

# 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

## THE AFGHAN CRUCIBLE

At Canada's invitation, the Defence Ministers of the largest troop-contributing countries to the NATO mission in southern Afghanistan met in Quebec City in April. Ministers from Australia, Britain, the United States, Denmark, and the Netherlands joined their Canadian colleague to discuss how they can work better together. It was no secret that Canada badly wanted this meeting. Right now, Canadian soldiers run the highest risk of injury and death of any NATO member, even higher than the soldiers of the United States. Canada is the sharp end of NATO's spear in southern Afghanistan and has not taken these kinds of casualties since the Korean War.

The Afghan mission is an unprecedented challenge for NATO, a series of firsts that is straining the alliance. This is NATO's first "out-of-area" mission where troops are operating outside Europe. It is also NATO's largest combat mission; NATO did not have to fight during the long Cold War. NATO is being tested in ways that it never has been; on the line are its capacity to integrate its troops seamlessly in battle, and its members' willingness to share the burden fairly. On both these tests, NATO would get no more than a "C" for its current performance.

No one needs to tell Canadians that the burden of fighting in Afghanistan is not being shared fairly. Canada, along with the United States and Britain, is on the front lines in the southern provinces of Kandahar and Helmand. Germany's troops are stationed in the north and Italy's in the west and neither can move their troops to the embattled south because of "caveats" that they have imposed. Recently, at a summit in Riga, Latvia, members did agree that they would relax these constraints on the movement of their troops if, and only if, the Commander of NATO forces declared an emergency. So far, no such emergency has been declared and these commitments remain untested.

*Continued on page 2*

## Climate Change: No Excuses for Delay

COVER STORY BY STEVEN BERNSTEIN

Canadians may soon face their first federal election fought over the environment. To some, this is long overdue. To others, it's the result of a media frenzy over climate change. Breaking through the mythology, rhetoric, and political gamesmanship will become more, not less, difficult under such circumstances, but is essential if policy-makers are to make the tough choices necessary to seriously address the problem of human-induced changes to our climate.

### Some Myths and Misunderstandings

#### 1. Scientists Disagree about Climate Change.

Two reports just released from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) – a collective of the world's top climate scientists with a



*Anyone got some ice? The effects of climate change are beyond scientific dispute.*

mandate to assess the latest scientific research – should put an end to this argument. They find: "Warming of the climate system is unequivocal, as is now evident from observations of increases in global average air and ocean temperatures, widespread melting of snow and ice, and rising global average sea level." The rate of increase of greenhouse gases in the industrial era is unprecedented in more than 10,000 years, and is "very likely" (i.e., with greater than 90 percent certainty) the result of human activity, mostly the burning of fossil fuels. By 2100, expected increases in average surface temperatures range from 1.1-6.4°C. Although what constitutes "tolerable" climate change is contested, achieving a stabilization target of 2°C above pre-industrial levels would require a 60-80 percent cut in emissions from developed countries by 2050, with a similar abatement path for developing countries in later years. Emissions must peak somewhere *Continued on page 5*

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## EVENTS TO WATCH FOR

MAY 29

*Friends Across the Pacific*  
Canada-Hong Kong Linkages  
in Historical and Contemporary  
Perspectives

SEPTEMBER 4 - DECEMBER 9

*The Virgin, Saints, and Angels*  
South American Paintings 1600-1825  
from the Thoma Collection

OCTOBER 1-10

*Living in Landmines Exhibition*  
Photography by V. Tony Hauser

OCTOBER 11-13

*Theorizing German Suffering*  
Bombings, Rapes and Expulsions



THE LIONEL GELBER  
PRIZE

2007 Lionel Gelber Prize Winner

*The Looming Tower:*  
*Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*  
by Lawrence Wright

For more on this year's winner,  
see page 4.

## FEEDBACK

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A forum to extend and enhance the  
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## THE MUNK CENTRE MONITOR

### VIEW FROM THE DIRECTOR

*Continued from page 1*

The Dutch are stationed next door to Helmand and Kandahar, in Uruzgan province, but they have taken very few casualties in combat. They, unlike many other NATO members, have been willing to help when the going gets tough, but their strategy is different from Canada's. In what the Dutch call their "inkspot" strategy, they work slowly to build up safe areas, gradually build these areas out in ever-larger circles, and go nowhere that they are not invited by village leaders. Because the Dutch do not patrol aggressively, they have taken far fewer casualties but, for the same reason, the Taliban operate with impunity in large swaths of Uruzgan. There is within NATO a growing debate about the relative merits of the Canadian and the Dutch strategies. The Dutch are quite clear: Afghanistan is a project for a generation or more, not a year or two, or three.

