SUMMER 2005

MUNK CENTRE MONITOR

VIEWS, 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

HOW UGLY IS FAILURE? INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE WRECKING BALL

The French "non" to the European constitution is sending shock waves throughout Europe. It seems almost inconceivable that one of the founding nations of the European Common Market could put the brakes on the building of new European institutions. Angry French voters did just that, however, and Europe has woken up the morning after with a bad hangover. Where is Europe going, its architects are asking. Does Europe have a future? Are we seeing the end of the dream of a united Europe? The heated European rhetoric about its future seems somewhat overblown to those who listen from afar.

Europeans, not unlike other parts of the world, tend to think that their challenges are unique. A similarly anxious conversation is also going on in New York at the United Nations. Here too, the rhetoric is overblown. Here too, the conversation is preoccupied with institutional dilemmas, rather than practical possibilities.

The United Nations, even some of its strongest defenders argue, is in crisis. The Secretary-General, badly wounded by the oil-for-food scandal, is unable to lead. The United States sees the UN as ineffective at best and as an irritating obstacle at worst. There is deadlock and pessimism about the most important items on the global agenda: the Millenium Development Goals are unlikely to be met by 2015; the review conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty was a dismal failure – delegates spent three-quarters of their time discussing process and only got to the real issues in the last week; and serious reform of the Security Council and the General Assembly seems unlikely. Everything in New York is on hold. There is institutional paralysis. Is the United Nations about to sink into irrelevance?

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A Summit of Pride and Influence?
Canada and the Gleneagles G8

COVER STORY BY JOHN KIRTON

Can we really develop Africa, control climate change, stop nuclear proliferation and produce secure, sustainable development for all in the world? The United Nations will take its best shot in September, when the leaders of its almost 200 members assemble in New York to figure out how to meet their currently unattainable Millennium Development Goals. But their success will depend critically on the work of a smaller, more select Summit taking place sooner. On July 6-8 the leaders of the world's major democracies gather in Gleneagles, Scotland, for their annual Group of Eight (G8) meeting, together with some carefully chosen developing country guests.

How Canada performs at Gleneagles on these issues matters. It could do much to determine the future of global sustainable development and Canada's influence in protecting its national interests and values.

Dealmaking on the golf course: Gleneagles, setting for the G8 Summit.

If Canada's Prime Minister wants to succeed at Gleneagles, he will have to quickly put in place bolder, better policies than the government's recent International Policy Statement proposed.

The G8 has produced some striking successes since the leaders of France, the United States, Britain, Germany, Japan and Italy gathered for their first annual encounter in November 1975. Since their first appearance in 1976, Canadian leaders have made an important contribution on issues close to the Canadian soul. North-South dialogue was advanced by Pierre Trudeau as host at Montebello, Quebec, in 1981.

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HIGHLIGHTS OF THIS ISSUE

EVENTS TO WATCH FOR

AND DISTINGUISHED LECTURERS

JUNE

The U.S. Civil War: Causes and Consequences
June 10 - 11

Japan as a Normal Country
The 2005 Shibusawa North American Seminar, June 18 - 19

SEPTEMBER

Modernity in Question: Montesquieu and His Legacy
Sept. 9 - 10

OCTOBER

Labour Feminism Conference
Sept. 30 - Oct. 1

The Second Annual Lipset Lecture
With Francis Fukuyama Oct. 19

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Hardly. The future of Europe and of the United Nations is not as gloomy as the nay-sayers would have us believe. In both Brussels and New York, when the hangover wears off, determined leaders will pick up pieces of the institutional agenda and build more modest packages. Canadians understand all too well that constitutional agreement is not a prerequisite for progress on economic and social issues. Europeans will have to invest more energy in coordination and collaboration than in designing new institutions. Europe will have to work where it matters most, on the ground. Here Canadians have interesting stories to tell.

In New York, if members cannot agree on Security Council reform, then the Secretariat can do a great deal to reform itself. A group of like-minded states can unpack the development agenda and push forward action on debt relief and investment. The human rights agenda is hardly dependent on the discredited UN Human Rights Commission. Much can be accomplished by going around ineffective institutions. We know very well in Canada that when member states work closely with the Secretary-General and lead, others follow.

There is one common thread running through the heated debates in New York and Europe, a thread that has little to do with institutional problems or fixes. Angry voters in France expressed their opposition to "elite" bargains that left them feeling vulnerable to unemployment and the loss of social benefits. Similar kinds of politics are also playing themselves out in Germany. In New York, the Group of 77 that speaks for southern states gives voice to its anger at the global bargain that allows income inequality to widen. The deeper problems in Europe and at the United Nations are the widening disparities in income, and the growing gap between elites who promote the benefits of integration and mobility and those who feel disconnected and ignored. The primary challenge is not new constitutions, or reformed institutions. It is a new kind of conversation between those who govern and those they represent.

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).*

Gelber Prize

THE LIONEL GELBER PRIZE

2004 Winner

THE WORLD'S MOST IMPORTANT PRIZE FOR NON-FICTION

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Winner Coll: all the right questions.

