Kosovo's political life. In 1999, when NATO intervened and more militant forces in Kosovo were in ascendancy, most analysts wrote him off, especially after he met with Slobodan Milosevic during the bombing and waited out the war in exile in Italy.

However, he came back, and until his death he dominated political life and remained the most popular and trusted politician. He was, to many, the real “father of the nation.” If most Albanians in Kosovo would have opted for unification with Albania in 1989, Rugova is to be credited with creating a truly Kosovar identity. He designed national symbols for Kosovo that are different from those in the Republic of Albania. Indeed, all my survey work there shows that the vast majority of Albanians want Kosovo to have distinct national symbols, although for now they fly the same flag and observe the same national day. It remains to be seen if they want the symbols that Rugova designed. Rugova's closest advisors say that they will put new symbols to a referendum.

His critics complained he did not make an original contribution. I found his consistency compelling in a region where most politicians opted for inconsistency. Rugova visited Canada in September 2001, and his talks at the Munk Centre and Foreign Affairs in Ottawa delivered the same message: “Give us independence.” More missionary than politician, Rugova simply said that the key to stability in the region was an independent Kosovo.

Rugova had no apparent successor as head of the Democratic League of Kosovo, and his death temporarily

threw the party into disarray. But the party is conducting a fairly substantive house cleaning now. It is beginning to democratize — a prerequisite to independence as far as the international community is concerned. The mood is optimistic now, given official statements from the UK and the U.S. that suggest independence is imminent. Indeed, on an emotional level, what had bothered most of his fellow citizens about Rugova's untimely death was the fact that the independence he had so consistently called for seemed within sight, maybe even just around the corner.

The first face-to-face talks with Belgrade to decide Kosovo's final status were moderated by former Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari and Albert Rohan, former Secretary General at the Austrian Foreign Ministry. They began in Vienna in February after a delay following Rugova's death. First on the agenda was decentralization, as the Albanians need to create the conditions for Serbs to return and live in Kosovo. They also need to develop strategies to ensure that the rich cultural and religious heritage of the Serbs is protected. The minority Serbian community is calling for substantive self-government for their communities, which the Albanians reject as a step towards the partition of Kosovo along ethnic lines.

The Serb side in the talks is in the weaker position. The official Belgrade slogan is “more than autonomy but less than independence.” They are maintaining that UN Resolution 1244 ensures that Kosovo remains a part of Serbia. Other than that, they have not put new proposals on the table. It seems clear that

nobody can imagine turning the clock back to when Belgrade controlled Kosovo. The Albanians are putting serious proposals on the table to deal with the question of Serb rights in Kosovo and the Kosovo government needs to convince the international community that they can run a democratic society. While the talks were a success, what lies ahead is an extremely difficult process.

The coming months will be a time of changes for Southeast Europe as the final disintegration of Yugoslavia is completed. Montenegro, part of a moribund federation with Serbia and with a population of just over 600,000, is scheduled to have a referendum in May. The vote will be close, but pro-independence groups will likely prevail. Kosovo is likely to obtain what is being called conditional independence: it will be a sovereign state, but the European Union will retain some key controls. Kosovars know that independence does not mean an end to problems. Kosovo has more than 40 percent unemployment. With a population of more than 60 percent under the age of 30, job creation is paramount. Kosovo produces next to nothing and desperately needs foreign investment.

There is the potential for instability and much depends on how Belgrade reacts to both Kosovo and Montenegro. The key to the future of the region is more disintegration, followed by a subsequent re-integration within the European Union and NATO. Kosovo, Montenegro, and Serbia (along with Albania, Bosnia, and Macedonia) within Europe promises a brighter future.



Robert C. Austin
Lecturer, Centre for
European, Russian, and
Eurasian Studies at the
Munk Centre



Father of the nation: Thousands of people paid their respects to Rugova, who visited the Munk Centre during a 2001 Canadian tour.

OUR CITIES, OUR FUTURE



Enid Slack
 Director, Institute on Municipal
 Finance and Governance
 at the Munk Centre

Canada's future is increasingly linked to the fortunes of its large cities and city-regions. To be competitive internationally, our cities must provide sophisticated transportation and communications infrastructure. They also have to deliver services that enhance the quality of life in their communities – parks, recreational and cultural facilities, social services, facilities, social services, public health services, and police protection – if they want to attract the “knowledge” workers. The success of our cities depends on how they are financed and governed. But, are Canada's cities fiscally sustainable? It is a question that is central to the research and scholarly exchanges that are underway at the Institute on Municipal Finance and Governance at the Munk Centre.

