

MUNK CENTRE MONITOR

IEWS, NEWS, PEOPLE AND EVENTS FROM THE MUNK CENTRE

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

MUNK CENTRE
FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

AT TRINITY COLLEGE



VIEW FROM THE DIRECTOR

JANICE GROSS STEIN

Identity and Globalization

In the face of the most severe recession in living memory, globalization is in retreat. At least for the moment, world trade has shrunk, exports have declined, and global credit markets have contracted. Loans were “securitized,” and the distance grew between lenders and borrowers, who no longer knew one another. It was this fading of identity that created the conditions for the bubble in real estate and the credit markets. At the core of the “Great Recession” is a crisis of identity.

But scholars at the Munk Centre are thinking forward, beyond the puncturing of the bubbles and the shrinking of global markets to new ways of protecting identity. The Citizen Lab at the Munk Centre is shining a spotlight on the dark side of globalization, on the deviant activities that the connectivity of the global communication structure makes possible. Margaret Atwood came to the Munk Centre to speak about the bright side of globalization, about the kinds of innovation global society will need as it emerges from recession and works toward a sustainable future of regrowth. And David Wolfe, Co-Director of the Program on Globalization and Regional Innovation Systems at the Munk Centre, writes about the importance of place in innovation.

Ron Deibert and his colleagues at the Citizen Lab captured worldwide attention when they released their discovery that a server located on a remote island in China had penetrated government institutions around the world and was monitoring email traffic and confidential communication. Those who perpetrated the “cybercrime” were able to turn on cameras in the compromised computers without the knowledge of the owners and “watch” as well as “listen” to the traffic.

What the Citizen Lab discovered through its innovative technology is indeed the dark side of globalization. Privacy can be invaded, confidentiality can be compromised, and identity can be stolen through the same processes of communication that enable connectivity and globalization. The World Wide Web that simultaneously

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Technology and Globalization

COVER STORY BY MARGARET ATWOOD

Recently, as a fundraiser for a magazine called *The Walrus*, I wrote out five areas of prediction, rolled the pages up, sealed them with sealing wax, and put them into a crystal ball. The predictions were auctioned off, fetching a pleasing \$8,000.

The crystal ball/ball was an allusion to my supposed clairvoyance, which had enabled me to publish a book called *PAYBACK: Debt and the Shadow Side of Wealth* at the exact moment that the fallout from the Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae mortgage meltdown was causing havoc in the world’s financial markets. “How did you know?” people began asking, while at the same time requesting investment tips and market clues. When would the worst be over? What would come next? Was there hope?



While Atwood disavows her clairvoyant powers, she agrees with the observation: “coming events cast their shadows before.”

I disavow any clairvoyant powers. I’m not the one in my family who sees ghosts. I don’t have winning gambling streaks. I simply believe with the poet Thomas Campbell that “coming events cast their shadows before.” The Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac disaster was visible in the distance some time previously, just as a tidal wave can be predicted by a suddenly very wide beach covered with gasping fish. It wasn’t a case of “whether,” but of “when.” That I happened to hit the very large nail so exactly with my insignificant little hammer was a case of dumb luck, not clairvoyance.

The subprime mortgage craze was not alone in its actions-have-consequences effects. As early as 2003, just before the onset of the Iraq war—in a piece written for *The Nation*, called “Letter to America”—I’d wagged my premonitory finger at the possibility of a great big black hole of war debt, a hole that duly appeared. The United States has not been the first country to come to grief over excessive military expenses. That I knew this came not from clairvoyance but from my long-standing interest in military history and its effects on the life of nations. It was the same interest that led to *The Handmaid’s Tale*, largely assumed to be feminist in nature, but in fact a study of the form a dictatorship would likely take, should one arise in the United States. The basics of dictatorships don’t vary a lot, it seems; and they almost always include reproductive dictatorship of one kind or another. (More babies, fewer babies, who must have or



Margaret Atwood
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Cyberwarriors: Villeneuve (left), Walton, and Deibert

The Dark Side of Globalization

When Ron Deibert decided the Munk Centre’s Citizen Lab was ready to reveal its explosive discovery of a malicious cyberspy network, he contacted a reporter-friend at *The New York Times*. John Markoff, the newspaper’s senior technology reporter, broke the news in a front-page story on March 29, setting off a frenzy of news coverage worldwide. Says Deibert: “We knew this was a significant story, but we had no idea it was this big. On Monday morning, it was the biggest story anywhere in the world.”

Camera crews and reporters descended on the Munk Centre to interview Professor Deibert, Director of the Citizen Lab, and fellow researchers Nart Villeneuve and Greg Walton from the Citizen Lab, and Rafal Rohozinski from SecDev Group, an Ottawa-based consultancy. The team members related how, after a 10-month investigation, they had identified a cybernetwork of more than 1,200 infected computers in 103

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CITIZEN LAB RESEARCH SPARKS GLOBAL COVERAGE

VIEW FROM THE DIRECTOR

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allows us to shrink distance and to speed up communication also enables sophisticated cybercrime.

Deibert and his colleagues argue that the freedom of the Web must be defended against cybercriminals, that we must begin to think hard about a new “arms control” regime for cyberspace. Just as governments protect the privacy of citizens in other areas of their lives, so governments must put in place new policies and procedures to protect themselves and their citizens in cyberspace. Canada could mobilize other like-minded countries committed to freedom of speech and to the privacy of their citizens to press for a new arms control regime.

Margaret Atwood writes eloquently in this issue about the need for innovation that can sustain our economy and society when we emerge from the global recession. Long-distance shipping of food, for example, which leaves a large carbon footprint, makes little sense in a world that should be focused on sustainability. Technologies that shrink distance, that make travel less necessary, will become more important as sustainability becomes important. The “long pen,” which Margaret Atwood has championed, does precisely that. In an anonymous world, where identity can easily be compromised—as the Citizen Lab demonstrated so brilliantly—the LongPen transmits the unique signature of each individual across distance. The theft of identity, the compromise of who we are, is what is most at risk as globalization accelerates and deepens. The LongPen exemplifies the kind of innovation that we need to protect identity in a tightly connected sustainable society and economy.

David Wolfe, reporting on a decade of research, writes about the importance of clusters in the dynamic of innovation. Innovative firms tend to be located in close proximity to one another, he argues, clustered together. Even as globalization deepened, the “local” grew as an important site for innovation. Where we are and who we are matters.

There is much to learn from the history of the last several years. Historians, economists, and regulators will be pouring over the books to design the regulations that will prevent this kind of crisis from happening again. That certainly is important work. But it is only part of the challenge. Ron Deibert at the Citizen Lab, Margaret Atwood, and David Wolfe are each pointing the way forward. Building the sustainable economy of the future will require technological and social innovation to safeguard identity as technology and financial instruments become increasingly sophisticated.

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. Professor Stein is the coauthor of We All Lost the Cold War (1994), The Cult of Efficiency (2001), and The Unexpected War: Canada in Kandahar (2007).



Spotlight on Citizen Lab: camera crews and reporters descended on the Munk Centre for the GhostNet news conference.

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countries worldwide. Almost all of the network’s control servers were tracked to China. “High-value targets” included Indonesia’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Indian Embassy in Kuwait, and a NATO computer. Other targets included a dozen infected computers traced to Canada.

The investigation began after the Citizen Lab was invited by the Dalai Lama to determine whether the computer system at his headquarters was compromised. Walton determined that it was infected with so-called “malware” that allowed a mysterious outside entity to not only spy on the computer, but also extract data from it. Researchers watched someone, somewhere, extract a copy of a document detailing the negotiating positions of the Dalai Lama’s envoy. “What we were witnessing was an international crime taking place,” Deibert told *The Globe and Mail*.

With the activity recorded, in some 1.2-gigabytes of raw data, the team began investigative work in Toronto. The researchers knew there was a backbone behind the malicious software on the Dalai Lama’s office computers, but they couldn’t pinpoint it. In March, Villeneuve came across a line of code that appeared to begin with numbers

that signified a date. He put the code in Google and was led to a U.S.-based server, then to three more in China.

The Implications

While the Chinese government was quick to brand suggestions of a Chinese spy ring as a pack of lies, Deibert is careful not to allege that the Chinese government is behind the cyberspy network, saying he simply does not have hard evidence to support that conclusion. It could also be the work of so-called “patriotic hackers” in China.

Six years ago, Deibert wrote a *Globe and Mail* column on the challenges to Internet freedom in which he asked, “Has the time come for cyber-arms control?” Reluctantly, he now says the answer is definitely yes.