A standing-room-only audience was on hand at the Munk Centre in late March for the presentation of the 2004 Gelber Prize to Steve Coll, author of *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001.*

In his acceptance speech, Coll discussed troubling questions about U.S. policy in Afghanistan, beginning in the 1980s when the CIA engaged in covert operations against Soviet troops. Why did the U.S. fail to see the Taliban as an enemy? Was it wise for the CIA to essentially "subcontract" the job of dealing with the politics of Jihad to the Pakistani Army? And he described the raging policy debate that took place within the middle levels of the U.S. bureaucracy after the Taliban's rise to power. The CIA opposed further U.S. involvement: it believed that the goal of forcing the Soviets to leave had been accomplished and that it was a fallacy to think that the U.S. could contribute to a viable state after the Soviets left. Other factions, notably in the State Department, favoured a continued U.S. role, arguing that it was important to continue to undermine the Soviets in Central Asia. But the debate never reached the cabinet level, and the result was "indifference." Only the feminists, who pushed for the U.S. to do something about human rights and the treatment of women under the Taliban, got it right, said Coll.

Coll only touched on highlights from his compelling book, which examines two decades of invasion, resistance, espionage and politics in Afghanistan, details the rise of Osama bin Laden and the planning that led to the World Trade Center attack on September 11, 2001. It probes the covert operations of the CIA, the KGB and other nations' spy networks involved in Afghanistan, and examines the weapons and tactics of terrorists. Subsequent to winning the Gelber, Coll's book also won a Pulitzer Prize, the second of Coll's career.

The Lionel Gelber Prize is presented annually by the Lionel Gelber Foundation in partnership with the Munk Centre for International Studies at the University of Toronto and *Foreign Policy* magazine.

NEED A SOURCE?

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

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Harriet Friedmann, *Professor, Centre for International Studies and Visiting Fellow, All Souls College, Oxford University;*
John Kirton, *Director of the G8 Research Group, Research Associate of the Centre for International Studies;*
Janice Gross Stein, *Director, Munk Centre for International Studies.*

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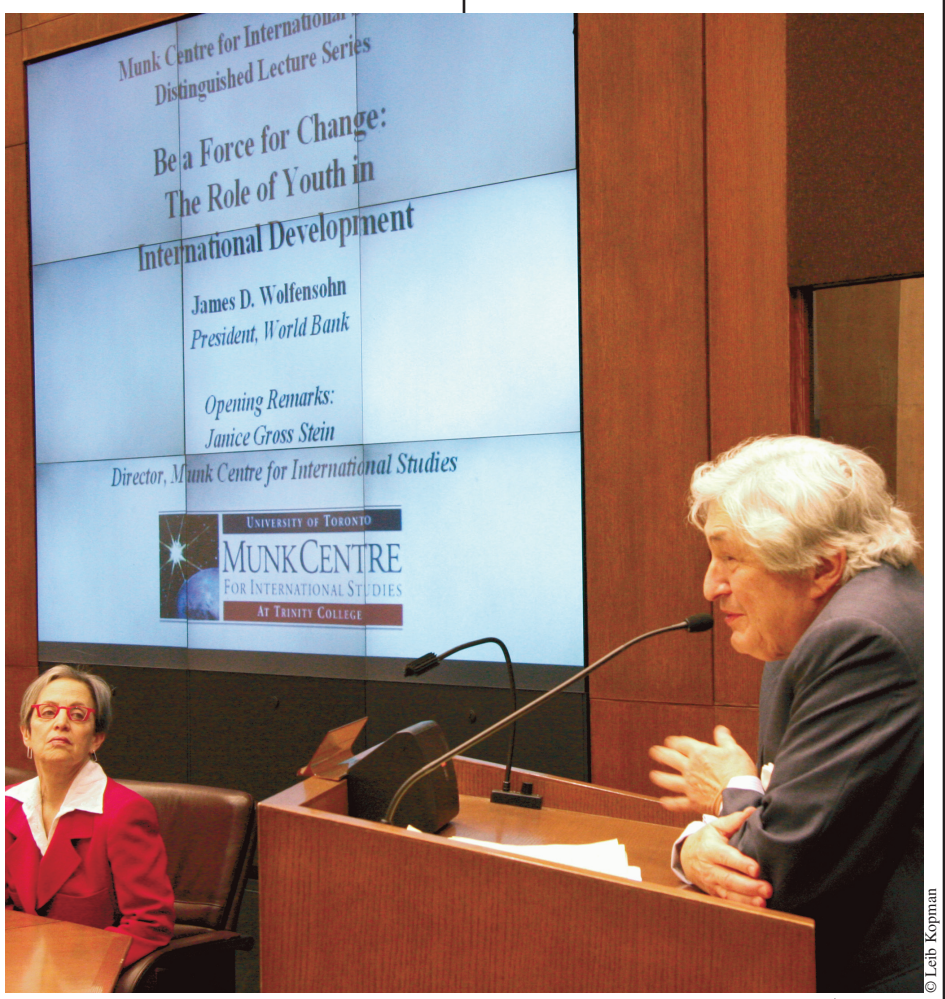
CENTRE EVENTS



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Wolfensohn: "about 200 million people live on under $1 a day."