Cities face many challenges. “Offloading” of services by the federal and provincial governments has meant increased responsibilities for cities. In some cases, federal and provincial governments have shifted expenditure responsibilities directly to municipalities. In other cases, provincial governments have reduced transfers to municipalities (from 22 percent of municipal revenues in 1988 to less than 15 percent in 2003). In still other cases, federal and provincial governments have downsized their own responsibilities (an example, at the federal level, is immigration settlement). Finally, federal and provincial governments have mandated that cities meet certain standards (such as water quality)

without providing funds to meet those requirements.

At the same time, large cities and city-regions are experiencing rapid growth and, often, the higher costs associated with urban sprawl. Studies in Canada and the U.S. suggest that infrastructure and service costs are higher in low-rise developments than they are in more compact forms of development.

While municipalities face increased pressures on the expenditure side, there has been no parallel diversification of their revenue sources. Unlike many cities around the world, cities in Canada continue to rely primarily on property taxes and user fees to finance service provision. Property taxes are a strikingly inelastic source of revenue – they do not grow with the economy in the same way as income and sales taxes.

Nevertheless, proving that Canadian cities are fiscally unsustainable is difficult. They have not run deficits in their operating budgets because deficits are not permitted under provincial legislation. Few cities have borrowed excessively to pay for capital expenditures because the amount of borrowing is also constrained by provincial governments. Few have raised property taxes significantly; few have run up large tax arrears. Overall, cities in Canada have become less reliant on provincial grants. From a fiscal perspective, Canadian municipalities appear to be quite healthy.

If our cities have under-invested in services and infrastructure essen-

tial to their economic health, however, their overall health is in trouble and this does not bode well for the future competitive advantage of our cities or, by extension, for the country as a whole.

Unlike fiscal measures, the state of service delivery and infrastructure is difficult to measure and often ignored in the debate over fiscal sustainability. Several Canadian studies, attempting to measure the size of the “infrastructure deficit,” arrived at different estimates. Even more problematic is the lack of consistent data on the revenues and expenditures of our cities, making it impossible to compare how cities are doing on fiscal measures. There is an emerging consensus, however, that there is a substantial infrastructure deficit, particularly in the large cities, and that this deficit is becoming a serious competitive disadvantage for those cities and the country as a whole.

The Institute on Municipal Finance and Governance was founded in December 2004 to develop solutions to the unique fiscal problems facing Canada's large cities and city-regions. It is anticipated that the Institute's programs, which include data collection and analysis, research reports, seminars with local and international experts, visiting scholars, and graduate fellowships, will increase our ability to tackle the pressing finance and governance issues facing our cities. Dealing effectively with these issues is vital to the future prosperity and well-being of all Canadians.



Patient at risk: Cities are experiencing dangerous ill-health as a result of provincial downloading of services such as social housing.

SILK ROAD OR DEAD END?

Vivienne Poy tossed aside her ceremonial chancellor's robes for what must have been a nostalgic afternoon discussing Hong Kong immigration to Canada at a Munk Centre event in March. The event launched a new seminar series sponsored by the Richard Charles Lee Canada-Hong Kong library and the Asian Institute at the Munk Centre. The library, named after Poy's

to Canada, these immigrants are now hitting a "dead end," with increasing numbers living in poverty. Yu, who was born and raised in Vancouver, was even more provocative. He suggested that Canadian governments seeking to nurture globally competent citizens are wasting educational resources on native-born Canadians like himself. Instead, they should invest in members of the so-called 1.5

colleges, security through property investment, and the mobility provided by a Canadian passport. Referring to the "parachute children" whose families send them to Canada on their own to be educated, Yu noted that many come here because they are mediocre students and because it is cheaper and easier for them to get reputable degrees in Canada than in highly competitive schools in Hong Kong, China or South Korea.

Yu also disputed traditional explanations of immigration patterns; it is the "economics of relative location," he argued, which is the primary motivator of Chinese and Hong Kong movement abroad. For this reason, he said, young men who came to Canada from Hong Kong in the 19th century chose to leave their wives and families at home even before it became illegal to bring them here. "Their money went further when it was sent back home," he explained.

