

# 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

## PARIS BURNING

In the last several months, young people bombed the subways of London, set the suburbs of French cities on fire, and planned a wave of bombings in Brussels. In Europe, it is not "they" that are burning cars, buses, and schools, but "we" who are doing this to "ourselves." It was British citizens, born in England, who bombed the subways and the buses. It was French citizens, the children of immigrants, born in France, who set cars and schools in their own communities across the country ablaze. Terror and violence were not bred over there, but here, at home.

In a deep sense, shared by citizens in other Western democracies, "they" are "us" and "we" are "they." They are part of the societies that we have created in the post-industrial age – multi-ethnic, diverse societies with representatives from everywhere coming together to live in close proximity one with the other.

What happened in London and Paris was shocking, but for very different reasons. Despite the similarities, the two stories are very different. England prides itself on being a diverse, multi-ethnic community, open to different religious and cultural traditions, but its own citizens turned against their government and – to protest against their government's foreign policy – killed their own. It seems that the sense of shared community was not woven closely enough to overcome the anger against what their government was doing abroad. A closer look explains why: In Britain, communities often live apart; at best, they live side by side, rarely meeting one another.

*Continued on page 3*

## India's Ascent: An Opportunity for Canada

COVER STORY BY KASI RAO

India's share of the world economy is on track to surpass that of Canada in the next decade." So observed Canada's Finance Minister Ralph Goodale as he presented his economic update in November, which included an initiative to promote business ties with India and China. The Finance Minister was observing the obvious: India has come to have political and economic salience on the world stage that will only grow in the future. And as it does so, arguably, there is greater potential than ever for a strong bilateral relationship between Canada and India to emerge.



*On the move in Ahmedabad, Gujarat, India: the intersection between India's global economic rise and its geo-political importance makes the country's ascent hard to ignore.*

The rhetorical question about India's new salience is, Why now? After all, many of the points often cited as India's strengths have been true for some time – (i) India is a democracy, (ii) the rule of law prevails, and (iii) the use of English is widespread.

India's ascent has its roots in economic liberalization policies that began almost 25 years ago. But they began in earnest in 1991, with broad measures that departed from the import-substitution strategy that had characterized its approach since 1947. These measures included easing price controls, lessening import licensing and tariff requirements, and ushering in foreign exchange reforms. This new policy orientation grew out

*continued on page 6*

## HIGHLIGHTS OF THIS ISSUE

Latin America's Lost Quarter Century: What Went

Wrong? by Al Berry, pp 7-8/Crisis in Kashechwan:

Lessons from the Global Arena, a Q&A with

James Radner, page 9/Building Bridges with Ideas:

The Halbert Exchange Program, Back Page.

## EVENTS TO WATCH FOR

AND  
DISTINGUISHED LECTURERS

### JANUARY

2006 Lionel Gelber Prize  
Finalists to be announced



THE LIONEL GELBER  
PRIZE

### FEBRUARY

*Anti-Americanism  
in World Politics,*  
February 3

### MARCH

*Human Rights in the  
People's Republic of China,*  
March 10, 11

*Lt-Governor's Shared  
Citizenship Lecture;  
Preston Manning on  
Religion in Public Life,*  
March 24

## FEEDBACK

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## EDITORIAL MISSION

A forum to extend and enhance the contribution of the Munk Centre for International Studies to public debate on important international issues and contribute to public education.

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## FIND US ON THE INTERNET

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# CONTENTS

## THE MUNK CENTRE MONITOR

<b>VIEW FROM THE DIRECTOR</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>COVER STORY</b>	
<b>India's Ascent: An Opportunity for Canada</b> BY KASI RAO	<b>1</b>
<b>CENTRE EVENTS</b>	
<b>Centre for Ethics Launch</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Will the Real Europe Please Stand Up?</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Roundtable on the Iraqi Constitution</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Fukuyama Lecture; New Orleans: America's Pompeii?</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>INSIGHTS</b>	
<b>Latin America's Lost Quarter-Century</b> BY AL BERRY	<b>7</b>
<b>Crisis in Kashechwan: Lessons from the Global Arena</b> BY JAMES RADNER	<b>9</b>
<b>PEOPLE AND IDEAS</b>	
<b>Partners in Law</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Latin American Studies: Questions and Answers</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>BACK PAGE The Halbert Exchange</b>	<b>12</b>

### READERS WRITE

Dear Editor,

A question for Professor Harriet Friedmann regarding her *Insight* essay "Cross contamination: The Next Battleground over Genetically Modified Food" (Winter/Spring 2005). I found this article very interesting and would like to know the source for her statement that "wheat was first cultivated in West Central Asia." I know that wheat was cultivated as far back as 7000 BP in Ukraine (the Tri'Polya Site, which contains traces of wheat and other grains). The influence of this site spread far east to China (and even further to Japan, although no site has been found to verify this).