Canada can take a leadership role in this new area of arms control, according to Deibert and his fellow researchers. This is a natural role for Canada, he says, because of its past leadership in arms control and historical experience with telecommunications. For its part, the Munk Centre is already on the cutting edge of this emerging field, both in technological terms and in theorizing about how these technological impact on world politics.

Concludes Deibert: “Cyberspace

has become an object of geopolitical contestations among states and non-state actors. Tools to do harm can be downloaded for free and used by anyone. We need to rein this in without unduly restricting the freedom of the Internet.” He adds: “The Internet is both a wonderful and frightening thing.”

The press conference is available at <http://hosting.epresence.tv/munk>

The GhostNet report is available at <http://www.infowar-monitor.net/ghostnet>

This Just In....

Right on the heels of their GhostNet discovery, Ron Deibert and his team at Citizen Lab won a prestigious British award for promoting international freedom of expression through a revolutionary Internet software program, called psiphon. The program, which allows Internet access in countries where censorship is imposed, garnered The Economist New Media Award at the Index on Censorship Press Freedom Awards in London. Judges lauded the program, which turns a regular home computer into a personal, encrypted server, capable of retrieving and displaying Web pages anywhere.

NEED A SOURCE?

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

Commentators in this issue:

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CENTRE EVENTS

THE 2009 GELBER PRIZE WINNER: A CHOICE OF ENEMIES

A packed audience was on hand at the Munk Centre on March 31 for the presentation of the 19th annual Gelber Prize, awarded for the year's best book on international affairs. The 2009 prize was presented to Professor Sir Lawrence Freedman for *A Choice of Enemies: America Confronts the Middle East*, which the Gelber Prize jury selected unanimously as the winner from about 120 entries and five finalists.

The evening's host, Janice Gross Stein, Director of the Munk Centre, described the winning book as a wonderful read. "The prose is sharp and lucid but the thinking behind it is deep." Noah Rubin, chair of the Lionel Gelber Prize Board, said: "If you were to select only one book to understand the turmoil and confusion of events in the Middle East over the past 30 years, this is a perfect choice."

In *A Choice of Enemies*, Freedman, a Professor of War Studies at King's College, London and a distinguished military historian, provides a sweeping narrative of the last three decades of U.S. foreign policy and contemporary history in the Middle East. The book provides fresh insight into the complexity and motivations of U.S. foreign policy choices—and missed opportunities—for a succession of presidents as they coped with events in the region, from Iran and Afghanistan to Lebanon, Iraq, and Israel. The *Financial Times* has described the book as "a linked narrative of all the problems confronting the U.S." that gives "an unrivalled sense of all the pressures and trade-offs facing American Presidents."

Commenting on the book's title, Freedman said: "I was struck by how the United States had managed to find itself in conflict at the same time with Iraq, Iran, and al Qaeda, all of which were antagonistic to one another. The more I looked back over the three decades the more appropriate the title seemed."

Freedman's book supplies a context to recent events and warns against easy assumptions: neoconservatives, supporters of Israel, and the hawks are not the only or the principal reasons for the failure to develop a viable foreign policy in the Middle East. Decisions were made amidst a complexity of considerations. "The United States has had to choose whom to oppose and whom to support, and then how, with what conditions, and to what degree, to oppose and to support. Such fateful commitments could depend on quite singular combinations of circumstances."

In his lecture, Freedman drew insights from the book to provide a context for present policy. The three-decade period, he noted was characterized by "a constant surge for a reasonable regional order," which was not realized. One reason: the region's "tendency to fragmentation, and a lack of deep economic relationships between



Noah Rubin (left) presents the prize to Freedman.



states" that could offset it.

The U.S. has made mistakes, he said, but it is not the only power to do so, adding "The Middle East is the graveyard of foreign policy." As for U.S. missteps, Freedman noted that when the Bush administration included Iran in the "axis of evil" after much equivocation, another viable option was closed—a policy of encouraging the growing counterrevolutionary forces in the country.

The U.S. is hampered in the region, he said, because it is "an external power, whose motives are suspect and has a reputation for a short attention span." For the U.S. and other major powers, "The Middle East has pushed to the fore the inherent tension in foreign policy—the tension between staying true to principles while at the same time dealing with regional and local complexities." In that regard, U.S. policy has been "hindered by a tendency of presidents to cast issues in terms of good and evil." In Washington, he writes, "Justifications

for action tend to be stated starkly and urgently. The malign and dangerous features of enemies tend to be talked up, as do the exemplary and deserving qualities of friends... Washington politics is intolerant of nuance and ambiguity."

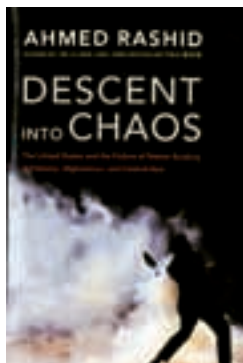
As a result, "A conversation with the United States is presented as a major prize in itself, something for which the other side should be prepared to pay a heavy political price." Better to keep lines of communication open. "A conversation with Iran, to take an obvious instance, may end in bad temper, but until it is tried it is hard to know. The key point is to reduce the symbolic significance of the fact of conversation and present it as no more than normal diplomacy."

On an encouraging note, Freedman observed that the Obama administration has begun diplomatic contacts with both Iran and Syria.

In Freedman's view: "For Americans, the challenge is to revive their diplomatic skills, learning how to work with the local political grain without losing a sense of purpose and principle, pushing parties to cooperation, supporting social and economic along with political reform, and encouraging a positive engagement with the rest of the world."

The Gelber Prize was founded in 1989 by diplomat and historian Lionel Gelber and is presented annually by the Gelber Foundation in partnership with the Munk Centre and *Foreign Policy* magazine. *The Economist* magazine has described the Gelber Prize as the world's most important award for non-fiction.

THE 2009 GELBER PRIZE FINALISTS



DESCENT INTO CHAOS
The United States and the Failure of Nation Building in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia

Ahmed Rashid

With an extraordinarily intimate understanding of regional politics, Ahmed Rashid exposes the miscalculations, dissimulations, and failures of will that are brewing further instability in a volatile part of the world.

Viking

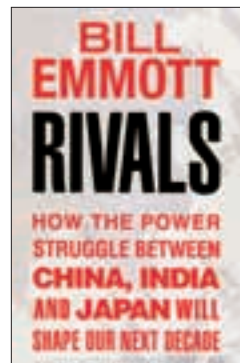


THE POST-AMERICAN WORLD

Fareed Zakaria

Fareed Zakaria lucidly argues that the era of the American hegemonic superpower is over, but the stage is set for a reinvigorated United States to play a more creative role in a competitive world of newly rising powers.

W.W. Norton



RIVALS
How the Power Struggle Between China, India and Japan Will Shape Our Next Decade

Bill Emmott

A clear-eyed, provocative look at the three rising economic and political powers of Asia and the balance of power that could make their continued rise a source of good – or ill – in the immediate future.

Harcourt



McMAFIA
A Journey Through the Global Criminal Underworld

Misha Glenny

Journalist Misha Glenny creates a sharply reported, finely drawn tour of the new centres of the criminal trade in weapons, drugs, women, and illicit cash, which offer daunting challenges to human rights and international stability.

Knopf

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION IN A GLOBAL ERA



David A. Wolfe
 Co-Director, Program on
 Globalization and Regional Innovation
 Systems at the Munk Centre and
 CIBC Scholar in Residence for
 2008–2009 at the Conference Board
 of Canada

The increasing salience of knowledge and innovation in the global economy is focusing attention on the innovative capacity of national economies. Whether they are left behind, or prosper by developing and enhancing that capacity, is a pivotal challenge of the 21st century. Innovation and technical progress are generated by a complex set of structures that produce, distribute, and apply various kinds of knowledge. The degree of complementarity or fit between the various institutions that perform this role—whether corporations, universities, or governments—is central, as is the effectiveness with which they respond to rapid technological changes around the globe.

The extent of this challenge is accentuated by the combined effects of globalization and rapid technological change in the world economy. The trend towards globalization and the ease with which data and information is transmitted among firms has fostered the view that national and regional differences account for little in the emerging information technology paradigm—popularized by the former editor of *The Economist* in the familiar phrase about the “death of distance.”