Today, the pattern has largely reversed itself with men finding more economic opportunity in Hong Kong while their families live in the more secure Canada.

In this vein, Yu said the Great Depression had much more to do with halting immigration to Canada than the infamous head tax or the 1923 Exclusion Act. The Chinese, he added, have historically treated discriminatory taxes and legislation as merely another annoyance to be circumvented by smuggling and other illegal activities. "These measures

could slow immigration down, but not stop it."

Chancellor Poy pointed out that recent reverse immigration has resulted in 250,000 Canadians, or nearly one per cent of Canada's total population, now living in Hong Kong with a population of just seven million. This is in sharp contrast to a little more than a decade ago when 173,000 people, 57 percent of all Hong Kong immigrants, left the then British colony for Canada between 1990 and 1994.

Professor Fong also challenged some traditional truths with his ongoing study of some 1,500 Hong Kong and mainland Chinese immigrants to Toronto. Despite the jet-setting image of Chinese "astronaut families," Fong's study found that these immigrants by and large maintain few contacts with their former homes. In the past two years, Fong found that only half of the respondents had telephone contact and only half had email contact with their homeland. There was also very little online or other reading of Hong Kong or mainland newspapers.

Thanks to an anonymous \$3 million grant facilitated by Chancellor Poy, the new Canada-Hong Kong library will have modern facilities within Robarts library with sufficient funds to hire a curator. The library has more than 11,000 titles, not including boxes of donated materials from Hong Kong that have yet to be catalogued.



The Chancellor (centre) pointed out that a reversal of historic Hong Kong immigration patterns means there are now 250,000 Canadians living in Hong Kong.

father, contains the largest collection of Hong Kong materials in North America and one of the largest in the world.

The University of Toronto Chancellor shared her immigrant perspective as one of four panelists at the session on "The New Silk Road: Hong Kong Immigration to Canada, Past, Present and Future." According to Poy, who recently completed a PhD thesis on the immigration patterns of Chinese women to Canada, the influence of Hong Kong immigrants forms part of Canadian culture, whether it be "competitiveness in schools, cuisine or Buddhism."

There was plenty of insightful analysis, which often challenged conventional views, from the panelists, who included: Olivia Chow, also a Hong Kong immigrant and the recently elected NDP MP from heavily ethnic downtown Toronto; historian Henry Yu from the University of British Columbia; and Eric Fong, a sociology professor at the University of Toronto.

Indeed, Chow told the some 50 participants crowded into a Munk Centre boardroom that while the "silk road" dream of wealth and opportunity still attracts immigrants

generation, those born elsewhere but who immigrated to Canada as older children or teens. "The one-point-fivers come here with a foreign language and global experiences," Yu said. "The locally born are useless as global citizens."

The immigration historian referred to Canada as the "Switzerland of the Pacific," a refuge for Asian families seeking education in either our boarding schools or our universities and



The power of dreams: Canada still attracts immigrants, but many Chinese are leaving their families here and returning to Hong Kong for better jobs.

PEOPLE AND IDEAS

DRUGS AND GREED MAKE A BAD MIX

With \$600 billion at stake, the global pharmaceutical industry is a magnet for theft and corruption. Yet most nations are reluctant to tackle this threat to world health, according to Professor of Pharmacy Jillian Clare Cohen, Director of the Munk Centre's Comparative Program on Health and Society. "When foreign aid money for drugs is delivered, there is no thought given to potential corruption. But the subject has come up in every country I have visited working for international organizations – and none are dealing with it," said Cohen, who has worked for UNICEF, the World Bank, and as a consultant to WHO.

One of the key reasons for this

inaction, Cohen told a Health and Society seminar on "Corruption in the Pharmaceutical System: A Clear and Present Danger," is a reluctance to make the sometimes difficult distinction between inefficiency and corruption. Sometimes what is labeled corruption turns out to be inefficiency or incompetence, and people and governments can be offended, she explained. "To that, I say, 'Too bad, it's too important.' Drugs are a matter of life and death."

The pharmaceutical system is particularly vulnerable to corruption for several reasons:

- There is a significant degree of government involvement that allows for individual decisions on what drugs should

be approved;

- It is hard to distinguish an authentic drug from one that is counterfeit or sub-standard; and,
- There's lots of money at stake.