Maria Hrycaiko Zaputovich, PhD

Professor Friedmann replies:

Dr. Zaputovich, I am a sociologist and have been trying to integrate agro-ecology and the findings of archaeo-ethno-botany, among other disciplines, into my ongoing research on the history of world agriculture. I relied on a number of standard references. For the purposes of the essay that appeared in the Munk Centre Monitor, my point was that wheat is not native to the major export regions of the present time. Of course, I would be glad to know more accurate data about what the origins were, but my main point is where they were NOT. I appreciate your correction, and I will be careful to indicate dispute in future.

The Munk Centre Monitor encourages readers to send their comments and reactions to articles and essays published in its pages to: [munk.monitor@utoronto.ca](mailto:munk.monitor@utoronto.ca)

### 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).

Commentators in this issue:

Al Berry, *Professor Emeritus of Economics and Research Director of the Program on Latin America and the Caribbean*;

Kenneth Mills, *Professor of History and Director of Latin American Studies*;

James Radner, *Director of the Boreal Institute for Civil Society*;

Kasi Rao, *Senior Fellow at the Munk Centre for International Studies and Executive Director of the Beacon Project at the University of Ontario Institute of Technology*;

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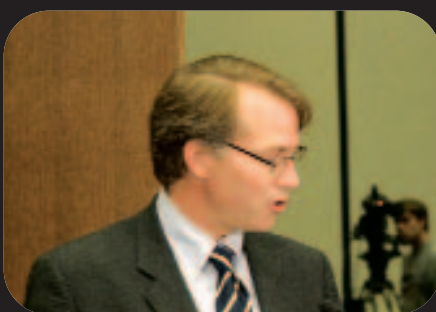


Michael Ignatieff

### HEAR MORE

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

We have teamed up with the University of Toronto's Community Radio Station, CIUT 89.5 FM, to showcase lectures and seminars by prominent academics, policymakers, and distinguished guests at the Munk Centre. Based on previously recorded sessions held in the Vivian and David Campbell Conference Facility, the program aims to enhance the listener's understanding of international, social, political, and economic issues. Recent speakers: Canadian Lieutenant General Roméo



Steve Coll

Dallaire on "The UN in Crisis: Where are the Middle Powers?"; Michael Ignatieff on "Intervention in Iraq — Some Second Thoughts"; and Steve Coll, winner of the 2004 Lionel Gelber Prize for his book *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001*. Full schedule available at [www.ciut.fm](http://www.ciut.fm)

### READ MORE

The Munk Centre has launched a new publication — *MCIS Briefings* — to showcase the research of leading scholars from centres, institutes, and programs.

*To date:*

Louis W. Pauly (Director, Centre



Roméo Dallaire

for International Studies), *Bound to Follow? US Foreign Policy, International Reactions, and the New Complexities of Sovereignty*. September 2005

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

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

*MCIS Briefings* are on the Munk Centre website in PDF format ([www.utoronto.ca/mcis](http://www.utoronto.ca/mcis); click on "publications") or in hard copy. To order, please contact the Munk Centre.

# CENTRE EVENTS

## CENTRE FOR ETHICS LAUNCH

### VIEWING ETHICS FROM ALL ANGLES

OKSANA KACHUR

A new Centre for Ethics, drawing together a host of departments and disciplines at the University of Toronto, was launched at a Munk Centre event in September. Notables on hand included Vivek Goel, Provost, Pekka K. Sinervo, Dean of Arts and Science, and Professor Melissa Williams, Director of the Centre.

The featured speaker was the Ethics Commissioner of Canada, Dr. Bernard Shapiro, who spoke on the subject: "A Centre for Ethics – Why Now and to What End?" Speaking from deep experience and academic expertise, Dr. Shapiro's remarks were both insightful and often humorous. He acknowledged the

Centre's effort to establish ethics as an interdisciplinary knowledge base and noted the contribution that such efforts can make to the quality of public life.

As for his role as Ethics Commissioner, Dr. Shapiro said, "It takes nerve to talk about ethics in government on a day like today," referring to recent scandals in the federal government. He remarked that ethics bodies are "breaking out all over" in the governments of OECD countries. One reason, he said, is a "frightening decline in civil discourse, in political discourse. If politicians are calling each other crooks, little wonder that the public believes them."