Wolfensohn Issues a Call to Action

Shortly before retiring as President of the World Bank earlier this year, James Wolfensohn delivered an inspiring address to students gathered at the Munk Centre. In remarks entitled "Be a Force for Change: The Role of Youth in International Development," Wolfensohn challenged youth to get actively involved in the world's urgent development issues. "Engaging youth is not luxury, it's a necessity when it comes to issues of development," he said.

"The world is very much in transition," he noted. There are currently 6 billion people in the developing world, with 2.8 billion under age 24, and another 1.8 billion under 14. By 2015, the population of the developing world is expected to rise to about 8 billion. With a growing proportion of youth, the issue of poverty and the related issue of creating jobs for youth are of utmost importance. "We must address the needs of young people," he said, citing the example of Gaza, where "45 percent are without jobs, there is widespread poverty." Wolfensohn retains his personal commitment to these issues: after his retirement from the Bank, he was appointed the World Bank's Special Envoy for Gaza Disengagement.

Today's youth are inheriting major challenges, he said. If you consider the millennium goals set by the United Nations in 2000, which aim to reduce poverty in all its forms by 50 percent by 2015, "we have had some movement." For example, there has been improvement in child mortality. But on the broader goals, "if you take out China and a few others, we find that developing countries are moving backwards." He noted that about 200 million people live on under $1 a day.

"Youth haven't had much voice until now," he said. "But the situation requires an active voice by youth, not just in studying issues of international development but engaging in them."

Rather than a reflective farewell, Wolfensohn delivered a stimulating call to action for the Munk Centre audience.

Uneven Odds: Terrorists vs. The Public

"The bad guys are rapidly becoming more powerful," stated Professor Thomas Homer-Dixon. The University of Toronto professor made his chilling observation at a recent Munk Centre event on Public Security and Terrorism.

One of a series in the Shared Citizenship Public Lectures, sponsored by the Lt. Governor of Ontario, James K. Bartleman, the Comparative Program on Health and Society and the Munk Centre, the seminar explored the nature and origins of terrorism and security.

After an introduction by the Lt. Governor, the event featured presentations by three leading experts: Homer-Dixon, Director of the Trudeau Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies; Dr. James Young, Special Advisor on Public Safety and Security to the Government of Canada; and Dr. Kate Gillespie, an Irish psychiatrist who is expert on the psychological effects of terrorism and civic violence.

The new aspects of terrorism today, according to Professor Homer-Dixon, are the terrorists' "increased capacity to destroy" and "the increased vulnerability of economic, political and social systems to attack." There has been a shift in destructive power to small groups for two reasons. First, improvements in weapons technology. Weapons are better and cheaper, especially light weapons such as assault rifles and rocket propelled grenades. Second, biological and chemical weapons. For example, there are about 1,000 tonnes of highly enriched uranium in the world, with 600 tonnes in insecure locations in the former Soviet Union. "One hundred kilograms would produce a bomb that could destroy New York. This is a very significant security concern, he said.

Our increasing vulnerability to terrorism stems from the rising interconnectivity of our society's technological, economic and psychological networks. Examples include power blackouts on our connected grids and the effects of the 9/11 attacks, which led to border closures and factory shutdowns as just-in-time deliveries were interrupted. Homer-Dixon argued that we can reduce this vulnerability with increased buffering in our systems and increased redundancy in our critical hubs.

Dr. Young agreed that the events of 9/11 served as a wake up call for Canada. "We'd already had the Air India bombing, the first World Trade Center attack, and embassy bombings, but we still didn't think we were vulnerable in North America," he observed. Since then, Canada has introduced laws to better manage the situation, including an Anti-terrorism Act and a Public Safety Act. For her part, Dr. Gillespie provided a first-hand account of the devastating psychological effects of violence in Northern Ireland. Her comments underscored the urgency of preventing violence against innocent civilians.


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Presenters Brandi Lucier (Windsor), and Steve Myer (Wisconsin).

HISTORY ON WHEELS

Cars: they are everywhere, and so are their effects on our culture, our geography, our psychology and our social relations. The far-reaching impacts of the car on our society were the subject of fascinating discussions at a Munk Centre conference in May. A roster of leading scholars gathered to discuss "The Car in History: Business, Space, and Culture in North America," at the three-day event, hosted by the Centre for the Study of the United States.

After a tour of the state-of-the art Toyota plant in Cambridge, Ont., on day one, presenters discussed impacts that are commonly seen but not well understood by the public:

- the overall erosion of city-scapes with the introduction of parking lots as a predominant occupant of downtown land-use;
- the evolution of the relationship between the corporation and the employee;
- the impact of highway development and with it, the creation of corridor communities and unique car cultures;
- the car's role in democratizing the cottage experience in Ontario;
- the relationship between masculinity and the car.

CENTRE EVENTS

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Mehta and Chancellor Vivienne Poy: at issue, how South Asians are portrayed in films.