The situation is desperate, Cohen said, because drugs are essential to health care, especially in the Third World, where WHO estimates that 25 percent of the drugs are either counterfeit or substandard.

Among Cohen's findings: two billion people, or one-third of the world's population lack proper drugs; in Nigeria, at least 50 percent of the drugs are not compliant; in China, 500 illegal drug manufacturers have been identified; and counterfeiting drugs is so serious in India that the death penalty is being advo-

cated as punishment.

While working in Costa Rica, Cohen developed a methodology designed to minimize pharmaceutical corruption. It is based on a series of questions to determine responsibility and accountability at each core decision point in the drug chain, from manufacturing through registration, selection, procurement, distribution, prescription, and dispensing. Cohen's system is being applied now in four countries in Southeast Asia.

"Corruption stems from greed by individuals, companies, and governments," Cohen said. "Greed needs to be controlled. There need to be institutional checks and balances, oversight, clear standards, transparency, and citizen involvement."

HEAR MORE



The Munk Centre is bringing the ideas of leading thinkers as close as your radio dial, with the launch of a new radio program, **Beyond Borders**.

We have teamed up with the University of Toronto's Radio Station, CIUT 89.5 FM, to showcase lectures and seminars by prominent academics, policymakers and distinguished guests at the Munk Centre. Based on previously recorded sessions held in the Vivian and David Campbell Conference Facility, the program aims to enhance the listener's understanding of international, social, political and economic issues. **Beyond Borders** airs on Wednesday at 11 am, with a repeat broadcast on Friday at 5 am. Full program details on MCIS website.

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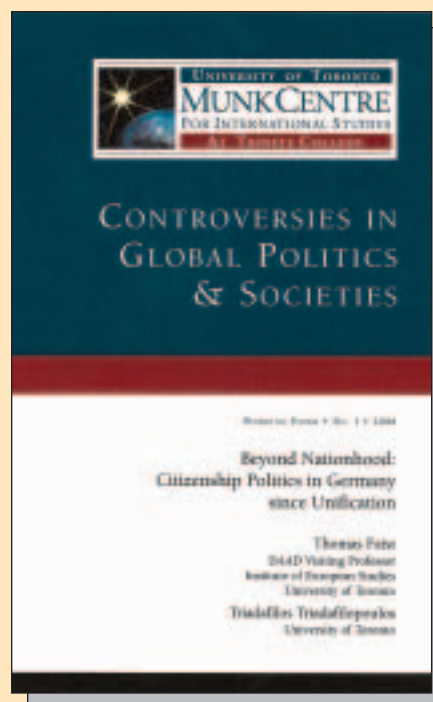
The Munk Centre is pleased to announce the launch of a new occasional papers series, **Controversies in Global Politics & Societies**.

Our inaugural issue was *Beyond Nationhood: Citizenship Politics in Germany since Unification* by Thomas Faist (DAAD Visiting Professor, Institute of European Studies) and Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos (University of Toronto).

OTHER ISSUES THIS TERM:

Gilbert R. Winham (Distinguished Visiting Fellow, Centre for International Studies), *An Institutional Theory of WTO Decision-Making: Why Negotiation in the WTO Resembles Law-Making in the U.S. Congress*, No. II (2006).

Michael R. Marrus (Senior Fellow, Centre for International Studies), *Official Apologies and the Quest for Historical Justice*, No. III (2006).



Our other publications series, **MCIS Briefings**, showcases in an accessible, timely fashion the research of leading scholars from MCIS centres, institutes, and programs.

TO DATE:

Louis W. Pauly (Director, Centre for International Studies), *Bound*

to Follow? US Foreign Policy, International Reactions, and the New Complexities of Sovereignty. September 2005

Sylvia Ostry (Distinguished Research Fellow, Centre for International Studies), *The Multilateral Agenda: Moving Trade Negotiations Forward*. November 2005