Dr. Shapiro's address was the first in a series of lectures to be organized by the Centre, which will also coordinate research projects consistent with its academic mission. That mission, said Director Melissa Williams, rests on three pillars: 1) Foundation



Dr. Bernard Shapiro

Director Melissa Williams

of Ethics (history and core concepts); 2) Ethics and Action (theory and practice); and 3) Ethics in Translation (cultural ethics and

international ethics). The hope is to have "a new republic of intellect," engaged in provocative ethical discourse.

### VIEW FROM THE DIRECTOR

Continued from page 1

When one community becomes a semi-permanent underclass, its young men are recruits waiting to commit acts of violence.

The official rhetoric in France could not be more different. We are all one, French leaders insist, irrespective of religion or race. No hijabs or crosses in public schools, *s'il vous plait*. Yet young Frenchmen living in squalid suburbs tell a very different story. We may be French citizens, they insist, but we are not given the same opportunities as those who have lived in France for generations. If our family name is African, we don't get the job. Those young people setting cars on fire are not demonstrating against French foreign policy in the Middle East, or insisting on the right to recognition of their cultural or religious differences. They want the same opportunities given to other young Frenchmen. They want to be French not only in name but in reality.

What do these two quite different stories about young people tell us? It seems that neither the rhetoric of multiculturalism nor uncultural secularism is violence-proof against unemployment and dreariness. Squalid high-rise housing with no sports fields, no public squares, and no cafés



A car burns during a riot in the Paris suburb of Le Blanc-Mesnil. Can it happen here? We can ill afford to be smug and self-righteous. It is not difficult to imagine a growing underclass in our biggest cities; an underclass that lives in dreary hopelessness.

breeds frustration, fear, and violence. Although our multiculturalism in Canada is much deeper than in Britain or France, we can ill afford to be smug and self-righteous. It is not difficult to imagine a growing underclass in our biggest cities; an underclass that lives in dreary hopelessness.

What can we in Canada learn

from the violence of the last six months in Europe's capitals? We celebrate our diversity, our multilingualism, our knowledge of different cultures and histories, our taste for all kinds of cuisines. This kind of shallow multiculturalism is no longer enough, if it ever was. With luck, it has taken us this far in building Canadian society, but it

cannot take us much further. Young people who retain their cultural heritage but cannot find jobs, a career, a place to live, a future, and fairness will become angry and, sooner or later, violent.

We must do much better at creating jobs and opportunities for the structurally unemployed within our societies. We must do much better than we are doing now at creating opportunities for the immigrants who come to join us. And we must be much clearer about our values, about what our societies permit and what we exclude as unacceptable. We are moving beyond food and film in our discussion of multiculturalism to speak plainly about the values we share as citizens and those we reject. We are starting – again – a conversation about shared public space.

*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).*

# CENTRE EVENTS

## WILL THE REAL EUROPE PLEASE STAND UP?



Attendees at the CERES launch enjoy the sunshine outside the Munk Centre at a reception after the session.

**W**hat's Ahead for Europe?" was the timely theme of the inaugural event of the newly formed Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (CERES) at the Munk Centre. Timely, because there are currently many pressing questions about the future of Europe. They arise from the failure of the European Union (EU) member states to ratify a constitution earlier this year, as well as from the new realities that have been reshaping notions of what is Europe and who is European since the fall of the

Berlin Wall in 1989.

Panelist Jeremy Kinsman, Canadian Ambassador to the EU, discussed the failure of EU states to ratify a constitution. The question for Europe, he said, is: "What's gone wrong? ... Why did 55 percent of the French vote no?" His answer: "People have felt taken for granted. They're asking what have you [the EU] done for me lately." He suggested that Europe "has gone too far, too fast." As well, he said, there's been a push back of national identity. Unfortunately, this includes small

nationalist parties that, in some cases, are openly racist. Kinsman also suggested that in the wake of the July subway bombings in London, which were carried out by homegrown terrorists, Europe's focus has changed to questions of immigration and demographics, rather than the constitution. He predicted a slowdown in expansion of EU membership.

Another panelist, Jo Shaw, holder of the Salvesen Chair of European Institutions at the University of Edinburgh, posed the question: "Is there hope for Europe?" and answered in the affirmative. "But there needs to be a radical reconnection of European and national policies to individual citizens," she said. Shaw believes there are "multiple opportunities to change the legal and political processes to give citizens a better sense of involvement."