The Defence Ministers who came to Quebec City also talked about a subject that is not usually their concern. They worried about the painfully slow process of reconstruction in the southern provinces. NATO members are struggling to integrate reconstruction into their day-by-day work by quickly following up their efforts to clear the Taliban from villages with visible improvements in village infrastructure. There is some real progress. There are now more than 16,000 village councils across Afghanistan that set priorities for reconstruction and development and manage the projects they choose. In a tell-tale sign, these projects are rarely destroyed by the Taliban. But there are still far too few in the south, assistance is too slow in coming, and a growing number of Afghans are displaced by the ongoing fighting. The Defence Ministers want more military trainers to train the notoriously corrupt Afghan National Police.

The NATO that is operating in Afghanistan is not the NATO of 25 years ago. It is no longer deterring, as it claimed it was throughout the long Cold War, it is fighting – and not the kind of battles it trained to fight. It is confronting an insurgency where reconstruction and development matter as much, if not more, than combat operations. Resentment among those who are fighting in the south is growing against fellow NATO members whose forces sit in Afghanistan and watch from afar. No alliance can survive this kind of unfairness for long. Whatever else the mission in Afghanistan is, it is NATO's most serious challenge. How NATO members share the burden will inescapably shape the future of the alliance.

*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).*

*Focus Korea: The Munk Centre for International Studies is home to a new Centre for the Study of Korea (CSK), which will solidify the University's position as a leading source of scholarship on the East Asian nation. The CSK was launched in February by Professor Pekka Sinervo, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science, and Yim Sung-joon, former Ambassador of the Republic of Korea in Ottawa and current President of the Korea Foundation.*

*Funded by a \$200,000 donation from the Korea Foundation, a Seoul-based government foundation, the CSK is a new interdisciplinary initiative under the auspices of the Asian Institute at the Munk Centre. It will develop scholarly collaborations with specialists in Korea, better promote student exchanges between the two countries, and enhance outreach with Toronto's Korean community, the largest in Canada. The CSK is committed to bringing top-notch scholars from research institutions across North America and Asia to deliver their research in a variety of planned seminar series, including one on Critical Korean Studies and another on North Korea.*



*"Stand with us, Canada": Her Excellency Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, President of Liberia and Africa's first female head of state, addressed the University community on March 29 in an event co-sponsored by the Munk Centre. President Sirleaf, shown above with Munk Centre Director Janice Stein, was in Canada to promote foreign aid for Liberia and other politically stable African countries, as well as to urge Canada's support in persuading lending institutions to forgive Liberia's \$4 billion debt. After a life of fighting for freedom, justice and equality, and spending time in jail and exile, President Sirleaf was elected as President in 2005. With peace and stability returning to her country, she is confronting the challenge of reversing decades of social, political, and economic decay.*

### NEED A SOURCE?

*Munk Centre scholars can be contacted for further comment on issues raised in this edition at [munk.centre@utoronto.ca](mailto:munk.centre@utoronto.ca).*

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# CENTRE EVENTS

## MILITARY MANOEUVERINGS: CALMING THE JITTERS OVER JAPAN

**J**apan's role as a world power, past, present, and future, was the focus of several recent Munk Centre events, including a farewell lecture by Japan's Ambassador to Canada, Sadaaki Numata. After 41 years in the foreign service, the retiring Numata told a Munk Centre audience that he has learned that the definition of a diplomat is "someone who jumps into troubled waters without making a splash."

Japan, however, often makes splashes, befitting its position as the world's second largest economic power. When it comes to military matters, a more sensitive subject, especially to Japan's regional neighbours, Numata said his country remains committed to a defensive future and adherence to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. As well, his country has no practical reason to arm itself because it trusts the U.S. will keep its treaty commitments to protect Japan against external threats, particularly against emerging nuclear power North Korea. "But if someone fires missiles over your head, you can't just sit there," Numata added.

Meanwhile, there is a growing movement in Japan to amend its constitution in which "the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation." Proponents for change argue that Japan, at a minimum, should be allowed to participate in collective

self-defence or in internationally sanctioned military actions such as the first Gulf War, which had a tremendous impact on its oil-import dependent economy.

Numata expressed certainty that any future loosening of the constitution's restrictions would not fuel militaristic sentiment. "We have learned that war, exclusiveness, and regional hegemony don't pay," he said.

At a subsequent seminar on Japan's Quest for Normalcy, two Canadian academics agreed that the world, and especially East Asia, has nothing to fear from Japan today. "Stop fretting about Japanese mili-

tarism," chided David Welch, the George Ignatieff Chair in Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Toronto's political science department. "It isn't going to be a problem." For his part, John Meehan, a visiting scholar at the Munk Centre's Asian Institute, argued that Japan could contribute more to international peace and security if it were allowed to become a "normal" country.

Both scholars argued that Japan has learned from its past and could help bring stability to the region. "History matters in East Asia," Meehan said, pointing out that, unlike in post-war Europe, there is no common view of the Second

World War shared by Japan, China, and the Koreans. And while Japan continues to assure the world that it has no intention of returning to its militaristic past, many in East Asia shudder every time a Japanese prime minister visits that country's shrine to dead soldiers. Canada could play a helpful role, he added, by bringing together historians from the region to develop a unified approach to the war.