The extent and nature of globalization can be gauged in several ways. One dimension refers to the growing integration of markets and production strategies, which facilitates the design and production of goods for global, rather than simply national, markets. The globalization of world markets is no longer limited to financing, production, or sales, but includes the ever-greater internationalization of research and the acquisition of knowledge. The sourcing of components on a global basis, and the increasing reliance on the negotiation of strategic alliances with other firms for R&D, production, or marketing of goods further contributes to the integration of national economies into a global one. As researchers in the Innovation Systems Research Network have demonstrated, the most innovative Canadian firms, in industries such as aerospace and information technology, are integrated into dense global supply chains that provide key components of their final products. The critical factors that anchor those firms in their domestic locations are the quality of the local labour force educated and trained in our universities and colleges, as well as the local R&D capabilities.

This reflects growing linkage between the globalization of technology and the increasing importance of R&D and knowledge in the new paradigm. The rise of information technology and global telecommunication networks enables firms to organize and coordinate their R&D and their acquisition of technical knowledge on a global basis. It reflects one element of the growing reliance on strategic alliances by multinational firms. Companies that compete on a global basis are establishing their own research activities in key

R&D centres and building strategic alliances with both university research centres and other firms that possess complementary knowledge and skills of economic development.

This perspective, which focuses on the technological dimension of information and communication technologies, rather than the organizational and learning dimensions associated with them, tends to emphasize the leveling effect of the technologies and accentuates the trend towards convergence, thus reducing the significance of national and regional differences in locational decisions. Techno-globalism refers to the fact that more and more, multinational corporations are exploiting technology globally and gaining access to new technology through the diffusion of R&D and increased collaboration. Despite this trend, national differences among the leading industrial countries, and regional specificities within them, remain significant and the specific character of the home base is crucial for the innovativeness of domestic firms. The geography of production in the new economy is marked by a “paradoxical consequence of globalization”—the simultaneous growth in importance of the locality as a site for innovation. As the information and communication networks created by digital technologies integrate the economies of the globe ever more tightly, they simultaneously increase the relevance of space and proximity for the innovation process.

A recent report from the National Research Council of the National Academies in the United States highlights the continuing relevance of the national scale of government in a globalizing world.

Recognizing that a capacity to innovate and commercialize new high-technology products is increasingly a part of the international competition for economic leadership, governments around the world have taken active steps to strengthen their national innovation systems. These steps underscore the belief that the rising costs and risks associated with new potentially high-payoff technologies, and the growing global dispersal of technical expertise, require national R&D programs to support new and existing high technology firms within their borders.

Governments play a central role in coordinating the elements of the national innovation system, especially with respect to striking a balance between the operation of the science system, which is not profit oriented and is motivated by the search for new discoveries, and the world of technology, which is driven by the profit motive and operates with a shorter time horizon. In most countries, government is a primary funder of the science system, with its share ranging from a low of 20 percent to more than 50 percent of research and development expenditures. (In Canada, the share is 24 percent.) A key task involves ensuring the appropriate mix

of skills and resources between the two sectors; but solutions to this challenge vary considerably, as no two countries enjoy the same mix of innovative resources in the different elements that constitute their innovation systems. The degree of connectedness between components of the system and the ease with which applicable knowledge, scientific discoveries, and the highly skilled resources to staff the innovation system flow across the different elements of the system is critical for the effectiveness of its operation.

The national innovation systems in the U.S. and other countries have experienced a shift in recent decades that includes greater reliance by established firms on external sources of R&D through research consortia and collaboration with focused technology firms; the global outsourcing of R&D by domestic firms in foreign countries, including China and India; and the proliferation of university-industry collaboration and research centres. In the key sector of information and communication technologies, the growth of complex supply networks among firms and the shift to a more “open model” of innovation has given rise to a wide range of more collaborative relationships. What occurs in the key locales of the more industrialized economies are the core interactions between lead firms and key suppliers that resist easy codification, such as design, development of prototypes, and determining the validity of manufacturing processes.

The spreading impact of the globalization of R&D and the interpenetration of national innovation systems has led, in turn, to a new preoccupation by governments with refocusing science, technology, and innovation policies on activities that will maintain a strong domestic innovative capacity. The highly influential U.S. report, *Rising Above the Gathering Storm*, called for dramatic improvements in K-12 science and mathematics education, an enhanced commitment to long-term basic research, recruitment and retention of the best scientists and engineers, and tax and other policy changes to support innovation in manufacturing. The report has sparked key initiatives in the U.S., most recently in the recovery package and budget proposals initiated by President Obama. These initiatives are matched by parallel moves in a broad cross-section of other industrial countries, from Japan, Germany, and Finland to India and China. These initiatives signify the growing importance of science, technology, and innovation policies, as governments view their contribution as essential to maintain national competitiveness and sustained economic growth. The challenge for Canada is to ensure that our federal policies keep abreast of these developments in other countries and that our national policies are grounded in the diverse regional and local contexts that distinguish our economy.

KEEPING WATER IN ITS NATURAL RIVER BASINS: A SOUND WATER POLICY



Adèle Hurley
Director, Program on Water Issues
at the Munk Centre



Ralph Pentland
Acting Chair, Canadian Water
Issues Council (CWIC) and
primary author of the 1987
Canadian Federal Water Policy

In September of 2007, a number of leading water experts from Canada and the United States met at the Munk Centre for International Studies to talk about Water, Energy, and North American Integration. At the conference, the host—the Munk Centre’s Program on Water Issues—argued that the pressure to allow bulk trade in Canada’s water, evident since the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1993, had increased with the establishment in 2005 of the Canada/U.S./Mexico Security and Prosperity Partnership. Canada’s freshwater resources were de facto “on the table” for bulk trade, as existing legislation did not protect them from being traded. The way to protect Canada’s freshwater resources rests on a simple, yet powerful three-pillared foundation of water policy:

- keep water within its natural river basins;
- treat it with respect; and
- use it efficiently.

While elegant and simple, those three pillars have provided much-needed clarity to the ensuing public debate over water issues in Canada, which has only grown in urgency in the face of a legislative vacuum at the federal and provincial levels of government.

Most discussions of water policy tend to focus on the second and third pillars. Treating water with respect is normally couched in terms of protecting water quality and aquatic habitats; using it efficiently embraces the notions of water conservation and demand management. These are clearly very important objectives. But the basic laws of nature suggest that

a legitimate water customer in its own right. The words of the International Joint Commission in its 2000 Reference on the Great Lakes ring true for all Canadian water basins: “The Great Lakes Basin is an integrated and fragile ecosystem. Its surface and groundwater resources are part of a single hydrologic system and should be dealt with as a unified whole in ways that take into account water quantity, water quality, and ecosystem integrity.” We protect water by leaving it in and using it within its natural basin.

The popular myth of abundance notwithstanding, the fact is that Canada does not have an overabundance of water. We have about 7 percent of the world’s renewable water supply, which is much less than either Brazil or Russia, and about the same as the United States. This 7 percent of the world’s renewable water supply meets the ecological needs of about the same proportion of the world’s landmass, so from an ecological perspective, we have no water to spare. Large parts of Canada such as the Prairies and the Okanagan Valley are semi-arid, and many of the lakes and aquifers that we treat as bottomless reservoirs are renewed at an extremely slow rate, so that in many cases, we are actually draining them for generations to come.

Following the September 2007 meeting at the Munk Centre, the Canadian Water Issues Council (CWIC), a project of the Munk Centre’s Program on Water Issues, decided to draft a Model Act that could be used to protect Canada’s water by keeping it in its natural basins. CWIC is a group of concerned academics and citizens that meets from time to time in a university setting to conduct research on water policy issues. By December 2007, CWIC had developed *A Model Act for Preserving Canada’s Waters*, and the report was released at a Munk Centre conference in February of 2008.

The proposed act is conceptually very simple. It would prohibit removals of water from Canada’s five major drainage basins, with minor and well-defined exceptions. It would reconcile both national and provincial interests. It provides for minimum national standards, yet recognizes the strong desirability of provincial action. It does so by allowing provincial governments to put in place legal regimes that provide protection equivalent to that set out in the federal regime. Where federal-provincial equivalency agreements are in place, the federal act and regulations would be inoperative and the provincial regime would have primacy.