Newly appointed CERES Director Jeffrey Kopstein noted the powerful role the EU has played since the 1990s in effecting change in bordering states. It has held out the prospect of admission in return for fulfilling certain conditions. "It's saying, 'If you behave in a certain way, treat minorities right, etc., we will grant you admission.'"

But there are broader issues as well. As Kopstein pointed out, major questions facing Europe include: "Where are its Eastern borders? Where is Europe? Who is European? Someday the EU is going to have to say to a country on its border – no," he said. These questions reflect the new realities of Europe. Countries that were formerly in "Eastern" Europe are now members of the EU. Others are waiting in the wings to get in. Russia and the rapidly evolving countries of the old Eurasian space find themselves in a new geopolitical context. At the same time, unified Germany and an enlarged EU are no longer the same entities they were before 1989.

These new realities, Kopstein noted, have blurred the lines of scholarship that once separated the various programs that now form CERES. It therefore made sense to combine scholarly forces. "We decided that all of our collective enterprises could be done better with a merger," said Kopstein. CERES merges the former Centre for Russian and East European Studies with the European Studies Program, the Joint Initiative in German and European Studies, and the Institute of European Studies.

## ROUNDTABLE ON THE IRAQI CONSTITUTION



CBC broadcaster Anna Maria Tremonti leads the roundtable discussion

JACLYN EDWARDS AND  
KRISTY IRONSIDE

**D**rafted amidst great instability, the new Iraqi constitution has been hailed either as a major democratic achievement or a monumental failure by political leaders, public opinion and the press. Likewise, there was lively disagreement about the constitution at a recent *Debating the Headlines* forum at the Munk Centre on "The Making of the Iraq

Constitution."

Held just days before Iraq's October 15 national referendum on the constitution, the forum was chaired by CBC Radio's Anna Maria Tremonti and featured Howar Ziad, Ambassador of Iraq to Canada, several U of T authorities, and Bob Rae, former Ontario Premier and an advisor to the drafting committee of the Iraqi constitution.

Ambassador Ziad was optimistic about the future of the constitution. According to him, several fundamen-

tal principles underlie the new constitution: Iraq is a multi-ethnic religious state; it is decentralized in form; it is legitimated through popular consent, as expressed directly by the public through elections; and the constitution protects women and minorities.

Professor David Cameron of the Department of Political Science shared Ambassador Ziad's optimism, saying Iraq's constitution is "imperfect and incomplete," but is itself a great achievement in a country where citizens participate in politics under the threat of violence. Cameron saw the constitution laying the foundation for progress in other areas, such as "clean water, electricity, gasoline, and defeating the insurgency," and a commitment to the democratic process in Iraq.

A more worrisome perspective was offered by Amir Hassanpour, Professor of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations. He argued that the new constitution laid the basis for a theocratic state and was not neces-

sarily more liberal than past constitutions. In the new constitution, he said, power and authority come from Islam, and the state still has the power to commit genocide as part of its national defence policy. However, Bob Rae strongly disagreed with a theocratic interpretation; he saw the constitution as the basis for Iraqi federalism and peace, order, and good governance. He claimed that it was not possible to create a "reflective document" amidst the instability in Iraq, but this did not invalidate its significance.

Shahzad Mojab, Associate Professor and Director of Women and Gender Studies drew some optimism from the long history of women's movements in the Middle East. But she saw the constitution as a compromise between patriarchy and politics, in which women are the losers. She agreed that the constitution was a "theocracy in disguise" and was distressed by the vagueness of its articles about the rights of women.



## WHITHER NEW ORLEANS?

**T**he rebuilding of New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina is fraught with challenges, according to Lawrence Powell of Tulane University. Powell was guest speaker at a Munk Centre *Debating the Headlines* forum called "New Orleans: An American Pompeii?"

The city that arises out of the ruins will be a direct reflection of the political agendas that are implemented, Powell said. And the question is whether those agendas will be guided by a sense of opportunity or mere opportunism. If opportunism prevails, he warned, New Orleans could reemerge as a tourist destination, lacking in ethnic and economic diversity. The real challenge, he said, is to restore the city's diversity, without repeating the historic inequity. This can be achieved by ensuring that government delegates, representatives from inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations, media, and business have their voices heard. Will New Orleans be rebuilt without "black folk"? Can New Orleans be rebuilt with both diversity and equality in mind? These are just some of the questions that hang over America's Pompeii.