Welch believes that the rest of the world, especially China and Korea, should "release Japan from probation." Said Welch: "Only then can Japan make a major contribution to the world order – and we in Canada should encourage that."



*Japan Self Defence Forces Exercise: Tanks are mobilized amid explosions as part of a training demonstration exercise of Japan's Ground Self Defence Forces. Though the Japanese Constitution does not allow for use of force, Japan has actually developed a sizable military.*

**"The terrorist threat is a product of the 'anticipation of catastrophe,' rather than the catastrophe itself"**

### Lost and Found: Humanity's Best Hope

**O**ne of Europe's most prominent sociologists recently made a strong argument for "cosmopolitanism" to a full house at the Munk Centre's Vivian and David Campbell Conference Facility. According to German academic Ulrich Beck, cosmopolitanism – which he defines as a belief in shared common moral values that transcend national interests – provides the best hope for humanity's future. Cosmopolitanism, Beck believes, is an opportunity to conquer the political paralysis of today's "world risk society."

World risk society, according to Beck, refers to organizing society in response to manufactured risks, rather than to the real risks themselves. A "picture book" illustration of our world risk society is the

West's current fear of terrorism. "The terrorist threat is a product of the 'anticipation of catastrophe,' rather than the catastrophe itself," Beck told his audience. "This anticipation is so powerful that it allows governments to cut down civil liberties."

Ironically, 9/11 created a cosmopolitan moment, a time when national barriers came down, when nearly all countries rushed to support the United States. Said Beck: "On Sept. 12, French President Jacques Chirac declared, 'We are all Americans,' but that cosmopolitan moment soon passed and the opportunity was lost."

Beck's view is that shared moral values transcend borders, whether they be political, cultural, or societal. Respect for human rights and equality of persons, or even widespread concern about the environment, can provide the basis for a common front

against global challenges.

Climate change, said the University of Munich and London School of Economics and Political Science academic, presents the seeds for another cosmopolitan moment. If scientists are correct in predicting that climate change will lead to the flooding of London, New York, and Tokyo in the next 25 years, Beck argued that we must seek broader, global solutions: "We now need a cosmopolitan *real politik* in pursuit of national interests."

In this way, combatting climate change could become the basis of a new Western political identity. In Beck's world, "Only by inventing transnational institutions that include the 'cultural other' can global problems be solved." In our world risk society, added Beck, "No state, culture, group, or religion can survive on its own."

# CENTRE EVENTS

## THE 2007 GELBER PRIZE WINNER

**L**awrence Wright, the 2007 Lionel Gelber prize winner, captivated an overflow audience at the Munk Centre's Vivian and David Campbell Conference Facility recently with his analysis of al-Qaeda's strengths – and weaknesses. Wright, who won for *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*, his gripping analysis of events leading up to 9/11, provided a fresh perspective on al-Qaeda, arguing that it ultimately “can't win.”

For al-Qaeda, Wright pointed out, Everyone is its enemy. The enemies' list includes “heretics, Jews, Westerners, Russians, Chinese, atheists and hypocrites.” Most of its victims are fellow Muslims, “and Muslims know that.” And it offers nothing to its followers: “Al-Qaeda has no politics, no policies, no vision. It offers only death to young men . . . a suicide mission . . . an opportunity to make history.”

However, Wright's assessment of the futility of al-Qaeda's cause was balanced by his sobering analysis of the underlying alienation and social conditions that motivate its followers. His book is an attempt to understand the militant Islamist mind. In many ways, he says, the young terrorists are “a lot like us.” Studies show they are ambitious, well educated – some in Europe and North America – and *not* the product of religious schools. “So what separates us?” Wright asked.

He offered two answers: displacement and an overwhelming sense of humiliation. According to Wright, 90 percent of terrorists join the cause when they are living in a country away from home and family. These “displaced” people are offered fraternity and companionship, perhaps at a radical mosque, at a time when they are vulnerable.

Sometimes, this marginality extends beyond the first generation. In Britain, recent terrorist plots were carried out by second- and third-generation British citizens of Pakistani descent. “They feel neither British, nor Pakistani,” Wright said. Meanwhile, 50 percent of the prison population in France is Muslim. In contrast, the American melting plot has produced a Muslim population that makes more money, is twice as likely to go to university, and is less likely to go to jail than the general population. Wright, a *New Yorker* staff writer, cited some striking economic indicators that help explain the Muslim world's feeling of humiliation.



From left: Barbara McDougall, Lawrence Wright, Judith Gelber



For example, the Arab world population of 300 million equals America's, but its GDP is less than half the state of California's. “Take away oil, and its exports have less value than Finland's,” Wright pointed out. “Young Arabs have a stark future in these barren economies.”

Wright maintains that the War on Terrorism was essentially won within three months of 9/11, when the invasion of Afghanistan led to the capture or killing of 80 percent of al-Qaeda's members. “But Iraq blew the embers of al-Qaeda back into flames,” he said.