Why are these three pillars and especially the first one so important at this point in history? While we don’t know what the exact effects of climate change will be, we do know that it will alter water budgets (how much water comes into, how much leaves, and how

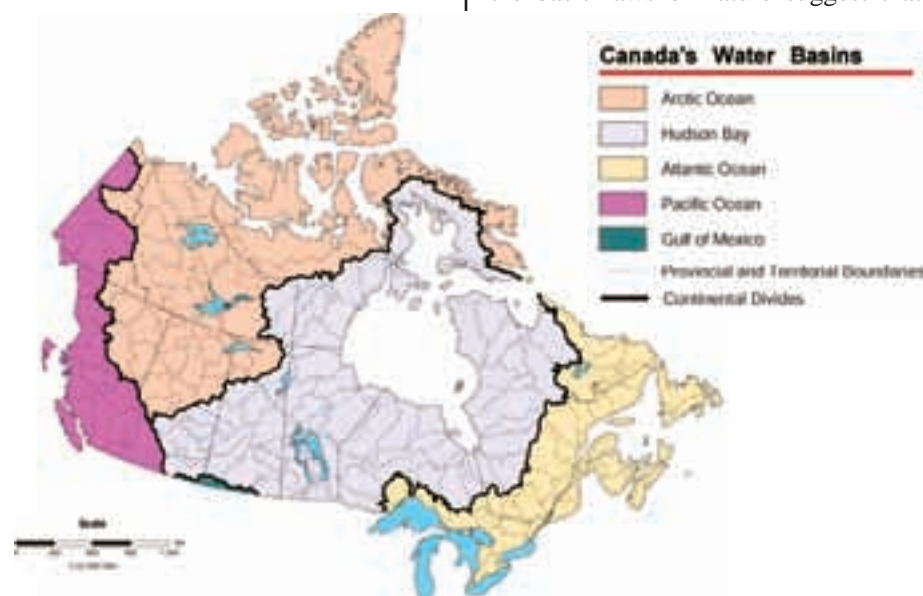
much is stored in a watershed). Areas such as the Prairies, already water-short, will likely become dryer and dryer. River flows and lake levels will be altered, even in the relatively water-rich and economically critical Great Lakes Basin. And in response to increasingly integrated continental and global economies, continued urbanization and the extraction of energy and other resources will destroy many watercourses and lead to unpredictable interjurisdictional conflicts over water allocation. Given social and economic pressures, North Americans may even make the ultimate ecological error of moving large amounts of water over long distances from one watershed to another, resulting in significant economic losses and ecological impacts in donor regions.

We simply cannot allow those things to happen. We need leadership from our federal and provincial governments to move the policy agenda forward to ensure the sustainability of Canada’s freshwater resources.

There are few public policy objectives that command greater consensus in Canada than the principle that we should not permit the bulk removal of water from its natural basins. It is a principle that is agreed to by all major political parties and is supported by the great majority of ordinary Canadians. While Canadians may disagree on whether or not our water resources are adequately protected by existing laws, they do not in general disagree with the proposition that Canada’s water resources should be protected.

We were pleased that the current federal government promised a new water strategy in its Speech from the Throne in the fall of 2007, but disappointed that nothing substantive has yet emerged. We were also pleased that two subsequent Throne Speeches pledged to move ahead with legislation to implement what we are calling the first pillar of water policy—a prohibition on bulk water removals from Canada’s water basins—and look forward to its tabling and passage.

It is predicted that for much of the world, access to enough clean water will be the environmental issue of the 21st century. Here in Canada, strong action today will enable us to avoid serious water stresses 25 years from now. With wise stewardship, we will see a Canadian society living in harmony with its aquatic environment—a situation in which water remains in its natural river basins and in which water demand and availability are balanced through effective protection, conservation, and supply management. Achieving this requires a legal regime that recognizes that governments have a fiduciary duty to preserve water and its related renewable resources for the use and enjoyment of the entire population, including future generations of Canadians.



the first pillar—keeping water within its own natural drainage areas—is a necessary prerequisite to the other two. If we want to continue to receive the unique (and free) ecosystem services provided by water—services that include the supply of water for domestic, agricultural, and industrial use, the assimilation of waste, the amelioration of flooding, and the provision of habitat—nature has to be regarded as

CENTRE EVENTS

TECHNOLOGY AND GLOBALIZATION

Continued from page 1

not have them; thus, who gets the girls.) I was credited with clairvoyance on that score, too, but none was involved. It was just another case of looking at the far-off tidal wave, and speculating—although in a satiric way, dystopias being always a darkly jocular commentary on the present—what might be around the corner of one of the paths we were currently following.

Back to my predictions in a bottle. I divided them into five areas of future trends: Energy, Clothing, The Laundry, Connections and Communications, and Health and Religion. Each was linked to the others. But every thread of speculation I followed led inevitably to three main lengths of rope: energy, fresh water, and communications. These have always been the lengths of rope that human societies have hanged themselves with, or else used for a climb to safety. The first two are essentials for human life, if by “energy” we mean also “maintaining a viable temperature.”

The third is essential to the complex structures—local, national, and global—we’ve built up over the last five hundred years. These structures are using up a lot of the first two essentials, but without them—as things now stand—we’d collapse into chaos. Picture what would happen if all oil and the products made from it were suddenly to disappear from the planet. Transportation, including the transportation of food, would freeze, all computer systems would crash, as would all communications systems with their plastic parts. Public order would swiftly break down, and we’d find ourselves in the midst of the worst kind of all-against-all social catastrophe.

Now stretch that “suddenly” over the next twenty-five to fifty years: again, it’s not a question of “whether”

“Oil is not an infinitely renewable resource.”

but of “when.” The Oil Patch itself knows this. And although we can make oil from any carbon-based form, including garbage and plastic bags, the quantities made that way would in no way feed our present habits. Therefore oil is not an infinitely renewable resource, and the no-oil tidal wave is coming. The good news is: *but not tomorrow.*

The other good news is that the current economic recession has

slowed down the Train to Oblivion we’ve been traveling on. Why “oblivion”? Because for the first time in human history our methods of satisfying our very long list of wants and desires is colliding decisively with viability on this planet. We’ve become so speedy and efficient that we can chew up raw materials much more rapidly than we can replace them, and this in return has allowed us to multiply exponentially—a multiplication of both people and technologies that has already led us to a period of greatly diminished available resources. We’ve fuelled this growth on the cheap energy supplied in the nineteenth century by

Thinking backwards from scarcity about what kinds of shortages our necessary inventions must work to ease, we come once again to water: thus a cheap, solar-powered, mass-quantity desalination device is sure to appear, and a device—already invented—that uses low amounts of energy to pull water from the air. Meters that measure water use in the

“Trains will be back; so will airships.”

home will find a ready market, as will underground leak-detection tools—since conservation is the cheapest road



Coming soon, roof-top farming. Above, a two-acre green, “living” roof spans 12 buildings at the California Academy of Sciences.

coal and steam and in the twentieth by oil, but both of these methods have drawbacks that will eventually make human life extremely precarious, if not impossible, and that are only now becoming apparent to the population at large; in addition to which, they will eventually run out.

Still, thanks to the downturn, we have a breathing space—to regroup, to restructure, to consider. The once-immutable truths about the nature of the financial world have popped like bubbles; the ground has shifted everywhere. If we’re smart, we’ll examine that new ground carefully, and build on it. We have to. We can’t go back to hunting and gathering—there are too many of us. The accumulation of our technologies has painted us into a corner from which we can escape only by the invention of new technologies, and necessity of the kind we now face is the mother of all inventions. But what sorts of inventions will these be?

to sufficiency. This rule applies to energy as well: as the price of conventional energy climbs and we realize that huge amounts of energy are wasted through leaky buildings, retrofitting and re-skinning—so much cheaper than big generation plants of any kind—will become major industries. So will the renting out of flat roof and vertical wall space for energy generation: the vertical spaces becoming usable as solar fabric (already invented) is used to sheath buildings, turning them from energy liabilities to energy generators.

Transportation and communication will similarly change. Trains will be back; so will airships, which provide huge cargo lift for a relatively small energy expenditure. Ways of avoiding the costs of shipping things have already begun to appear, the print-on-demand machine for publishing being one example. Our carefree airplane habits of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century will be forced to change; we’ll get used to travelling

more slowly, and travelling less. The consequences of this will not always be pleasant, especially for countries that depend on large tourist flows.

Given that future, “virtual” travel—putting yourself there without actually being there—will become much more normal. Who will be the first to set up a “virtual tourist” business: you in your home, your guide at your destination of choice holding a video device and walking you through the streets, describing the history and art and ambiance, showing it to you onscreen? The deluxe version would provide little bottles of local smells, and the odd local food item, as well as—say—a street musician playing local tunes outside your window. This sounds fanciful, but wait for it.