## HOW TO FIT IN?

**T**he problem of political identity for Muslim immigrants in Europe was put under the microscope at the second annual Seymour Martin Lipset Lecture on Democracy in the World, sponsored by the Centre for International Studies at the Munk Centre and the National Endowment for Democracy. Guest speaker Francis Fukuyama (above), from The Paul H. Nitze School of

Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University, described modern Islamism as "a form of identity politics." He observed that a problem arises when Muslims move from a traditional area, where the state and mosque supply identity, to the West. Especially troubling, he said was the fact that the children of immigrants are not accepted into their new society, so they adopt a more ideological version of Islam.

At the same time, Fukuyama noted, it has not been fashionable to promote nationalism in Europe, making it difficult for immigrants to adopt a national-level identity, as exists in Canada and the United States. Fukuyama argued that the solution is the development a more open and tolerant political identity, not simply in Europe as a whole, but in each democracy within Europe. Diversity and endless pluralism, he said, are not the answer to this problem of identity and integration.

## THE POWER OF IDEAS



Margaret MacMillan

**W**e get into trouble when we underestimate how powerful ideology and ideas can be," according to Margaret MacMillan, professor of history and Provost of Trinity College. MacMillan made the remark in a sweeping overview of the role of ideas, ideology, and religion in the international relations of the 20th century at a recent Munk Centre session.

As an example of that underestimation, MacMillan recalled that with the end of the Cold War, some scholars went so far as to ask: Is this the end of history? Hardly. The power of ideas to provoke conflict was quickly evidenced once more in Bosnia, Darfur and elsewhere, she noted.

MacMillan, the acclaimed author of *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World*, provided a wide-angle lens on the major ideas and ideologies that shaped the last century. She contrasted "fairly new" ethnic nationalism, in which only those who have the right blood and religion, are accepted. Ethnic nationalism, she noted, began to appear in the mid-19th century, disrupted the Austro-Hungarian empire and the great Russian empire, and is tearing apart the Middle East.

By contrast, other potent ideologies of the century involved ideas, or ideals, that were larger than the individual, giving them an appeal much like that of religion. She noted the universal aspirations of international communism, which was enormously powerful and only ended in the 1980s. Its goal was an international order in which boundaries would disappear. "There is a religious element to it; a certainty, a purpose; there is a goal," she said.

Similarly, the international liberalism associated with Woodrow Wilson and the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 holds the appeal of universal goals. These ideas led to the League of Nations, collective

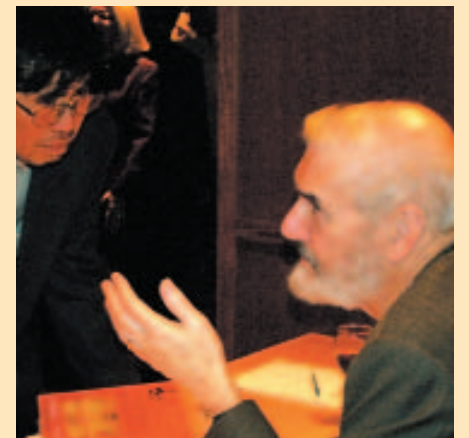
responsibility for the settlement of disputes, universal human rights, and the dismantling of international trade barriers. "These ideas are still with us," MacMillan noted. "People still work in international organizations to achieve them. People are impelled by an ideology bigger than themselves."

As for religion itself, MacMillan noted that organized religion was "not much of a force in the '20s and '30s. There was no organized reaction to communism and fascism." As well, "Islam hadn't become the international force that it is today."

Interesting questions for today are: What is Chinese communism's view of the international order? What is happening in the world of Islam? What does the London subway bombing mean? She noted that the bombers felt a bond with Muslims elsewhere, suggesting the idea of an international or global Muslim community.

MacMillan's lecture was an excellent example of one of the key roles of the Munk Centre: to serve as a hub for the exchange of ideas within the wider university community. The session was sponsored by the Centre for International Studies and co-sponsored by Trinity College and the Department for the Study of Religion.

## THE GELBER LECTURE



**I**n celebration of its 15th anniversary, the Lionel Gelber Prize lecture at the Munk Centre showcased Jonathan D. Spence on the "Search for Modern China." Spence was the first winner of the Lionel Gelber Prize in 1990 and returned to celebrate the anniversary with further insights into the subject that won him that award. His sweeping, insightful account of China's history was in accordance with Lionel Gelber's dream of honouring outstanding writers and thinkers for their contribution to the informed discussion of world affairs.

## INDIA'S ASCENT: AN OPPORTUNITY FOR CANADA

*continued from page 1*

of a crisis when India's foreign exchange reserves declined to precipitously low levels. At mid-point this year, its foreign exchange reserves are amongst the highest in the world. Even though a national centre-left coalition government is currently in power, the principal thrust of liberalization has not changed.