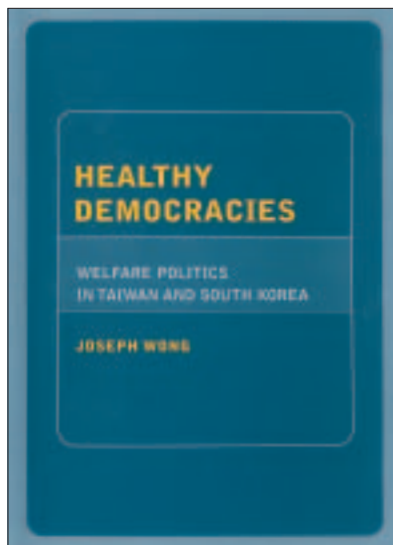
Michael Bell, Michael J. Molloy, John Bell and Marketa Evans, *The Jerusalem Old City Initiative Discussion Document: New Directions for Deliberation and Dialogue*. December 2005

Jillian Clare Cohen and Jennifer E. Keelan, eds. (Comparative Program on Health and Society), *Comparative Program on Health and Society Lupina Foundation Working Paper Series 2004–2005*. January 2006

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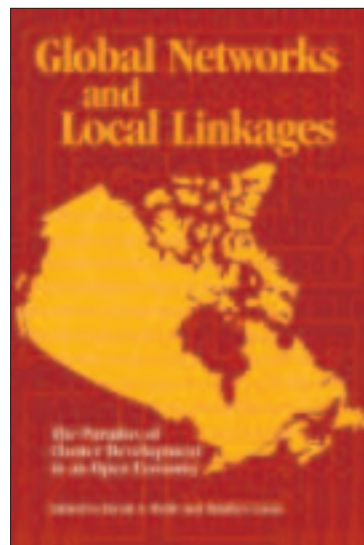
CENTRE BOOKS

RECENT BOOKS BY MUNK CENTRE SCHOLARS



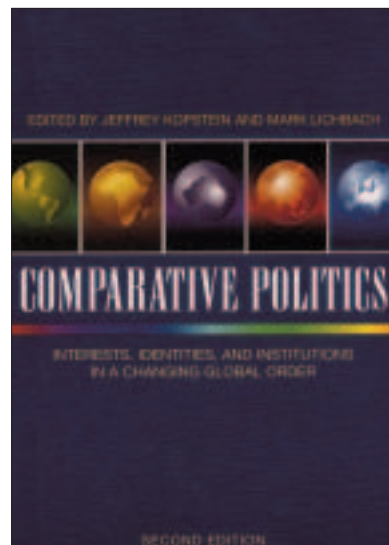
Joseph Wong, *Healthy Democracies: Welfare Politics in Taiwan and South Korea*
Cornell University Press, 2004

Do the pressures of economic globalization undermine the welfare state? Contrary to the expectations of many analysts, Taiwan and South Korea have embarked on a new trajectory toward a strengthened welfare state and universal inclusion. Wong focuses on the ways in which democratic change in these two countries altered the incentives and ultimately the decisions of policymakers and social policy activists in contemporary healthcare debates.



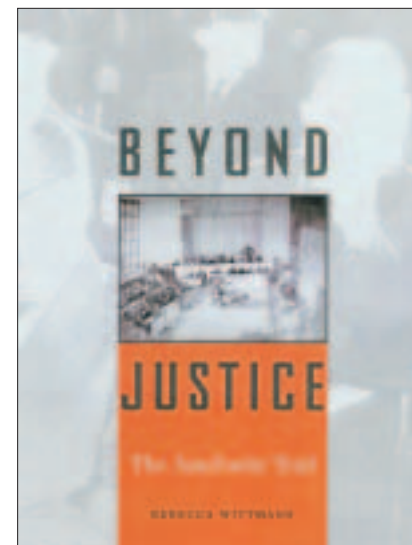
David A. Wolfe and Matthew Lucas, eds. *Global Networks and Local Linkages: The Paradox of Cluster Development in an Open Economy*
McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005

This volume presents the final case studies in the Innovation Systems Research Network's five-year investigation of 26 industry clusters across Canada. It attempts to develop a meaningful typology that accounts for fundamental differences in institutional linkages, knowledge dimensions, and stages of cluster growth. The authors argue that policymakers must account for historically rooted institutional dynamics and be cognizant of the influence of regional culture.