Human inventiveness is boundless. Canadian inventiveness is pretty boundless, too—we’re a nation of people like my Uncle Fred, who invented a bean-threshing machine when he was a teenager because he didn’t want to thresh the beans by hand. But our political movers and shakers have been slow to recognize

“Virtual travel will become much more normal.”

not only the grim realities we will shortly face on a global level but the absolute necessity of encouraging practical and productive solutions. In Canada, they’ve depended far too long on the wealth generated by natural resources, not by human ones. They’ve been too cautious, too lazy. Maybe someone should whisper in their ears: “A lotta jobs in building retrofits! A lotta money in energy conservation! Lower taxes! A lotta votes!”

Such solutions are not hard to understand. The price of not understanding the problems, however, will be steep indeed.

Margaret Atwood is an author, essayist, and innovator. Her latest work is PAYBACK: Debt and the Shadow Side of Wealth, The CBC Massey Lectures 2008. She is the primary inventor of the LongPen, the world’s first and only remote, accurate, fully biometric pen-on-paper handwriting device—first used in book signings, but now being seen as a remote solution for the execution of heritage documents in the judiciary, in government, and in business.

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN, RUSSIAN, AND EURASIAN STUDIES

*The CERES Insights page provides analysis by scholars from the Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies on issues of concern to the region. In this issue, Randall Hansen, author of *Fire and Fury: The Allied Bombing of Germany, 1942–1945*, discusses the forces that shape our understanding of human suffering.*



Randall Hansen

Canada Research Chair in Immigration and Governance in the Department of Political Science and Acting Director, Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies at the Munk Centre

A UN human rights investigator, Richard Falk, who helpfully urged us in 1979 to “trust Khomeini” as he was offering the world a model of “humane governance,” has let the press know that the 2008–2009 Israeli incursion into the Gaza strip was a “war crime” of the “gravest magnitude.” Shortly before Falk shared this wisdom, I published an article in the *National Post* in which I provocatively suggested that the area (not precision) bombing of Germany during World War II was a war crime. Reactions from across the globe were vitriolic; one irate blogger called me a charlatan, revisionist, and post-modernist. I took great exception to the last.

These reactions echo a broader trend: a great willingness to define Israel’s behavior—in Gaza within the last year, or in Lebanon in 2006—as a war crime, and a great reluctance to describe Allied action—in this case, the deliberate bombing of civilians—as a war crime. It is worth recalling the facts: during World War II, Allied bombing killed 593,000 people, including over 400,000 civilians, 100,000 refugees, and almost 30,000 POWs and forced labourers. During the Israeli incursion—over a much shorter period, of course—1,200 people were killed, of which between 300 (if we believe the Israelis) and 900 (if we believe Hamas) were civilians. Many people are all too glad to believe Hamas. There is another important difference between the two wars:

as many civilians as possible. During Gaza, whatever people would like to believe, Israel sought to minimize civilian casualties.

How does one explain this contrast? With reference, I submit, to the ways in which technology, morality, and constructions of victimhood combine to create normative judgments that have at best a loose connection with empirical reality.

Firstly, for the left above all, Palestinians have been constructed as the perfect victims: an innocent, peace-loving people driven out of their homes and mercilessly persecuted by the vicious Israelis. There is, of course, a kernel of truth to this narrative, but a competing narrative—about repeated refusals of reasonable offers from the Israeli state, about Palestinians throwing their lot in with terrorists who wish to destroy Israel, and about their voting for anti-Semitic murderers—is structured out of the discussions. For equal numbers of people, the Germans—all Germans, including children, women (who were largely excluded from the machinations of war), and very old men—are the perfect perpetrators, enthusiastic orchestrators of conquest, genocide, and mass sterilization. There is also a kernel of truth to this narrative, but another competing narrative—about Hitler having only minority support, about opposition from within the military and within society, and about the essential innocence of large numbers of Germans (above all children) is also structured out of the discussion.

These constructions are necessary because moral certainty depends on clear, not blurry, categories: perpetrator vs. victim, good vs. evil, invader vs. conquered, and criminal vs. innocent. There are, to be sure, pure moral categories, just as there are pure victims; the Jews of Germany are an outstanding example. In many, if not most, areas of history, as of life, distinctions are fine, choices tortured, and moral vs. immoral matters are cast in grey rather than black and white. And we should never forget that power plays a basic and eternal role in defining matters of principle—witness the York University students who invoked “free speech” principles to defend Israeli Apartheid Week, but swept them aside when the matter was student support for pro-life groups. Fine distinctions, gradations, complexities, and indeed contradictions are the basis of history and of politics, but they provide little support for the simplistic slogans—“don’t bomb Iran,” “boycott Israel”—that are the stuff of political activism.

But there is something more fundamental than this: rhetoric and language need not only to be crafted and spoken; they also need to be conveyed. And

it is here that technology comes in. Whatever else the Internet has brought us, it has created a world in which instant messaging, the split-second dissemination of ideas, arguments, and, above all, opinions is possible. Claims, including outrageous ones, are not subject to editorial review; they are instantly flashed around the world. The result is that public interventions are no longer subject to reflection; they go from mind to keyboard to posting with lighting speed. They are inevitably a simplified if not vulgar interpretation of inevitably complex social and political issues. Such venues have always existed—for example, the British tabloid presses—but the Internet has vastly widened both access and output. The results can be energizing, but they are often depressing. Books are attacked without being read, abuse and insult are passed off as debate, and appealing but simplistic one-liners substitute for sustained thought and argument. It cannot be any other way. Morning blogs, instant messaging, and political chat rooms depend on it. The Web is therefore both a reflection and a cause of a decline in nuanced debate.

This might be worth the price if knowledge and attention were increased. They are, sadly, not. The attention of bloggers is no less blinkered and one-sided than the activists feeding them empty slogans. In Noam Chomsky’s paranoid world, urban press barons in New York and elsewhere were systematically diverting attention from American imperialism and all its awful human consequences. Today, such barons have far less power and influence than they once had. Yet, the attention of the Web world remains as blinkered as ever, perhaps more so. During the weeks when Israel invaded Gaza, the Sri Lankan military surrounded the Tamil Tigers and, with them, 300,000 civilians who inevitably suffered terrible agonies. With the exception of a brave article by Bob Rae and limited interventions in *The Globe and Mail*, we heard almost nothing about it. One will search hard to find the Sri Lankan version of images that appeared on the Israeli Apartheid Week Website—a cartoon Sri Lankan fighter firing, to Arabic rap music, on a cartoon Sri Lankan boy. Even more egregiously, in the Congo, forces for a decade have abducted, drugged, and forced into battle tens of thousands of child soldiers. Civilians have been deliberately raped, tortured, and murdered. Both sets of heinous acts have received a fraction of the attention devoted to Israel. Technology has bequeathed us a world in which information is delivered instantly. It is, however, also one in which moral interest is driven at best loosely and selectively by the nature and extent of human suffering.



Israeli precision bombing in Gaza: conflicting narratives of victimhood.

intention. During World War II, the British and the Canadians, although not the Americans, made every effort to maximize civilian casualties. Those British commanders responsible for the air war wanted to defeat Germany by destroying as many cities and killing

CENTRE EVENTS

LONGPEN: THE FUTURE AT YOUR FINGERTIPS

Aclaimed author Margaret Atwood brought futuristic musings and a futuristic device to a Munk Centre event in March. The audience was inspired by both. In a lecture titled “Innovation for Regrowth” Atwood described the world as being in “a corner it can only escape by invention.”

When the author of *The Handmaid’s Tale*, among 35 books, speculates about the future, people pay attention. Rather than painting a picture of coming bleakness, Atwood stressed the need to address the challenges we face through invention. “For everything to stay the same, everything has to change,” she noted. “How can we turn the negatives into positives?”

While Atwood’s predictions span a range of issues (see Cover Story), during the lecture, she focused on a central question—how we will adjust to a world without oil? “It is not whether but when—the oil industry knows this.” She speculated on the inventions that will flow as a result. “Fly over Toronto and you see black flat rooftops,” she said. “These could become bimolecular farmlands, used for agriculture like blueberries...



In a demonstration, the LongPen (above left) produced the signatures of audience members with perfect fidelity.



Devices, predicted Atwood (above right), “will translate intent into object.”

Vertical structures will be covered with solar fabric to generate energy... We will have clothing that heats the body, cools it, and recharges in the sun, as opposed to heating and cooling systems for large blocks of air... Tables will have warmers underneath and chairs will also.” Transportation and communications will be transformed. “Instead of shipping an object, we will transport information to make the object.” Much like Star Trek, “the Internet will be used to transmit wave forms to create original objects.”