And it is bearing fruit. In the technology sector, India is becoming a pacesetter. Of the Fortune 500 companies, 220 outsource their software-related work to India. Similarly, multinational companies like GE and Boeing are conducting high-end research activity in India. As well, the Indian manufacturing sector is beginning to experience significant domestic growth at annualized rates of 8 to 9 percent.

India's economic growth has geopolitical ramifications that the world is watching. With both India and China, its neighbour to the north, identified as the world's rising economic powers, questions arise about their relationship, bilaterally and with other states. The CIA's National Intelligence Council in *Mapping the Global Landscape 2020* (Executive Summary, December 2004) notes that "the rise of these new powers is a virtual certainty. Yet how China and India exercise their growing powers and whether they relate co-operatively or competitively to other powers in the international system are key uncertainties." China and India are opening up to each other and the two countries have agreed to double their bilateral levels of trade over the next five years. A new word has entered our lexicon – "Chindia." In Dr. Amartya Sen's highly readable *The Argumentative Indian*, the 1998 Nobel Laureate notes that there has been a rich engagement between these two cultures and civilizations. However, there is reason for circumspection. In October 1962, at the time of the Cuban Missile crisis, half a world away, China and India were at war, a conflict that ended swiftly and decisively in China's favor. It was a watershed event in Indian strategic thinking and the China factor became more explicit in Indian foreign and defence policy-making.



*India calling: Employees of 24/7 Customer work through the night providing phone support for Western clients.*

In the global economic arena, China and India have huge energy needs. As both these giants compete for scarce energy supplies, how amicable will this co-operation be? Statements by Indian and Chinese political leaders are balanced and moderate in tone and highlight that co-operation is possible. Let us see.

The impact of India's current economic success is manifesting itself in other ways, including advocacy for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council and for expansion of the G-8 to include India. It is also reflected in India's move to officially become an "aid donor" country in the next few years. To be sure, India's rise cannot mask certain harsh realities. There are still 300 million people (of a total 1 billion) who live in poverty and the UN Human Development Index (2003) places India a lowly 127 of 177 countries. What is new is the stronger economic and political dynamic focused on the need to tackle the big issues around poverty and the decrepit state of physical infrastructure. More importantly, policy initiatives are evident. According to Canada's High Commissioner for India, Lucy Edwards, "India is seeking US\$150 billion in infrastructure alone."

There is opportunity at this juncture for a new era in Canada-India relations. Almost 50 years ago, it seemed that Canada and India were at the dawn of a special relationship. Canada was a middle power coming out of World War II and India was a newly independent state. Canada was a reasoned voice in the Western world. We were able to influence important policy outcomes in NATO (1949) on the one hand, and be a highly credible voice in the nascent developing world, as evidenced in our role in the Colombo Plan (1950) on the other. Able leaders on both sides – notably Canada's Prime Minister Lester Pearson and Escott Reid (Canadian High Commissioner to India 1952-1957) and India's Prime Minister Nehru – developed a strategic and a warm relationship. But these aspirations never materialized and relations atrophied before taking a steep downturn in the aftermath of India's nuclear explosions, first in 1974 and then in 1998. Earlier this year, we witnessed a strategic policy shift when the U.S. in July, and Canada in September, announced a change in their policies towards nuclear co-operation, potentially signaling a new phase in Canadian-Indian relations.

It is the intersection between

India's global economic rise and its geo-political importance that makes India's ascent hard to ignore. It also provides Canada with an immense opportunity. As a trading nation, India presents a vital market and India's huge physical infrastructure and energy needs play to Canada's strengths and know-how. India sees Canada as the gateway to accessing NAFTA and both countries have a stake in open markets. The federal government's commitment to the research and innovation agenda and now the Province of Ontario's landmark commitment to the higher education file augurs well for promoting better student, faculty, and research linkages. Key bodies such as the Indo-Canada Chamber of Commerce, the Canada-India Business Council, and the Shastri Institute are seeing renewed levels of interest and participation. All of the above give us reasons to believe that we are at a moment in time when the prospects for a strong bilateral relationship have never been better.

*Kasi Rao is a Senior Fellow at the Munk Centre for International Studies, and Executive Director, Beacon Project at the University of Ontario Institute of Technology.*

## LATIN AMERICA'S LOST QUARTER-CENTURY: WHAT WENT WRONG?

AL BERRY

**W**hen the United Nations met this autumn to assess progress toward its Millennium Development Goals, media attention was once again turned to their laudable cause: reducing poverty in all its forms in the developing world by 2015. But most of that attention has been focused on the plight of sub-Saharan Africa and other worst-off regions. What about Latin America?