Insights from Deepa Mehta

World-acclaimed Canadian filmmaker Deepa Mehta discussed how Asian Canadians are portrayed in the film industry and talked about her current and upcoming work at an evening lecture in May. Held at the Koffler Institute for Pharmacy Management, the public lecture was part of the University of Toronto's celebration of Asian Heritage Month. The event was organized and sponsored by the University of Toronto's Office of Student Affairs, the Asian Institute at the Munk Centre and the Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office (Canada).

About 200 people gathered in the lecture theatre to hear her speak about her upcoming film, *Water*, to be released in November. Student affairs officer Nouman Ashraf interviewed her about other documentary work she has undertaken and they discussed the importance of challenging the way South Asians are traditionally typecast in movies. A short segment of *Water* was also shown during the lecture. Chancellor Vivienne Poy gave welcoming remarks at the lecture and introduced Mehta and Ashraf. Following Mehta's lecture, a short film, *A Century of Hong Kong Cinema,* was shown.

Since its inaugural celebration in 1993, Asian Heritage Month has acknowledged the long and rich history of Asian Canadians and their contributions to Canada. The motion to designate May as Asian Heritage Month was introduced by Chancellor Poy in the Canadian Senate in 2001.

By Suelan Toye, a news services officer at U of T's Public Affairs Office.

Chinese Internet Checkers

A ground-breaking report by the OpenNet Initiative (ONI), a partnership of three leading university research teams, has drawn a disturbing picture of Internet censorship in China. "China operates the most extensive, technologically sophisticated, and broad reaching system of Internet filtering in the world," says the report. "The implications of this distorted on-line information environment for China's users are profound, and disturbing."

The report, which attracted worldwide media coverage, is the product of intensive research by the Citizen Lab at the Munk Centre, the Berkman Center for Internet and Society at Harvard Law School, and the Advanced Network Research Group at the University of Cambridge. It was released in April at a congressional hearing of the U.S. Senate in Washington, by a representative of the Citizen Lab, Nart Villeneuve, and two colleagues from the Berkman Center.

Called "Internet Filtering in China 2004-2005: A Country Study," the report documents an extensive censorship regime that blocks prohibited subjects on Web sites, Web Logs (Blogs), cyber-cafes, email and online discussion forums.

According to the report, controlling political speech, rather than pornography, appears to be the top priority of the government. Chinese citizens wishing to access information on such subjects as Taiwan, Tibetan independence, the Tiananmen Square uprising in 1989, or opposition political parties, will frequently find themselves blocked. Even the Google search engine is filtered for China's roughly 100 million Internet users.

China has achieved a high level of success by targeting critical "chokepoints" where communications can be blocked or intercepted, according to Ronald Deibert, Director of the Citizen Lab at the Munk Centre. "These lie in the subterranean layers of the Internet – the routers, exchange points and gateways."

Citizens engaging in prohibited on-line activities can find themselves reported to government authorities. For example, a 1996 decree requires that all subscribers to Internet Service Providers (ISPs) must register with their local police bureau, and gives power to police computer investigation organizations to investigate alleged complaints. A 2000 decree requires ISPs to track users' account numbers, when users are online and which sites customers visit. Since ISPs can be held responsible for user violations, they often implement their own monitoring and censoring functions on everything from searches to personal email messages.

More recently, China has moved to impose stricter controls on burgeoning university bulletin board systems, which have become increasingly popular with students and non-students alike. The Education Ministry ordered that the universities censor the bulletin boards and shut down ones on which "harmful" information has been spread.

"China's filtering regime is one of the most sophisticated in its ability to detect and prevent access to content that the state considers prohibited," says the report. As Deibert warns, China's advanced filtering system "presents a model for other countries with similar interests in censorship to follow."

IN THE NEWS

Munk Centre scholars recently made news for **AWARDS** and **HONOURS:** Director **Janice Gross Stein** was elected as a Foreign Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, one of the most prestigious scholarly academies in the United States. Professor Stein was cited as a "pioneer in the fields of negotiation theory and international conflict management" by the Cambridge-based organization, which honours men and women who are leaders in scholarship, business, the arts and public affairs. As well, **Linda Hutcheon,** U of T Professor of English, and a driving force behind the Munk Centre's Humanities Initiative to bring culture to the community, was one of five winners of the Killam Prize for 2005. The $100,000 prize, administered by the Canada Council, is the country's highest recognition for outstanding academic career achievement by scholars in a variety of fields. **APPOINTMENTS:** Professor **Louis Pauly,** Director of the Centre for International Studies, was named the inaugural Roberta Buffett Visiting Professor in International Studies at Northwestern University in Illinois. **KUDOS:** go to Professor **Michael Donnelly,** who is stepping down as Director of the Asian Institute, after guiding it through its birth and establishing its world-wide reputation; and to Professor **Peter Solomon,** who is retiring as Director of the Centre for Russian and East European Studies after a dynamic five years, during which it substantively expanded its reach and presence in the field.