Devices, she said, “will translate intent into object.” On that score, the future is here. To illustrate her point, Atwood demonstrated her successful invention, the LongPen. It is the world’s first and only remote, accurate, fully biometric pen-on-paper handwriting device—first used in book signings, but now being seen as a remote solution for the execution of heritage documents in the judiciary, in government, and in business. For the audience, seeing was believing. Each volunteer’s signature, written on a hand-held screen (think FedEx), was produced by LongPen on paper with perfect fidelity.

“AMERICA NO LONGER RULES THE WORLD”

While in Rome recently to help prepare for July’s G8 summit, U.S. international relations expert Parag Khanna delivered a blunt message to the Italian foreign minister. Khanna, a Barack Obama foreign policy adviser and Director of the Washington-based Global Governance Initiative, became frustrated with the clubby attitude of the Italians and other G8 planners. “They were considering inviting Egypt, but not Saudi Arabia, because its values didn’t jell with those of the West,” Khanna confided to a Munk Centre audience on the eve of Obama’s inauguration.

“I couldn’t believe what I was hearing,” Khanna added, “because Egypt represents a lumbering, teetering, on-the-verge-of-revolution society, while Saudi Arabia represents half of the Middle East economy and is playing a significant role in emerging markets and as an international arbiter.

“I told the foreign minister, ‘Do you realize that Saudi Arabia is immensely more powerful and important than you are? And that they will form whatever alliances they want?...They are not waiting for your invitation.’

“This is the sort of message the G8 leaders need to hear.”

Khanna views today’s world as having multiple sources of legitimacy. Among them are religion, businesses, and NGOs, as well as the traditional nation-state. “America no longer rules the world,” he says.

This new world order with multiple and overlapping layers of authority looks a lot like a very old world, Khanna says. He calls it “neo-medievalism.”

Khanna’s *The Second World: Empires and Influence in the New Global Order* (2008) argues that contemporary geopolitics is being driven by the world’s three imperial powers—the United States, the European Union, and China—competing for the natural resources of second world economies, countries such as Brazil, Azerbaijan, Libya, Vietnam, and Malaysia, which are struggling to enter the first world or avoid falling into the third.

In this construct, Khanna says a potential source of global stability is the emerging and increasingly popular G20, which may be poised to replace the G8 as a source of international authority. The G20, representing more than 80 percent of the world’s economy, began in 1999 as a loose organization of finance ministers. In November,

it held its first leaders’ meeting to grapple with the global financial crisis. The success of that session led to the G20 leaders’ meeting in London in April, which reached broad agreement on remedial measures.

Still, the power of the G20 is limit-

Nations are becoming anachronistic, given their emphasis on the nation-state amid the new emerging power bases of neo-medievalism.

Says Khanna: “In the future, authority will be based more on results, rather than on political systems such as



Who’s in charge here? G20 leaders at the April summit.

ed. “The G20 is not a legal body,” says Khanna. “It is merely a consultative forum. It provides legitimacy, but not legality.” At the same time, Khanna says legal bodies such as the United

democracy. Such authority could be vested in Bill Gates, it could go to a NGO, a multinational; it could be anyone. The decisive question will be, “Who is delivering the goods?”

CENTRE EVENTS

PUTTING SCIENCE INTO PRACTICE

When Reuters phoned, Sue Horton, then dealing with a part-time faculty strike at Wilfrid Laurier University, wondered why an international news agency would be interested in labour unrest at a Canadian university. She soon had to take off her administrator hat as Vice President Academic, and put on her economist hat—a number of reporters were calling to interview her regarding a report she co-authored for the Copenhagen Consensus. The organization’s eminent panel of award-winning economists (most of whom are Nobel laureates) had ranked all five of her recommendations for combating malnutrition among children in its top 10 priorities. One recommendation—micronutrients for malnourished children—was deemed the top international development priority. Horton related the anecdote while speaking

tion; deworming and other nutrition programs at school; and community-based nutrition promotion. Horton confessed that she deliberately picked things that she knew had attractive cost-benefit ratios. She noted that these recommendations will not solve all the malnutrition and hunger issues; indeed, she expected that they could solve no more than one-quarter of the problem. When asked why the focus on quick fixes, she replied that “you have to keep kids alive while you’re working on the longer-term solutions.”

The Horton team’s recommendations are gaining traction thanks to the work of Bjorn Lomborg. Since the Copenhagen panel finished its deliberations, he has taken its findings global, addressing a World Bank summit in November. The World Bank is now developing a plan for nutrition.



Before and after: two Bangladeshi children (on the left), suffer from malnutrition, whereas the child at right has profited from a nutrition program.

in the CIS Development Seminar series at the Munk Centre in February.

The Copenhagen Consensus, begun in 2004 by Danish business professor Bjorn Lomborg, has been described as an economist’s Olympics. It is a priority-setting exercise for development objectives that employs cost-benefit analysis to issues ranging from “air pollution” and “women and development,” to “malnutrition and hunger.” Horton and her two colleagues—Harold Alderman of the World Bank and Juan A. Rivera of the Mexican National Institute of Public Health—were invited to report on hunger. They focused on sub-Saharan Africa and South Asian, where three-quarters of the world’s malnourished children live.

They made the following recommendations: micronutrient supplements for children (vitamin A and zinc supplements for children with diarrhoea); micronutrient fortification (iron and salt iodization); biofortifica-

Sprinkles

Canada is a leader in developing easy-to-use micronutrients. The Hospital for Sick Children’s Dr. Stanley Zlotkin, a Senior Fellow at the Munk Centre, is the driving force behind Sprinkles—sachets containing a blend of micronutrients in powder form, which are easily sprinkled onto foods prepared in the home. For local adaptation, he forms clusters of civil society groups, government bodies, and international organizations such as UN agencies. Sprinkles programs are currently in place in 15 countries worldwide, from Bangladesh to Vietnam.

OBAMA WATCH—MIXED REVIEWS

A few months into his four-year term, Barack Obama received mixed marks from a Munk Centre panel in April. All four participants showed admiration for Obama the person, but not all praised his leadership. “He reminds me of the man in the Stephen Leacock poem,” said *Globe and Mail* columnist Margaret Wente. “The one who got on his horse—and ‘rode madly off in all directions.’”

Both Wente and Munk Centre Director Janice Stein worried that Obama was tackling too many problems—health care, education, and energy, along with Afghanistan—much too quickly. And Stein criticized him for not thinking outside the box in these “discontinuous times.”

Explained Stein: “In the past, we had a sense that tomorrow would look like today, and that even in a crisis, the world would revert to the familiar. But tomorrow is no longer a baseline for the day after. What bothers me is that most of Obama’s strategies and solutions are continuous and linear—and that’s not good enough any more. Old solutions won’t work and public patience is not infinite.”

American history professor Ron Pruessen expressed fears that the magnitude of the “staggeringly difficult” challenges facing Obama might overwhelm his presidency. “Sometimes, there are events that defy *anyone’s* control,” Pruessen told some 60 people at the Obama Watch Roundtable. “American presidents, particularly, don’t appreciate that there might be problems that are simply not soluble—not even by them.”

Pruessen, who drew a number of positive parallels between Obama and Franklin Roosevelt’s Depression-era presidency, also worried that Obama might be harmed by his own personality. “He has a powerful ego with a messianic streak, and those same characteristics undid many good things initiated by Woodrow Wilson.”

Political scientist Richard Iton noted that Obama has a mixed record so far, as he makes the difficult transition from the campaign trail to governing. Iton reviewed the “bumps” that have occurred for the Obama administration, including the tax problems of some of his nominees for office, and the challenges of continuing his post-partisan, post-racial style of politics.

Still, any criticism and caution was mixed with very positive feelings towards the 44th U.S. President. “I desperately want him to succeed, and I wish I could say, ‘So far, so good’,” said Stein. “But I can’t.”



Margaret Wente



Ron Pruessen



Richard Iton



Janice Gross Stein



Todd Lane:
investigating a model industrial park.

Halbert Exchange Fellow Todd Lane

Munk Centre graduate student Todd Lane has the Halbert Exchange Program to thank for a terrific opportunity in the coming year. The MA candidate at the Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies will be traveling to Israel to conduct research at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem with a scholarship from a Halbert program.

Todd intends to study the Tefen Industrial Park, located in Israel, just south of the Lebanese border. It is a business-incubator model that is designed to help encourage entrepreneurship and promote manufacture for

export. Todd is interested in its potential for application elsewhere, particularly in Russia and Ukraine: “I saw an opportunity to examine the applications of this model outside of the Middle East, specifically in the Crimea. The Halbert graduate fellowship will allow me to meet with high-level Israeli academics, interview Palestinian authorities, and visit the numerous industrial parks which are modelled on Tefen.”