After a decade and a half of market-friendly reforms in the region, poverty is still at about 25 percent, little changed from 1980 levels. Expectations for development have gone largely unfulfilled. Are the neo-liberal economic reforms of the recent past implicated?

In the broader picture, the years since about 1975 have confounded many of the reasonable expectations for developing countries, not just those of Latin America. Pessimism about India's inherent growth limitations (summed up in the idea of a slow 3 percent "Hindu" rate of growth) and optimism on behalf of the newly independent countries of Africa have turned out to be way off the mark. In the succeeding years, the "Third World" has trifurcated, with Asia charging ahead at record growth rates, Africa declining, and Latin America treading water. Three rather different stories are involved. The Latin American experience has generated the most controversy.

At the dawn of the 20th century, Latin America was by far the richest among developing regions. From the last quarter of the 19th century through most of the 20th, it prospered, despite extreme inequality, as countries gained increasing access to international markets: Argentina in wheat and beef, Chile and Peru in various mineral products, Brazil and Colombia in coffee, and so on. Around mid-century this export-based growth pattern gave way to the more inward-looking "import substituting industrialization" (ISI) strategy, in whose dissemination Raul Prebisch and the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC), played a pivotal role. (ECLAC is a Santiago-based United Nations dependency created to contribute to economic and social

development in Latin America and the Caribbean through advice and technical assistance.) Over the period 1950-1980 regional growth hit its historical peak. The level of inequality changed little during this fast growth period, but the growth was enough to effect a dramatic reduction in poverty, from about 65 percent of the population in 1950 to about 25 percent in 1980.

The positive momentum came to a screeching halt around 1980, as real interest rates rose dramatically and countries which had borrowed heavily during the easy money 1970s found themselves unable to service their debts. The inflow of financial resources suddenly turned into an outflow. This international debt crisis led in Latin America to a decade of stagnation and helped to foster a major policy shift away from the interventionist trade and other policies of the ISI period toward a more "market-friendly," or neo-liberal approach. The international financial institutions (especially the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank) and other critics of ISI saw the crisis as the natural result of a flawed economic strategy.

By the early 1990s, reforms were being put in place and capital was returning to the region. But its post-1990 performance has fallen far short of what the policy reformers expected. Regional growth has averaged 2.8 percent per year over this period, just half the 5.5 percent registered over the ISI period 1950-1980. In addition, instead of improving as some had anticipated, inequality has tended to worsen. Average per capita income in the region has edged up by less than 1 percent per year and poverty incidence is, 25 years later, at about the level of 1980.

What went wrong? Their proponents tend to say that the reforms have not been pushed far enough to yield their full potential benefits. Critics are understandably doubtful about going farther down a path that has thus far yielded no obvious fruit. Both reformers and critics have focused increasingly on the inequality problem, with a variety of interesting ideas being put forward and some implemented, as with Brazil's pension plan, which includes retired agricultural workers, and the subsidies to lower-income families in

Mexico and elsewhere to allow them to keep their children in school. But overall, there is no evidence yet that either the market reforms themselves, or the various complementary policies designed to narrow income gaps, will make much difference. Unless that does happen, any future poverty reduction will have to come from an improved growth performance.

Several hypotheses have been advanced to explain the weak growth and, hence, limited poverty reduction under the new economic model:

i) Liberalization of capital flows was the mistake in the reform package; freer capital movement led to financial and economic crises during the 1990s, with serious negative impacts on growth;

ii) The trade reforms went too far, so far that they preclude the sort of apparently efficient protection carried out earlier in East Asia and in such Latin America countries as Brazil, Mexico, and Colombia;

iii) The main source of indifferent performance since 1990 has been the negative inertial effects of the 1980s crisis. In this view, the whole unhappy story of the post-1990 period is due to the loss of the pre-1980s momentum. Inertia may matter more than policy.

iv) Perhaps the new model only works well when implemented with unusual skill. Chile's successes since 1982 might be, in part, interpreted this way. There was coherence in the design and application of its market-friendly policies.