Wright offered a three-part prescription for the U.S. struggle against al-Qaeda and radical Islam. First, fix the intelligence system. “We are terrible at understanding, let alone infiltrating terrorist groups,” he said. According to Wright, there are fewer Arabic speakers in the FBI now than at 9/11, and the U.S. embassy in Baghdad has just six Arab speakers out of 1,000 staff. “We are blindfolded,” he argued.

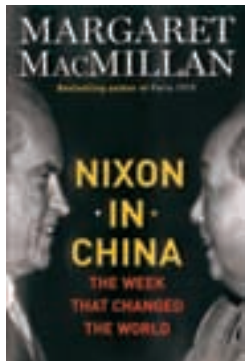
Second, “We [the U.S.] desperately need allies. Even our long-time allies are not really with us.” And, finally, we must try to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. “If it were solved tomorrow, Osama would be heartbroken,” Wright said.

The \$15,000 Gelber Prize is presented each year to the best book written in English on international affairs. It was established by distinguished diplomat and author Lionel Gelber in 1989 and is sponsored by the Gelber Foundation in partnership with the Munk Centre and *Foreign Policy* magazine in Washington. Judith Gelber, chair of the Lionel Gelber Prize Board and niece of Lionel Gelber, said Wright's “hugely compelling” work epitomized the ideals of the prize.

Barbara McDougall, the former minister of external affairs who chaired the 17th annual Gelber Prize jury, told the audience that Wright's account is “woven so beautifully that I could not put it down.” The Director of the Munk Centre, Janice Stein, thanked the Gelber family for the “prize that continues to give to the Centre, to the country, and to the international community.”

The ceremonies and Wright's speech were webcast live and can be viewed at the Munk Centre's home page, <http://www.utoronto.ca/mcis>.

## THE 2007 GELBER PRIZE FINALISTS

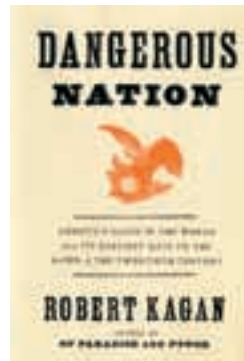


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Viking Canada



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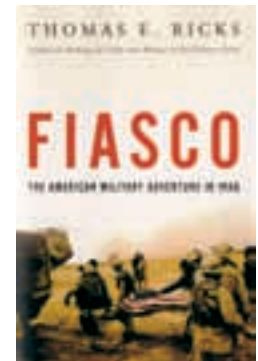


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The Penguin Press

## CLIMATE CHANGE: NO EXCUSES FOR DELAY

*Continued from page 1*

between 2010 and 2020 to achieve this trajectory. As the scientific debate shifts from if to how much, when, and with what exact consequences in different regions, research is increasingly focused on consequences for human health, conflict, food security, and population displacement. In a climate of uncertainty, however, policy-makers are falling back on old, inappropriate policy paradigms, rooted in cost-benefit analysis.

### 2. Mitigation Costs Too Much.

Climate science skeptics may be “out,” but skeptical economists are “in.” They question whether we should spend money now given uncertain costs to future generations. Their argument is really about the proper “social discount rate,” a tool economists use for cost-benefit analyses of public policies that do not have direct economic indicators. In effect, it discounts the welfare of future generations in today’s dollars, reasoning that a dollar spent or invested today is worth more (i.e., it will be more productive and/or have a higher value to people) than that same dollar if spent in the future.

Using this logic, for example, many economists criticized an influential 2006 UK government-sponsored report by former World Bank chief economist Nicholas Stern for setting the discount rate close to zero. They dismissed Stern’s findings that delaying action will raise the costs from about 1 percent per year of the global GDP today to anywhere from 5-20 percent by 2050 because of climate-induced damage (e.g., declining agricultural production, heat waves, droughts, flooding, extreme storms, biodiversity loss, and disease spread). They argued that the low discount rate exaggerated the economic costs of inaction. The critics may be right about Stern’s manipulation of economic principles, but are they wrong, more broadly, about climate policy for three reasons.

First, there are good reasons to wonder whether any social discount rate can adjust sufficiently for the possibility of irreversible, but preventable, harm. As a lead author of an early IPCC report once commented to me to illustrate the point, using the example of a small island state, “if [the population is] going to be flooded, then that makes it difficult to sustain development.” Economic assumptions, whether about development or discount rates, can be of little use in the face of an urgent need to prevent calamity. Second, people have a tendency, as behavioural economists have noted, to engage in “hyperbolic discounting” – beyond what even the discount rate dictates is rational in

economic terms. But the same research shows that people aware of this tendency can counteract it. A reformed smoker, for instance, may pay someone on Monday to hide her cigarettes on Thursday. Economic skeptics, therefore, underestimate the public’s willingness to support governments in institutionalizing policies that impose constraints on future consumption (i.e., emissions). Finally, the discount rate is simply an inappropriate tool on which to base judgments about values, risk tolerance, and the insurance we’re willing to pay to avoid potential catastrophic harms. Many economists who are critical of Stern’s analysis recognize the limitations of discount rates and are sympathetic to his recommendations. For example, William Nordhaus, who publicly debated Stern last fall, put it this way: “Why not simply adopt policies

begin emission reductions; second, the combination of an unusually warm fall and the surprising effectiveness of Al Gore’s *Inconvenient Truth*; and, third, in Canada, the surprise election of Stéphane Dion as Liberal leader, who made climate policy a centerpiece of his campaign. Still, current media bandwagoning is worrisome. It can produce backlash and policy fatigue.