What’s the appeal of Tefen? Todd points to the model’s green, export-based philosophy and focus on technical education. The model would allow states that lack substantial oil, natural gas, or coal reserves to engage in a form of industrialization while building human capital, he says. He also points to the peace dividend: “In addition, this model seems to promote the building of infrastructure which ends up giving greater return over the life of the investment while promoting regional cooperation and globalization.” He adds: “I believe these benefits could create sustainable economic prosperity within a variety of contexts, from post-conflict states to post-communist states.”

Todd is going on a new exchange with the Hebrew University of Jerusalem made possible by the Ralph and Roz Halbert International Relations Fund. As Todd’s research project demonstrates, the benefits can flow to society at large as well as to the scholarship recipient.



Grad Students Ask the Right Questions

Fresh Perspectives: Munk Centre graduate students (pictured above) organized a successful conference in April that focused on a largely overlooked aspect of the world financial crisis: the impact on developing countries and the international institutions designed to assist them. Entitled “Crisis in Development? Institutions, Policy and the Reality of the Global Financial Crisis,” this year’s annual grad student conference explored the effect of the financial crisis on the already tumultuous development environment.

An impressive roster of speakers joined in panel discussions of such topics as the role that supranational institutions, including the World Bank and IMF, should play in the global financial markets; the impact of the capital freeze in developed countries on their ability to provide aid to developing states that are dependent on aid to meet their basic needs; and the role of the European Union, the world’s largest economy.

The Munk Centre Graduate Student Conference is an annual collaboration between three separate Master’s programs administered out of the Centre: International Relations (MAIR), European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (MA ERES), and Asia-Pacific Studies (MAPS). Students from all three programs work together to plan, develop, execute, and manage a major conference dealing with pertinent issues in global development. Their partner on this project is the World Bank Group.

Aboard the Chinese Express

by S.W. McLuskie

Why doesn’t your prime minister like us?” said Ning. I had just arrived in Shanghai and was catching up with an old friend. Ning and I had met at the Munk Centre in 2002. We were both pursuing a Master’s Degree in Asia-Pacific Studies. Six years later, I was on the ground in the country



In the fast lane: more resolve than trepidation.

that had been a focus of my studies.

I had visited the Asia-Pacific region on several occasions. But this was my first visit to China. I had agreed to deliver lectures in Hong Kong and Shenzhen in my capacity as a producer and senior writer for CBC News. These opportunities arose through contacts made during my studies. The sessions proved to be mutually enlightening but it was Ning’s observation that would echo throughout my trip.

I was delivered into Shanghai from Pudong airport aboard a German-built, magnetic levitation train that topped out at 430 kilometres an hour. It was a fitting analogy to the velocity of China’s transformation. The country is, perhaps, the greatest development project in history.

The streets of China’s major cities are awash with the logos of western commerce. The startling skylines are due, in part, to some of the most innovative minds in Western architecture. A French firm is responsible for Beijing’s National Grand Theatre. The Museum of Contemporary Art in Shenzhen was an Austrian project.

The road and rail infrastructure is equally remarkable. The new Beijing South railway station is British-designed. Urban subway systems are leading edge. Beijing’s ring-road grid allows traffic to flow—in rush hour—in a city of 12 million people.

I had occasion to meet the French proprietor of three Beijing bistros. I wondered if he missed Paris. “No,” he said. “This place is lightning. Everything’s happening here.”

The 24-hour train to Shenzhen arrived on time. I met with members of the Shenzhen government’s Project Evaluation Department. Several had participated in the now-lapsed exchange program between the government and the University of Toronto.

I delivered a presentation on media coverage of the 2008 elections in both Canada and the U.S. My audience indulged me in my chatter about Canada. The ensuing questions focused, almost exclusively, on the U.S. Canada was an afterthought.

Tibet was occasionally a topic of discussion. The Chinese don’t understand why many in the West support the re-establishment of a feudal theocracy. I was left wondering how we would react if China bestowed honorary citizenship on a separatist premier of Quebec.

The Pearl River delta was in the process of shutting factory doors and shedding millions of jobs during my visit. But the response from my hosts in Shenzhen was one more of resolve than trepidation.

Beijing’s economic stimulus package amounts to some \$700 billion to be spent on road and rail links, nuclear power plants, bridges, hospitals, and schools. It’s a wealth-creating package. North America, meanwhile, is spending trillions of dollars creating nothing, while bailing out many. Where would you want to do business?

My studies at the Munk Centre prompted and informed my visit. The experience reinforced many of the conclusions I made in my final paper on the major determinants of Chinese foreign policy.

I flew back to Toronto in the company of a U.S. businessman. He referred to China as “a gold mine,” the greatest business opportunity in generations. The Americans get it. The Europeans, the Australians, the Japanese get it. They are tying much of their future wealth, and their countries’ emergence from the global recession, to engagement with China. Apart from the notable exceptions of Bombardier, Manulife, and a few others, there is precious little Canadian purchase in the Middle Kingdom. It is an opportunity lost.

ACCOLADES AND AWARDS

MUNK CENTRE SCHOLARS IN THE SPOTLIGHT

One of **Anne-Emanuelle Birn's** goals as the Canada Research Chair in International Health is to help the international health system respond more efficiently to local needs and, by extension, help Canada fulfill its health promotion and research promises to the world. Not only has her Chair been renewed for 2008–13, but she was awarded a 2007–08 Fulbright Scholarship to France (only one such grant is given annually). Professor Birn was a visiting scholar at the prestigious Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques and the Centre de Recherche Médecine, Sciences, Santé et Société in Paris.



The relationship between militarism and geographical knowledge in the United States fascinates historical geographer **Matthew Farish**. In collaboration with P. Whitney Lackenbauer of St. Jerome's University and Canadian International Council Fellow, he is currently working on a history of the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line, the radar chain constructed from Alaska to Greenland in the 1950s as part of the continental defence network. Professor Farish is the recipient of the American Geographical Society's McColl Family Fellowship for 2009, which will cover research travel to Iqaluit and Hall Beach, Nunavut, later this year.

It's been a rewarding year for **Lisa Forman**: she was appointed Associate Director of the Collaborative Doctoral Program in Global Health at the University of Toronto; received an advance contract from the University of Toronto Press to publish her dissertation, which explored the role of human rights in increasing access to AIDS medicines, using South Africa as a case study; and was awarded a \$20,000 grant from the Canadian Institutes of Health Research to conduct a workshop in global health and policy.



Comparative Program on Health and Society Funders and Advisory Board Members **Margret Hovanec** (Director and Co-Founder of the Lupina Foundation) and **Peter Warrlian** (Senior Research Fellow at the Munk Centre, Managing Director and Co-Founder of the Lupina Foundation) were both awarded honorary doctorates from Regis College in November 2008. They were selected on the basis of their contributions to society, culture, and the Catholic Church.



Thomas Lahusen received the Best Directing award for his film *The Province of Lost Film*, which he describes as *Cinema Paradiso* Soviet style, at the Second Issyk-Kul International Film Festival of the Shanghai Organization of Cooperation, Kyrgyzstan, October 2008. Professor Lahusen is spending the spring in Kyrgyzstan and China, working on two new documentary film projects.

The Asian Institute's **Lynette Ong** took advantage of her An Wang Postdoctoral Fellowship at Harvard University for 2008–09 to work on completing a book manuscript on the political economy of credit and uneven development in China.



For the second year in a row, the Shaughnessy Cohen Prize for Political Writing by a Canadian went to a Munk Centre scholar. This year's winner is Senior Fellow **James Orbinski** (left) for his *An Imperfect Offering: Humanitarian Action in the Twenty-First Century*. Paul Sparkes, executive vice-president of corporate affairs at CTVglobemedia, presented the prize to Dr. Orbinski at the annual Politics & the Pen dinner on March 4. The award is one of many recognitions for his book and his documentary film, *Triage: Dr. James Orbinski's Humanitarian Dilemma*.

Hard work pays off. **Tina Park** — a recipient of the 2008 Robert H. Catherwood Scholarship — is in her final year of completing a BA in international relations. In her first year as an undergraduate, Tina joined the G8 Research Group as a compliance analyst and participated in the Civil Society/Expanded Dialogue Unit and Communications Team, and she served as chair of the Home Team for the

2008 Hokkaido Summit. Tina has been involved with the International Relations Society since her first year, serving as the co-president in her third and fourth years. Tina is also involved with the North Korea Research Group and on the executive of the University of Toronto's chapter of Journalists for Human Rights. The Catherwood Scholarship is awarded to students interested in international affairs, in particular the issues, institutions, and members of the G8 Summit.