CANADA AND THE GLENEAGLES G8

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Brian Mulroney, with Dr. Sylvia Ostry as his personal representative, or "sherpa," inaugurated debt relief for the poorest when they held the Summit in Toronto, in part on the University of Toronto campus, in 1988. Under Jean Chrétien, the Summit produced historic advances in environmental protection in Halifax in 1995 and in African development and nuclear non-proliferation in Kananaskis in 2002. By backing such initiatives with targeted actions and billions of dollars in cash commitments, the G8 has proven itself to be an effective forum for progress, rather than a platform for well-meaning rhetoric.

Will British Prime Minister Tony Blair live up to this legacy as host this year? While Blair has just won an historic third majority, his support for Bush's 2003 war in Iraq helped slash his margin of victory, and the month he took off to campaign has made the preparations for Gleneagles frustratingly late. Still, Blair is one of the very few leaders to host the Summit for a second time. He will welcome the same group of G8 leaders, save for Martin, for an unprecedented five years in a row.

Blair identified his agenda a year and a half ago. It centres on Africa (sub-Saharan Africa is the only region that has become poorer in the last generation) and climate change, caused by greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. Blair has stubbornly stuck with this agenda, set aggressive but achievable objectives, created an influential African Commission to push his case, mounted an intense schedule of lead-up G8 ministerial meetings and bilateral summit visits, and invited the right developing countries, notably China, India, Mexico, Brazil and South Africa, to Gleneagles as guests. The British have also consulted intensively with civil society, in part through the session held by British sherpa, Sir Michael Jay, and Canadian sherpa, Peter Harder, at the Munk Centre on April 8th (see webcast at www.g8.utoronto.ca).

Bush: A potential wild card

Yet if Blair is to succeed, he must bring on board the G8's leading sustainable development skeptic, American president George W. Bush. Bush will arrive self-confidently sporting the G8's strongest currency and growth rate, the biggest new electoral victory and the glow of hosting a productive G8 Summit at Sea Island, Georgia, last year. Bolstered by recent triumphs for democracy in Ukraine and Georgia, Bush could well want the G8 to stay focused on his Sea Island crusade of bringing freedom to the broader Middle East. Iran's nuclear sabre-rattling or more Middle East terrorism might also bring back the divisive ghost of Iraq.

Shoulder to shoulder here: G8 sherpas Peter Harder (Canada) at left, and Michael Jay (U.K.) discuss the upcoming G8 summit at a Munk Centre event.

Still, Bush owes one to Blair, Italy's Berlusconi and Japan's Koizumi, who also put boots on the ground in Iraq and who are committed to promoting sustainable development. So is much of Bush's Christian evangelical base, which wants to stop genocide in Darfur and the rapacious exploitation of an earth that they feel belongs to God, not man. Bush himself knows that poverty in Africa can breed terrorism against America. He also knows that he needs a coordinated program of international energy conservation to control America's rising energy insecurity, gas prices, inflationary pressures and current account deficit. While some of his ideologues may dream of turning Saudi Arabia into a secure petro-democracy, as a realist Texas oilman, Bush knows that supply-side solutions lie more in the barrels-in-hand in Canada, Russia, Mexico, and Nigeria, whose leaders are all conveniently assembled at the Gleneagles G8.

An Agenda for Canada

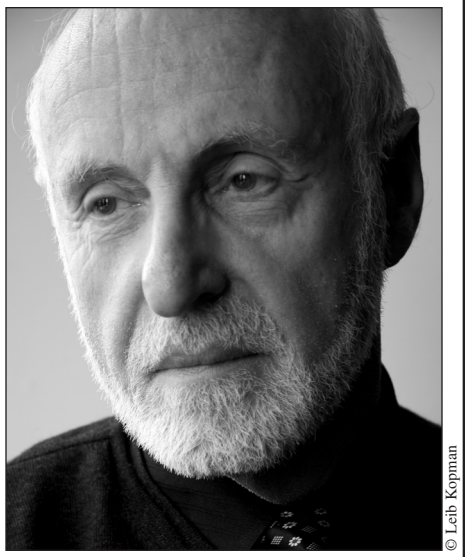
To bring Bush and his G8 friends together politically, Canada should act fast. Canada's political leaders, pre-occupied with their own domestic political and national unity distractions, should remember two things. First, Canadians care deeply about Africa, the world's only other bilingual English-French political space full of fellow family members in the Commonwealth and La francophonie. Second, for the past 15 years almost all Canadians have always chosen global environmental protection as their first foreign policy priority.

Some cautious Canadians may want to wait until September, when Canada's international initiatives in nearby New York might be more visible to the voters back home. But while Canadians, as idealists, worship the broadly multilateral United Nations when they relax on the weekends, as realists they count on the G8 to do the difficult jobs in a dangerous world during the work week. Canadians expect their leaders to deliver at the G8 Summit the global public goods that reflect Canada's national interests and its distinctive national values of democratic multiculturalism, global environmental protection and nuclear non-proliferation.