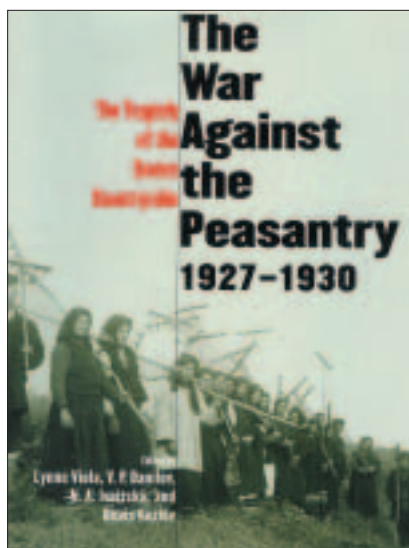
Jeffrey Kopstein and Mark Lichbach, eds. *Comparative Politics: Interests, Identities, and Institutions in a Changing Political Order, 2d ed.*
Cambridge University Press, 2005

This textbook, which is designed for introductory undergraduate courses, features ten theoretically and historically grounded country studies that show how the three major concepts of comparative analysis — interests, identities, and institutions — shape the politics of nations.



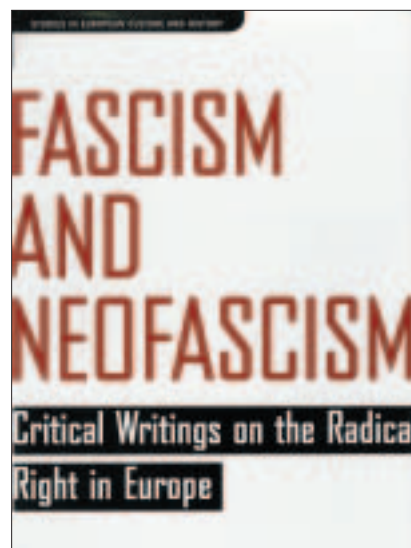
Rebecca Wittmann, *Beyond Justice: The Auschwitz Trial*
Harvard University Press, 2005
Winner of the Fraenkel Prize, Category A, Wiener Library

In 1963, West Germany was gripped by a dramatic trial of former guards who had worked at the Nazi death camp Auschwitz. It was the largest and most public trial to take place in the country and attracted international attention. Using the pretrial files and extensive trial audiotapes, Wittmann offers a fascinating reinterpretation of Germany's first major attempt to confront its past.



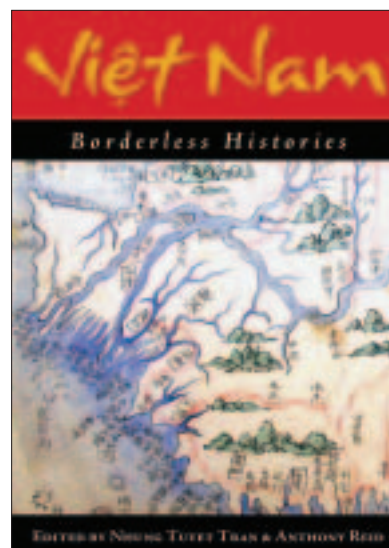
Lynne Viola, V.P. Danilov, N.A. Ivnitskii, and Denis Kozlov, eds. *The War Against the Peasantry, 1927-1930. The Tragedy of the Soviet Countryside, Vol. one*
Annals of Communism Series.
Yale University Press, 2005

The collectivization of Soviet agriculture in the late 1920s and 1930s, one of the landmarks that would come to define Stalinism, forever altered the country's social and economic landscape. This book presents — with analysis and commentary — the most important primary Soviet documents, drawn from previously unavailable and in many cases unknown archives, dealing with the brutal economic and cultural subjugation of the Russian peasantry.



Angelica Fenner and Eric Weitz, eds. *Fascism and Neofascism: Critical Writings on the Radical Right in Europe*
Palgrave Macmillan, 2004

The radical right has been a persistent feature of European societies. In power, it has unleashed wars, ethnic cleansing, and genocide. As a movement, it has promoted violence against minorities and immigrants, and has threatened democratic politics. This book explores both historical fascism and the contemporary radical right in a wide range of countries, and brings together perspectives rooted in cultural studies, history, and the social sciences.



Nhung Tuyet Tran, ed. *Việt Nam: Borderless Histories*
University of Wisconsin Press, 2006

Moving beyond past histories that have focused on nationalist struggle, *Việt Nam: Borderless Histories* draw on international archives and bring a range of inventive analytical approaches to the global, regional, national, and local narratives of Vietnamese history. Among the topics explored are the extraordinary diversity between north and south, lowland and highland, Việt and minority, and between colonial, Chinese, Southeast Asian, and dynastic influences.