### Ottawa’s Missteps

Unfortunately, climate policy in Canada has been shaped by all three myths. Today, for example, we have a government that suddenly, faced with unprecedented media attention, has attempted to repackage Liberal climate policies that it once helped to defeat. It is possible that if the media loses interest, any new plan will be shelved when an election is called.



*Air pollution from a coal-fired power plant in Germany: Effective action will impose economic costs.*

that will directly keep climate change below the dangerous threshold? Limiting climate change directly is more efficient as well as more transparent.”

### 3. Concern with Climate Change Is Media Driven.

The North American media is playing catch up to climate science and policy. It largely missed a growing list of news alerts: the mounting scientific evidence; the significance of the Kyoto Protocol’s historic commitment to shift the trajectory of industrial economies; major policy interventions, including the European Trading Scheme that creates a massive carbon market; and hundreds of smaller initiatives in the industrialized and developing worlds, including the United States. Three other factors, somewhat more arbitrary, are now focusing attention: first, the impending first commitment period of Kyoto (2008-2012) – when industrialized countries are obligated to

The underlying problem, however, is that earlier plans suffered from the unwillingness to impose costs today to prevent greater damage tomorrow. This approach is not especially Canadian: the 1992 UN Framework Convention on Climate Change explicitly recognizes “the need to maintain strong and sustainable economic growth” as part of its mandate. Similarly, the 1997 Kyoto Protocol links quantitative reductions or limits in greenhouse gas emissions in developed countries to market mechanisms that involve transferring “credits” for emissions to help countries meet their targets. The goal is the same – to preserve economic growth by reducing emissions where it is cheapest to do so and encourage foreign investment in climate-friendly technology.

The irony is that the Harper government has undermined the possibility of at least a modest “win-win” on the global scale by its commitment to a “made in Canada” policy that makes

it impossible to achieve international efficiencies through the Kyoto mechanisms. More importantly, Canadian policies based on these principles – largely voluntary with a few subsidies and economic incentives packaged in – have failed. Canadian emissions have continued along the same upward trajectory despite four federal government plans since the mid-1990s.

Given the short time frames (10-15 years) to shift emission trajectories, we will now face a more serious debate about trade-offs and values. While “win-win” options may still be available, not all good things – short-term economic growth, low costs, and a stable environment – will go together. No one expects a government to commit economic or political suicide. However, governments have done little to prepare the public for the necessary choices for effective action, or to design policies that could ratchet up over time. Fortunately, others are doing just that. For example, Mark Jaccard, a professor of resource and environmental management, has proposed a schedule of gradually more intensive policies that range from a carbon tax (the toughest politically, but the most effective in other jurisdictions) to regulations for fuel efficiency, small appliances, and buildings. Many have also proposed the creation of carbon markets with cap and trade systems for the fossil fuel industry, which could encourage the use of new carbon capture and storage technologies and investments in alternative energy sources. These policies are not necessarily new, but thinking about how to implement some policies now that will create their own momentum for future reductions is the key to policy success. The good news is that in the long run, such actions are likely to have major payoffs and will help reduce adaptation costs, some of which are already inevitable.

While action is necessary at home, a totally “made in Canada” policy is not possible. A long-term, effective strategy must include assistance and incentives to developing countries. A workable international framework, like the Kyoto Protocol or a successor agreement, would be helpful in providing these kinds of opportunities and incentives.

In Ottawa these days, one popular line of thinking is that Canada is in Afghanistan to regain its international standing and prove its mettle. Taking back its traditional leadership on climate change would do even more for Canada, have a better chance of success, and is more likely to be remembered for generations to come.

*Steven Bernstein is Acting Director, Centre for International Studies at the Munk Centre.*

## EUROPE HITS MIDDLE AGE – CAN IT FIND ITS VOICE?



**Jeffrey Kopstein**  
 Director of the Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (CERES) at the Munk Centre for International Studies.

**F**ifty may be the new 30 but the European Union is showing signs of a mid-life crisis. In March the EU celebrated the 50th anniversary of its founding agreement – the Treaty of Rome – but Europeans remain deeply divided about what the EU is, who should be let in, and what Europe’s role in the world should be. With Turkey knocking on the door for membership, and Russia showing a new assertiveness on the European stage, resolving these disputes takes on a sense of urgency. How EU members do so will determine Europe’s fate for the next half century.