To forward these values at Gleneagles, Canada needs better policies than those its International Policy Statement proclaimed. On development, Canada should turn the G8 from fruitless debates about pledging 0.7 percent of GDP to official development assistance at some distant date and toward delivering more money now to support good governance, private sector development and trade liberalization with recipients committed to making international assistance work. It should also offer far more than the "responsibility to protect" principle, backed by 100 or so unarmed Canadian military observers, to stop the genocide in Darfur. On global environmental protection in the post-Kyoto era, Canada should impose an initial one-dollar a ticket "sustainable departure" tax on all international airline passenger flights leaving Canada, and pioneer a new World Environmental Organization to promote sustainable development as an integrated whole. To combat nuclear proliferation, and a now obsolete culture of nuclear deterrence, Canada should support permanent membership on the United Nations Security Council for Japan and Germany, fellow G8 democracies that are the world's second- and third-ranked powers and that share the anti-nuclear sustainable development values so close to Canadians' hearts. If the government puts its mind to it, Canada could actually produce, rather than merely proclaim, a foreign policy of pride and influence, with a Gleneagles performance as the first step.

Professor John Kirton is Director of the G8 Research Group, a global network of scholars, students and professionals founded at the Centre for International Studies when Canada hosted the G7 Summit in 1988.

LETTER FROM BEIJING, MAY 20, 2005



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Bernie Frolic
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of the
Asian Institute.

BERNIE FROLIC

After two days of rain, Beijing is again sunny and warm. We can see the Western Hills from our downtown apartment window. The pollution has lifted. Construction is non-stop. Narrow hutongs (alleys) vanish brick by brick before our eyes. Today there are massive scaffoldings. Tomorrow glossy high rises. The media have obsessed for days over the recent visits of Taiwan's two opposition party leaders, Lien Chan and James Soong. Easing cross-Strait tensions was the big story. This week's big story is the World Forum of Fortune 500 Companies. Eight hundred foreign executives feted lavishly in the Great Hall of the People as China pays homage to the power of international business and to China's embrace of globalization.

Each time in China I'm astounded by the pace and depth of change. Forty years ago during my first visit, China was immobile, poor, ideologically ridden, isolated, struggling to industrialize. Now at the Forum, President Hu Jin Tao puts forth the slogan, "You come, you profit, we all prosper." So China is no longer afraid to let us in; no longer fearful of joining forces with capitalism inside China or abroad. This China, once communist, has found capitalism, likes it very much and will soon be beating us at our own game.

After 25 consecutive years, how long can the economic boom continue? We hear about declining fixed asset investment; a chronically weak banking system; low consumer demand; huge income gaps; simmering inflation. Yet the World Bank just raised its 2005 growth forecast for China to 8.3 percent, up from 7.8 percent. All around us, both in Beijing and in the provinces, you can feel the energy; you can see the growth, the great transformation taking place. China's two-way trade has passed $US one trillion. Fifteen years ago, China was still a curiosity in the international trading game. Now it commands respect. In Asia, China has become the dominant trading partner for Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, and beyond the region, it has risen to be the second largest American trading partner – likely to overtake Canada in the next decades.

As China muscles into the world economy, will its economic "rise" be accompanied by military aggression, as has been the case with every other great power that has come before it? The debate here over China's "rise" is vigorous. At my Beijing Institute, Chinese scholars say that in the new globalized world China can be an economic power without being an aggressor nation. At the Law and Politics University in Chongqing students argue that China is different. It has made peace with the 15 countries on its border. Only Taiwan remains and the recent visits by Chan and Soong are a step towards resolving the Taiwan problem. A foreign diplomat in Beijing observes that the future is not about borders or Taiwan; it's all about energy. China needs oil and gas and will do anything to get it. Access to energy and to raw materials will drive China in the 21st century. Whether this can be done peacefully remains to be seen.

Today economic growth and China's "peaceful rise" are at the top of the agenda. What about political reform? For how long can China stay an authoritarian system? Is the Communist Party's legitimacy being eroded by the forces of marketization and globalization? We see some modest political openings at the local level and in the stirrings of civil society. There is progress in human rights and in the rule of law. A visitor can talk openly to people about democracy and political issues, although the limits of political discourse are apparent on the Internet, where a filtering regime can block proscribed topics. (See page 4.)

But the fact is the 70 million members of the Communist Party are in charge and, for the most part, this is acceptable to the large majority of Chinese. As long as the economy prospers and the Party can provide good governance, its legitimacy is secured and China will not readily democratize. The top Party leaders I have met here could be at home in any western executive boardroom, in any leadership position. What I see here is the remarkable ability of the Party to adapt itself to the changing needs of China. In my meetings with senior Party officials here I'm continually amazed at how they've responded to the challenges of governance, even as I realize how little we know about how they perform behind the scenes.

China continues to confound those who presume to understand it. Twenty-five years of unfettered economic growth? How is that possible? A "peaceful rise" for a future superpower without military aggression? Can that happen? A Communist Party able to steer its people into full-blown capitalism without losing its discipline or legitimacy? Is that likely? After 40 years, China has changed dramatically. It's less isolated, richer, more like us. We know more about China than we ever did, but still it remains a puzzle.