Edgar Grande and Louis W. Pauly, eds. *Complex Sovereignty: Reconstituting Political Authority in the Twenty-First Century*
University of Toronto Press, 2005

The way humanity governs itself is changing very rapidly. Profound transformations in structures of political authority are underway in Europe, North America, and beyond. Nation-states remain central, but they cannot address the most pressing problems facing their own citizens without moving away from traditional understandings of sovereignty itself. The editors and contributors contend that just such a movement is underway.

MAKING THE WORLD A CLASSROOM

KARTICK KUMAR

Students are gaining on-the-ground expertise in international locales through a series of innovative programs spearheaded by the Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (CERES) at the Munk Centre. From employment with top non-government organizations (NGOs) and businesses in Europe to evaluating Canadian government initiatives in the Balkans, CERES has become a leader in developing programs that give graduate students real-world experience in their fields of study. "At this Centre our main goal is to maximize our students' exposure to the region they're studying," says Professor Robert C. Austin, who has coordinated many of the initiatives. "All universities should make it their goal to provide students with as much exposure as possible," he says. "The main benefit is to gain a regional network. They may well be working over there instead of Canada and it's essential for them to make contacts."

Exchanges and Internships form a large part of this international experience. Every year students from CERES and graduate students from other U of T departments participate in exchanges with European universities in Hungary, Czech Republic, and Ukraine. These exchanges provide students with the opportunity to improve their language skills and gain a deeper understanding of a region's rich history and politics.



The Young Professionals International Program, funded by International Trade Canada, has been one of the most popular initiatives. Every year CERES coordinates the recruitment and placement of youth interns with NGOs and businesses in East Central and South Eastern Europe. The program has been remarkably successful with more than 200 applicants competing for ten positions this year. Last year, Martin Terlecki was one of the lucky few and was offered a position with AES cargo in Budapest. Martin worked for eight months with the cargo department of the company. He managed workers, drafted business

proposals, and learned to work on very tight schedules. Of his experience Martin says, "As an intern you develop many skills, besides the obvious business ethics, practices and communications, you develop a keen sense of yourself and what you are capable of in a challenging and foreign environment." Today, Martin is AES Cargo's operations manager and point person in Kuwait.



Evaluating CIDA Projects: CERES's widely respected expertise in international programming has opened up another avenue for students to gain experience abroad. In 2005, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) asked the Centre to evaluate its projects in the Balkans. Three students, led by Professor Austin, visited the region and analyzed CIDA's work in the sectors of health, energy, education, and security over the last ten years. The extensive research led to a CIDA publication about the effectiveness of its programming in the region. This is not the first time the government has knocked on CERES's door. In 2003, CIDA asked CERES to evaluate its aid delivery projects in Hungary, Poland and Slovakia.

The Student Governance Project: Perhaps one of the most unique of CERES projects was the recently completed student governance project. Last fall three CERES graduate students and one undergraduate from the European studies program created a project to reform and strengthen student governance at the University of Prishtina in Kosovo. Through the CIDA Canada Corps University Partnerships Programmes,

Canadian and Kosovar students were brought together to share experiences on student governance in Canada and Kosovo at a series of workshops held in Montenegro and Macedonia. The goal was to increase awareness regarding student governance and provide examples from Canada, thus enabling Kosovar students to better reform their own student government. The final product of the project was a proposal to establish a new system of student governance at the



University of Prishtina. It was submitted to the Minister of Education and Science of Kosovo in January 2006.



A Transnational Justice Initiative in Albania has been another fascinating project. In September 2005, CERES MA student Jonathan Ellison and Professor Austin visited Albania to conduct interviews with leading politicians, lawyers, judges, and analysts. The two had just spent a year examining Albania's long transition from Communist state to stable European country. They focused particularly on analyzing the laws that dealt with access to the secret service and the purging of former communists. On the ground in Tirana, Jonathan met with Prime Minister Sali Berisha, former head of the constitutional court Rustem Gjata, and Democratic party members Arben Imami and Spartak Njela. The pair also met with law students

at the University of Tirana's Faculty of Law and discussed the formation of a cooperative partnership between law students in Tirana and Toronto. Jonathan's real-world experience taught him a great deal. "Despite the seemingly never-ending series of disappointments and catastrophes that the Albanian people have had to suffer over the years, it was evident that their warmth, generosity and fiery passion remain," he says.