In the face of its current conundrums, Europe can ease its mid-life angst with reflections on past accomplishments. It is important to recall that the Treaty of Rome was preceded by an earlier attempt at a coal and steel union, which tells us a great deal about its purpose. After World War II, the political leadership of France, Germany, and the other countries of Europe understood that any durable peace required pooling their ability to manufacture the implements of war.

Yet, partial integration was not enough. Integration in one area quickly spilt over into others, pushing Germany, France, and the rest of Europe toward much deeper economic and political cooperation. The end result is impressive by any standard: a European block with a single currency that is rich and at peace. Young people now travel effortlessly from Spain to Slovenia without ever noticing a border and senior citizens from England retire in France or Portugal, receiving their pension checks by local post and health care from local doctors without thinking twice.

Beyond peace between Germany and France, perhaps Europe’s biggest success has been in taking poor or authoritarian states and helping them become rich democracies. Ireland, which joined Europe in 1973 as an economic basket case, is now known as the Celtic tiger. Spain and Portugal, which entered in 1986 as wobbly post-fascist democracies with third-world economies, are now the California and Oregon of Europe. And who would have thought that Belgian and German economists would envy Poland and Estonia for their economic flexibility?

Despite these successes, with middle age the EU is facing new and daunting challenges, some of which do not appear to have easy solutions.

First is the question of legitimacy. From the outset, European integration has been an elite-driven project, negotiated by diplomats in treaty language impenetrable even to trained lawyers. As long as the EU did not appear to affect the lives of ordinary Europeans, nobody cared. But with regulations pouring out of Brussels on everything from domestic security to the transportation of geese, Europeans have begun to push back and ask, “What is the EU?” Some Europeans see it primarily as a free-trade zone of sovereign states. Others consider it a new kind of federal state. The bureaucrats in Brussels carefully tiptoe around this question, but the failure of the European constitution in referenda in France and the Netherlands in 2005 signaled that the gap between European institutions and the citizenry is now dangerously large. In the run up to the 50th anniversary celebration, leading European philosopher Jürgen Habermas called for the creation of a directly elected EU president and foreign minister, a good idea but one that will probably go nowhere.

Europe’s leaders have become convinced that the EU had grown too large and too fast. Bulgaria and Romania barely made it in at the beginning of this year, and although negotiations on Turkey’s admission formally continue, actually letting it in will require a sea change in public opinion, especially in a country such as France where a referendum on the matter will be held. Yet, Europe’s political elites have refused to do the necessary spadework of preparing public opinion for Turkish membership. Instead, they remain inward looking, uncomfortable with multiculturalism, and always worried about the next domestic election. In doing so, they fail to consider the broader implications of refusing Turkey altogether. If left out, Turkey will pursue its own security agenda and, in the context of Iran’s nuclear ambitions, that can only mean developing its own nuclear program. Who could blame them?

Another good reason for Europe to move beyond introspection is Russia, for two reasons: Russia’s importance to the EU as an energy supplier and President Putin’s new assertiveness on the European stage. Examples include his hawkish speech to the Munich security conference in February and his Defence Minister’s threatening words against Poland and the Czech Republic

should they take part in U.S.-led missile defence. It would have been logical for the Europeans to address Russia with a single voice. But the Russians have played the Europeans off against each other beautifully. On energy, the underwater Baltic pipeline will connect Russia directly with the large market in Germany and France, while bypassing (and antagonizing) Poland and Lithuania. So far at least, the EU has not devised any effective energy policy that would respond to Russia’s demonstrated willingness to use its energy resources for political ends. On missile defence, France and Germany have quietly sided with Russia.

What are Putin’s intentions? Doubling the price for natural gas paid by Ukrainians and quadrupling it for Belarussians is unlikely to create warm and fuzzy feelings toward Russia in either country, suggesting that Putin is not trying to rebuild the Soviet Union. Instead, Russia’s energy policy is designed to reassert Russia’s place on the continent, something that is bound to make the new EU member states even more nervous than they already are. Just why Putin is doing this remains unclear, but his goal may be as simple as finding Russia a way into the EU’s energy markets beyond its role as a supplier of crude oil and gas. Whatever Russia’s intentions, the EU has to date failed to devise a coherent response.

In fact, on the broader stage, the EU’s complete inability to engage geopolitics is probably its most serious problem. Defending the EU’s most basic interests will one day require the use of force and that is something the EU refuses to consider. The EU’s basic security documents require any military operation to win the approval of the UN Security Council, effectively yielding to China a veto over EU foreign policy. As long as the EU possesses neither the ability nor the collective will to use hard power, it will not be taken as seriously as it merits on the international stage.

Fifty years after its “founding,” Europe needs to reengage geopolitics. But thinking geopolitically will require some sort of compelling vision for Europe’s purpose that exceeds its original mandate to secure peace in Europe. Ironically, what Europe looks like 50 years from now will depend upon the power of the European imagination to think beyond its own borders.