A Chinese worker inspects spools in a textile company at Huaibei.

CROSS CONTAMINATION: THE NEXT BATTLEGROUND OVER GENETICALLY MODIFIED FOOD

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HARRIET FRIEDMANN

We take for granted the abundance in our supermarkets, but in solving problems of supply through global trade, in which genetically modified food crops circulate widely, we have opened a Pandora's box of new problems that could threaten food security for everyone. Among them: the potential contamination of other major food crops by genetically modified varieties.

Scientists have engineered desirable traits into food crops, such as resistance to pests. But plants reproduce on their own, in unintended places, and the uncontrolled spread of traits to non-engineered plants carries potential dangers. For instance, insects could become resistant to the natural pesticide called Bt, which has been engineered into maize and potatoes. If they do, humans would be set back in our competition with other species for food crops.

Little wonder that calls for the control, monitoring and labelling of Genetically Engineered (GE) crops have become a flashpoint in trade disputes – the European Union recently banned import of U.S. maize discovered to have an unapproved variant of Bt. And that these concerns are at the centre of a wider debate on the "traceability" of the origins and ingredients of our food supplies.

Traceability is the new word for reorganizing the food system. Safety scares have led to major recalls in the U.S., such as when a type of maize not intended for human consumption entered the manufacturing system. Alarm over BSE ("mad cow") disease in Europe and North America has added to the impetus for new regulations and procedures. Private sector rules are moving quickly to create audited supply chains, even across national borders, so that products can be monitored. What will be the role of governments, which have traditionally regulated food safety, and of inter-governmental organizations now that food is increasingly traded internationally?

The most serious dilemma related to traceability is the contamination of major food crops by seeds. Trading partners have divided into camps over the issue, partly along North-South lines. On one side are the proponents of rigorous controls: the European Union, which recently replaced an outright ban on genetically modified crops with traceability regulations; Norway; and most of the global South. The South, after all, is the location of most of the peasant agriculture and continuing genetical diversity in food grains that is under threat. On the other side are the major exporters, including the United States, Canada, Argentina and Brazil.

Concerns about contamination are legitimate. Because wind and insects carry pollen from one plant to another, and neither respects national borders, genetically engineered plants may cross-pollinate with others. An early warning comes from salmon, which have been engineered to be larger –- a typical goal in increasing productivity. When they escape, they are better able to mate and threaten the survival of wild species. In the case of crops, the wild relatives of GE plants have mostly disappeared, and the threat is to "landraces" – the food crops that have evolved over thousands of years through selection and exchange by farmers. With grains, contamination is possible at any stage. Seeds can fall out of bags at ports and local markets. Seeds can be diverted to farmers. GE seeds can be inadvertently mixed with other seeds, and people have planted them, knowingly or not.

Landraces evolved, and continue to evolve, in the sites where they were first domesticated, which are called "Vavilov Centres." Wheat was first cultivated in West Central Asia, along with barley, grapes, apples and flax. Rice and soybeans, as well as oranges and tea, came from China and Japan. Bananas, sugar cane and yams came from southeast Asia. Maize, potato, sweet potato, cassava, tomato and cotton came from South America. Sorghum, millet and coffee came from Africa. These regions remain crucial to continuing adaptation and renewal of genetic diversity. Peasants cultivate hundreds of varieties of plants to accommodate specific conditions, to minimize risk and to create the many tastes and textures for daily and ritual dishes. They share and exchange seeds, creating extended networks of gene flow. These have served humanity well over massive changes in climate and society.

By contrast, commercial crops, which are concentrated in export regions, have been selected more for uniformity. Uniform fields of wheat, maize and soy are like banquets for pests and disease organisms. Peasant varieties continue to provide genetic material to scientists to fix problems to which export monocultures have fallen prey. It is an open question whether preserving varieties in gene banks can replace the continuing work of peasant farmers, even if we are willing to place our trust in science and the market to stay ahead of crop failures.

Of course, introducing GE crops in export regions like North America also creates problems of contamination for farmers who wish to grow conventional, including "organic," varieties. Another concern is the growing dominance of large food and agricultural companies that lead the research, development and production of GE crops. With widening definitions of intellectual property, these non-accountable private organizations tend to centralize control of seeds. Whoever controls them, they require segregation of varieties.

But these issues are dwarfed by the problems of contamination in Vavilov Centres. How they are resolved will ultimately have major implications for the global food supply. Effective steps to prevent contamination include segregation and labelling of specific GE organisms, and promoting the rapid development of the clearing house on information about GE crops under the Protocol on Biosafety of the Convention on Biological Diversity. Canada's interest as an exporter should not overwhelm our larger responsibility to preserve the integrity of the food crops on which all humans depend.