Janice Gross Stein, director of the Munk Centre, was awarded an honorary doctor of laws degree from McMaster University during its 2008 fall convocation ceremonies.

Thomas Tiekku, who heads up New College's African Studies Program, is the recipient of the 2008–09 Arts and Science Students' Union Ranjini Ghosh Award for excellence in teaching.

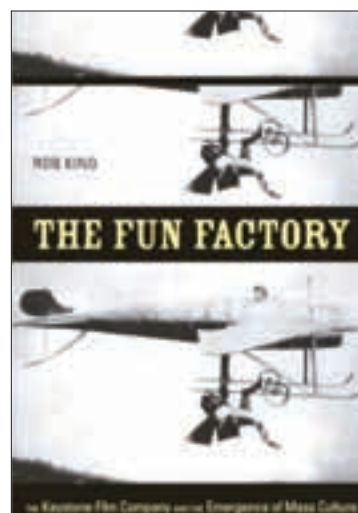
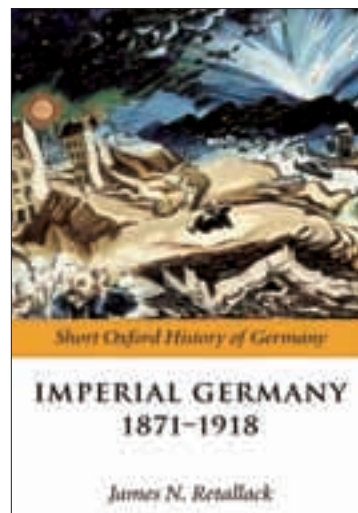
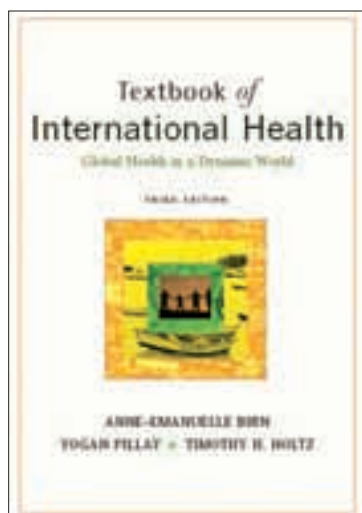
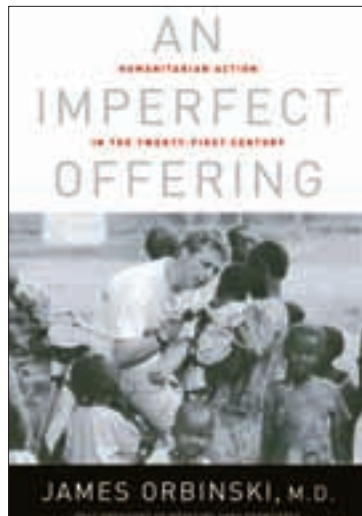
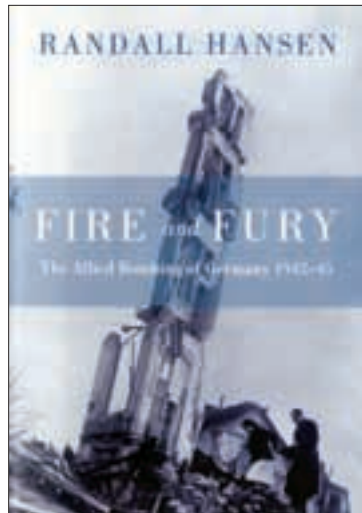
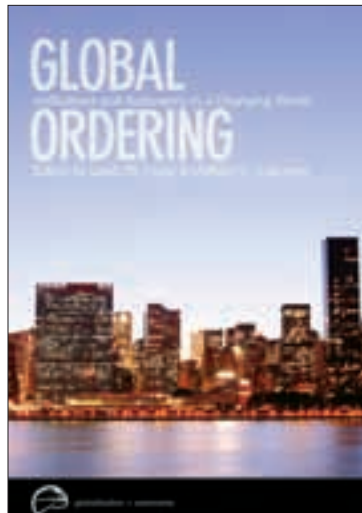


Shafiqe Virani's *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages: A History of Survival, A Search for Salvation*, published by Oxford University Press in 2007, has been well received internationally, with awards from UNESCO and the Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO), the £10,000 Book Prize of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies, and the €6000 Farabi International Award, Iran's highest honour in the humanities. For the Farabi Award, Professor Virani was flown to Iran as a guest of state, met with the President and other dignitaries, and was given a guided tour of many parts of the country. He delivered a lecture at the Institute for Social and Cultural Studies in Tehran, gave the Dr. Jamal Karim Rad Memorial lecture to the judiciary in Qazvin, and was on national radio and television.

David Wolfe and **Meric Gertler**, Co-Directors of the Program on Globalization and Research Innovation Systems (PROGRIS), were awarded the 2008 Carolyn Tuohy Impact on Public Policy Award, which recognizes excellence in teaching, research, and, particularly, the impact of the recipients' scholarship on public policy. The goal of the research undertaken by Professors Gertler and Wolfe in PROGRIS is to investigate how the interaction of firms and regional institutions in Canada and other countries facilitates, or impedes, the process of innovation and social learning that is critical for success in the new global economy. As well, Professor Gertler has been appointed Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science for 2008–14.

CENTRE BOOKS

RECENT BOOKS BY MUNK CENTRE SCHOLARS



Anne-Emanuelle Birn, Yogan Pillay, and Timothy Holtz, *Textbook of International Health: Global Health in a Dynamic World*, 3rd edition, Oxford University Press, 2009.

Peter Blanchard, *Under the Flags of Freedom: Slave Soldiers and the Wars of Independence in Spanish South America*, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008.

Richard Day and Daniel Gaido, eds. and trans., *Witness to Permanent Revolution: The Documentary Record*, Brill, 2009.

Scott Eddie, *Landownership in Eastern Germany before the Great War: A Quantitative Analysis*, Oxford University Press, 2008.

Peter I. Hajnal, *Gruppa vos'mi i gruppa dvadtsati: evoliutsiia, rol' i dokumentatsiia*, Logos, 2008. Russian edition of *The G8 System and the G20: Evolution, Role and Documentation*.

Randall Hansen, *Fire and Fury: The Allied Bombing of Germany, 1942-1945*, Doubleday Canada, 2008.

Rob King, *The Fun Factory: The Keystone Film Company and the Emergence of Mass Culture*, University of California Press, 2009.

Rob King, Richard Abel, and Giorgio Bertellini, eds., *Early Cinema and the "National"*, Indiana University Press, 2008.

Thomas Lahusen and Peter H. Solomon, Jr., eds., *What Is Soviet Now? Identities, Legacies, Memories*, LITVerlag, 2008.

Andrii Makuch, ed., *The Holodomor of 1932-33. Papers from the 75th-Anniversary Conference on the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide*. University of Toronto, November 1, 2007. Special issue of *The Harriman Review*, vol. 16, no. 2 (2008).

James Orbinski, *An Imperfect Offering: Humanitarian Action in the Twenty-First Century*, Doubleday Canada, 2008.

Louis Pauly and William D. Coleman, eds., *Global Ordering: Institutions and Autonomy in a Changing World*, University of British Columbia Press, 2009.

David Rayside, *Queer Inclusions, Continental Divisions: Public Recognition of Sexual Diversity in Canada and the United States*, University of Toronto Press, 2008.

Jeffrey Reitz et al., *Multiculturalism and Social Cohesion: Potentials and Challenges of Diversity*, Springer, 2009.

James Retallack, ed., *Imperial Germany 1871-1918*, Oxford University Press, 2008.

N.N. Shneidman, *Double Vision: The Jew in Post-Soviet Russian Literature*, Mosaic Press, 2008.

Leah Shumka and Cecilia Benoit, *Gendering the Health Determinants Framework: Why Girls' and Women's Health Matters*, Women's Health Research Network, 2009.

Pedro Henríquez Ureña, *Versos*. Edited with a Prologue by Néstor Rodríguez, Universidad Iberoamericana, 2008.

David A. Wolfe, ed., *Embedded Clusters in the Global Economy*. Special issue of *European Planning Studies*, vol. 17, no. 2 (2009).

Joseph Wong and Edward Friedman, eds., *Political Transitions in Dominant Party Systems: Learning to Lose*, Routledge, 2008.