# CENTRE BOOKS

## RECENT BOOKS BY MUNK CENTRE SCHOLARS



Steven Bernstein and Louis W. Pauly, eds.  
*Global Liberalism and Political Order: Toward a New Grand Compromise?*  
SUNY Press, 2007

Many years ago, John Gerard Ruggie coined the phrase “embedded liberalism” to describe the grand post-1945 political compromise between free-market liberalism and domestic political interventionism that stabilized the multilateral economic order. In *Global Liberalism and Political Order*, leading scholars of political economy and international relations assess the challenges facing today’s increasingly interdependent world as globalization redefines the old political order, and address the unraveling and/or reinvention of a grand compromise in global governance from a variety of theoretical perspectives.



Tania Murray Li  
*The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics*  
Duke University Press 2007

*The Will to Improve* is an account of development in action. Focusing on attempts to improve livelihoods in Indonesia, the author looks at the practices that enable experts to diagnose problems and devise interventions, and the agency of people whose conduct is targeted for reform. She examines donor-funded initiatives that seek to integrate conservation with development through the participation of communities, and a program designed by the World Bank to optimize the social capital of villagers.



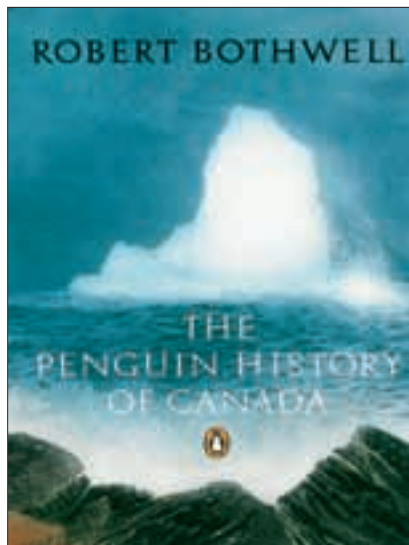
John Kirton and Peter Hajnal, eds.  
*Sustainability, Civil Society and International Governance: Local, North American and Global Contributions*  
Ashgate, 2006

Contributors to this volume examine the many new processes of civil society engagement that have been introduced at the local, regional, and global levels. Assessing what more can be done to strengthen the productive partnerships between civil society and global governance, the authors draw on the extensive inventory of existing practices and community-based alternatives to demonstrate how particular mechanisms for civil society participation in global governance have enhanced or impeded the economic, environmental, and political outcomes that many seek to achieve.



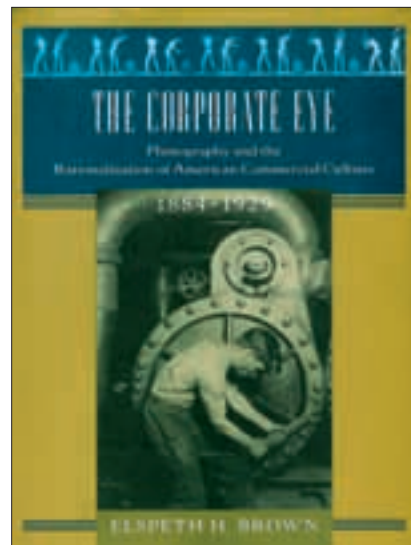
Susan Gross Solomon, ed.  
*Doing Medicine Together: Germany and Russia Between the Wars*  
University of Toronto Press, 2006

Of the many interwar connections between Germany and Russia, one of the most unusual – and least explored – is medicine and public health. Between 1922 and 1932, with high-level political support and government funding, Soviet and German physicians and public health specialists collaborated in joint research expeditions, published joint articles, launched a bilingual journal, and established joint research institutions. Drawing on previously inaccessible archival materials, the authors move beyond politics to examine the impact of this collaboration on scientific activity.



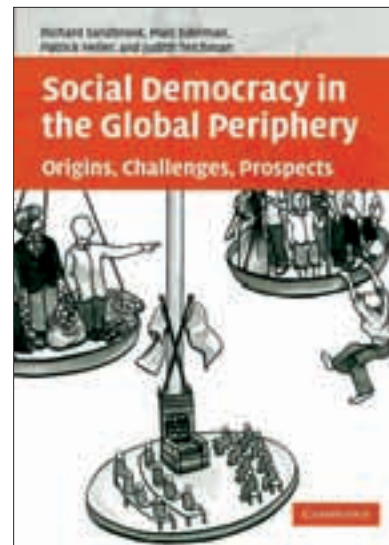
Robert Bothwell  
*The Penguin History of Canada*  
Penguin Canada 2006

Painting an expansive portrait of a dynamic and complex country, *The Penguin History of Canada* traces the development of Canada from prehistoric times through to the election of Stephen Harper in 2006. It places Canada in an international context – economic, political, social, and intellectual – noting the parallels between events in Canada and those elsewhere. An uneasy and difficult country, Canada has nevertheless defied the odds: it remains, in the twenty-first century, a haven of peace and a beacon of prosperity.