CLASSROOMS WITHOUT BORDERS: ENRICHING THE STUDENT EXPERIENCE

On location in Israel: being there gave the study group a deeper understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Making the Issues Come Alive

Studying the Arab-Israeli conflict became more than a textbook exercise for a group of U of T students this past December. About 16 students, most of them from the Munk Centre's MA in International Relations (MAIR) program, traveled to Hebrew University in Jerusalem for an intensive, two-week graduate course on the Management and Resolution of the Arab-Israeli Conflict. Sponsors for this second annual trip were the Canadian Friends of Hebrew University of Jerusalem Fund (CFHUJF) and U of T's Political Science Department.

Students raved about the study program, despite a heavy workload – a full semester was crammed into two weeks – and a long reading list. Said Andrew Gross: "The trip was incredibly full, in so many ways. Throughout our time in Israel, I think we learned far more about the relevant issues than imaginable through books alone."

The trip mixed classroom sessions, taught by Professor Yaacov Bar-Simon-Tov, with field expeditions. Students visited such sites as the Jezreel Valley, the Sea of Galilee and the Golan Heights, as well the Jerusalem suburbs and construction sites of the security wall. "We are thrilled to be able to give students an opportunity to get a first-hand perspective on some of the issues they have studied, " said Merle Goldman, National Director, Academic Affairs for CFHUJF. Credit for the trip also goes to organizers Carolynn Branton and Yoel Nesson, and to Associate Professor Simone Chambers, MA supervisor with MAIR.

Building a community: initiatives by the energetic 2004-2005 executive of the ***International Relations Society*** *enriched the education of fellow students. They included special guest lecturers at the Munk Centre and social nights. Members are: (top row, left to right) Adam Sheikh and Jake Hirsch-Allen (co-presidents), Amy McCulloch (Web master) and Ryan Maclean (communications director). Bottom Row, left to right Astrid Mannheim (treasurer), Jonathan English (Web master) and Melanie Filippopulous (1st year rep). Not pictured: Sadia Rafiquddin (1st year rep).*

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Kumar: making a difference outside the classroom.

Kartick Kumar on Theory and Praxis

Kartick Kumar, a graduating fourth-year student in International Relations and Political Science, has been an energetic and ubiquitous presence around the Munk Centre. He has worked part-time at the Centre for Russian and East European Studies (CREES) for four years, helping to organize distinguished lecture events. But that is only one of his involvements. He's an activist, scholar, athlete and all-around admirable person. Over lunch, Robert Austin, Lecturer and Project Coordinator at CREES, tried to figure out how he does it.

Robert Austin: You never stop. Whether it's your work here at CREES, your academic endeavours, or your extracurricular work with the Cambodian Genocide Group. What keeps you going?

Kartick Kumar: I came here for an education. I do not separate education from action; that is to say, I want to use my education to make a difference in the world. The International Relations Programme teaches students about the world, but it also teaches us ways we can become involved. I picked up on that.

My student colleagues here have a lot of confidence that there are resources out there, whether here at the University, the government, or the private sector, that can be obtained to make a difference outside the classroom.

Austin: Tell me a bit more about the Cambodian Genocide Group that you lead.

Kumar: It started in 2002 as an advocacy group to inform the university community and wider public about what happened in Cambodia between 1975 and 1979. It now has student-run affiliates in Quebec, British Columbia, California and Massachusetts. This year the group has really transformed itself. Our main purpose now is to bring about reconciliation and justice. We are doing this by documenting the stories of genocide survivors who live in Canada and the United States. These people have been left out of the justice process in Cambodia. We document their stories and put them on a digital database. This serves two objectives. One is historical, to ensure that the genocide will not be forgotten. The other is to obtain testimony for potential use in a future Khmer Rouge trial.

Austin: You were in Cambodia last summer. What was your agenda?

Kumar: My agenda was to work with the Documentation Centre of Cambodia researching their methods so that I am able to apply them to our operations in Canada and the United States. I was also there to get a sense of just how the genocide happened. I needed to better understand the ideology that drove events there to such a tragic end.

Austin: What lies in the future for you?

Kumar: This summer, I'm headed to Kenya to begin an eight-month internship with Canadian International Development Agency. Following that, I am going to Cambodia to monitor the start of the genocide trial. Longer term, I plan to pursue a degree in International Human Rights Law, which I will begin in September 2006 at the University of Chicago Law School.

Austin: You were also a Don at St. Michael's College this year. What advice do you have for first-year students who want to make the most of their four years here?

Kumar: Get involved from the start in whatever your passion is. Seek out faculty and take advantage of their knowledge. The Munk Centre is a perfect place to do this, as everyone is right here. It sounds like a cliché, but you really have to make the most of the opportunities afforded here.

Austin: Last question. Who do you most admire in the world?

Kumar: My parents. They have given me so much opportunity. They moved here from Kenya. My father gave up a successful business and my mother a successful career so that we could take advantage of what the West had to offer. I have learned a lot from my parents about sacrifice. They also gave me a strong social conscience. That is what drove me to set up the Cambodian Genocide Group. It also made me get involved with the Refugee Health Project, Doctors Without Borders, Canadian Lawyers for International Human Rights, the Trinity Overseas Development through Education Committee, the G8 Research Group and the Munk Centre's International Development Seminar Series.

Austin: Kartick, many thanks.