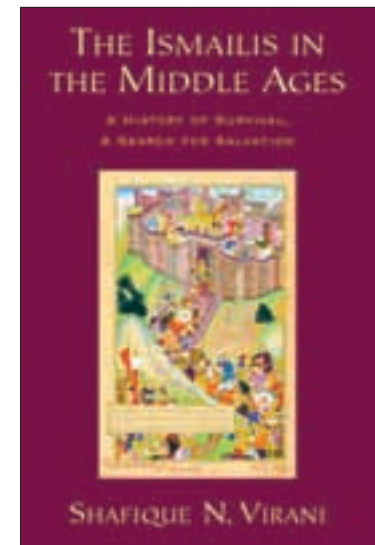
Elspeth H. Brown  
*The Corporate Eye: Photography and the Rationalization of American Commercial Culture, 1884–1929*  
The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005  
Winner of the Business, Management and Accounting Award in Professional and Scholarly Publishing given by the Association of American Publishers.

In the late nineteenth century, corporate managers began to rely on photography for everything from motion studies to employee selection to advertising. This practice gave rise to many features of modern industry familiar to us today: consulting, “scientific” approaches to business practice, illustrated advertising, and the use of applied psychology. The author examines the intersection of photography as a mass technology with corporate concerns about efficiency in the Progressive period.



Richard Sandbrook, Marc Edelman, Patrick Heller, and Judith Teichman  
*Social Democracy in the Global Periphery: Origins, Challenges, Prospects*  
Cambridge University Press, 2007

*Social Democracy in the Global Periphery* focuses on social-democratic regimes in the developing world that have, to varying degrees, reconciled the needs of achieving growth through globalized markets with extensions of political, social, and economic rights. Based on comparative analysis of Kerala (India), Costa Rica, Mauritius, and Chile (since 1990), the authors show that opportunities exist to achieve significant social progress, despite a global economic order that favours core industrial countries.



Shafiqe N. Virani  
*The Ismailis in the Middle Ages: A History of Survival, A Search for Salvation*  
Oxford University Press, 2007

Drawing on a wide array of sources gathered from many countries around the globe, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages* explores one of the most intellectually and politically significant Muslim communities of medieval Islamdom. In probing the period from the dark days when the Ismaili fortresses in Iran fell before the marauding Mongol hordes, to the emergence at Anjudan of the Ismaili Imams who provided a spiritual centre to a scattered community, this work explores the motivations, passions, and presumptions of historical actors.

## MAKING THE WORLD A CLASSROOM

**S**tudents are engaging with the world outside the classroom and gaining practical, on-the-ground international experience through several initiatives at the Munk Centre. Whether it be through foreign adventures organized by the Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (CERES), the Asian Institute's new online community, or international conferences, students are making international connections that open new vistas and prepare them for future careers.



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### Asia Online

U of T President David Naylor (second from left in photo) and Vice Dean Meric Gertler recently helped launch an exciting new student online initiative called the Asia Pacific Reader (APR). Built by three Master's students at the Munk Centre's Asian Institute, Jay Qin, Adam Linthwaite, and Judy Seto, the APR has been setup to facilitate the exchange of knowledge and debate on issues facing contemporary Asia.



### Dateline Montenegro

A team of students headed to newly independent Montenegro this school year as part of a CERES program called Students for Development. Their mission: to meet with students and young journalists at the University of Montenegro to help develop and streamline that university's student government process.



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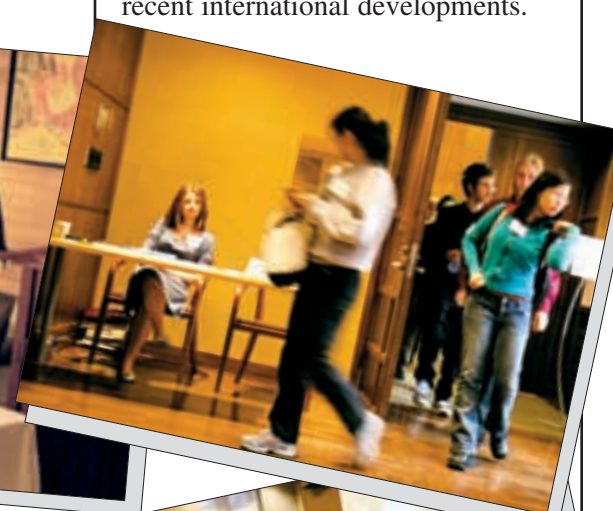
### Kosovo as a Classroom

Ten students travelled to Kosovo in February on the eve of international deliberations to determine the final status of its bid for statehood. Students gained a real-life understanding of Kosovo's political, economic, and social challenges.

© Brent Lewin

### Global Gathering

At a graduate student conference co-sponsored by the World Bank and the Munk Centre, panelists from around the globe discussed alternative approaches to development in Asia within the context of recent international developments.



### Pipelines of Power

The sixth annual CERES international graduate student conference provided students with an opportunity to share research and viewpoints on a very timely issue. "Pipelines of Power: Energy, EU, and Eurasia" examined the political, economic, social, and environmental questions surrounding the issue of energy in Europe and Eurasia.