It will probably take another decade or so of research for economists to understand what did go wrong. Empirical analysis of the trade-growth relationship has turned out to be extremely complicated and confusing. What stand out dramatically, in retrospect, are the weak intellectual underpinnings of the market-friendly reforms. Even if the reforms eventually bear considerable fruit, it is clear that as of 1980 no one knew whether they would or not. The story was not one of carefully considered professional judgments being translated into policy, but rather of simplistic ideologies and vested interests, operating in a context where events would not wait for a really serious professional debate. What is now clear in retrospect (and



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## LATIN AMERICA'S LOST QUARTER-CENTURY: WHAT WENT WRONG?

no doubt was to many observers at the time) is that the correct approach to the debt crisis had to involve a substantial bailout of the debtor nations. But the creditors and the IFIs took too long to edge towards this conclusion. Two countries that emerged relatively well from their respective crises are Chile and, elsewhere in the world, South Korea; both happened, for different reasons, to benefit from huge capital inflows when they needed them.

markets.) It is debatable whether the reforms would have produced significant benefits — probably their impacts would have varied a good deal from country to country, but at least they would not have produced the debacle that followed. If one believes that making bailouts conditional on reforms delayed the bailouts and/or made them smaller than they would otherwise have been (e.g. due to overconfidence in the benefits forthcoming from the

U.S. sinks to lower and lower levels around the world. This coincidence of timing has provided some fuel for the always-prevalent view that democracy is not the answer to the day-to-day problems of the common person. Such strains might be manageable if democratic governments were able to bring quick and significant improvements in quality of life to their people. This is not easy while growth remains sluggish, but credit is due to Brazil for introducing

unlikely to be an optimal strategy (especially where the "free" does not apply fully to the markets of the industrial country trading partners). But the level of public discourse and understanding of the issues remains frustratingly low; too much of the debate is between ideological free traders and ideological opponents who undervalue the benefits from trade. Meanwhile, more open thinkers may be legitimately confused by the ambiguous state of professional research and analysis.

Inevitably, some thinking and experimentation is focusing on finding a better way. ECLAC, especially under the leadership of Jose Antonio Ocampo, has played a leading role in the search for middle-of-the-road solutions that both take advantage of markets and also seek to guide them. In Venezuela, Hugo Chavez has drawn on deep public distrust of the traditional economic elites, the largest increase in poverty since 1990 among the major countries of the region, and the high price of oil to search for a new socio-economic model involving a large role for the state and for production co-operatives. How this will unfold remains to be seen; thus far, the emerging model does not appear to replace the role of markets.

All experiments like this one (and like Allende's in Chile) run the serious risk of failure, even if they involve promising ideas, for several reasons. They do not recognize basic economic constraints, they include bad ideas with the good ones, and/or they run afoul of the "bugs" that must be ironed out before any new system works very well.

If there is a single reason for pessimism at this time it lies in the fact that recent growth in the region, where it has occurred, has been less employment-creating than was pre-crisis growth. This suggests that countries need to design and implement policies for pro-employment growth. Few have advanced far in their thinking as to how to do this. Yet effective job-creating strategies almost certainly hold the best promise for Latin America to recover from its lost quarter century.



*But where are the jobs? Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez brings his populist message to a rally in Caracas.*

Does this story mean that the reforms are implicated in the region's subsequent misadventures? This depends on how one looks at the sequence of events. I believe that the basic mistake was one of omission — the failure to provide the needed bailouts, and that had those bailouts been provided, the reforms would not have brought calamity. (Bailouts would have been needed to deal not only with the initial crisis but also with the later ones caused by the reform/liberalization of capital

reforms), then one could lay much blame on the fact that the "powers that were" had this particular bee in their bonnet at the time.

The relative stagnation of most of Latin America since 1980 has coincided with, and sometimes contributed to, an increasing level of democratisation. Democratic governments have thus been saddled with weak economies together with the political albatross of Washington-based reforms. This is not a trivial burden, as respect for the

pension reform, and to the post-Pinochet democratic governments of Chile for softening the hard edges of the market-friendly model there. Democracy can sometimes make a difference; how big a difference is harder to judge.

To the extent that one attributes the considerable and vocal opposition to the free trade agreement of the Americas (FTAA) to the increase in political participation, this may be a benefit, at least for countries like Brazil, where free trade is

## CRISIS IN KASHECHWAN: LESSONS FROM THE GLOBAL ARENA



James Radner

**J**ames Radner, Director of the newly created Boreal Institute for Civil Society at the Munk Centre, arrived at the UofT this fall after more than 25 years of work on projects in international development, primarily in Eastern Europe and Latin America. His arrival coincided with the sad news of the sudden evacuation of Kashechewan people from their James Bay community because of unhealthy drinking water. This latest crisis, combined with well-known issues of joblessness and poverty on reserves, raises a central question: How can Canadian policymakers improve their approach to development in First Nation communities? The Munk Centre Monitor asked Radner about the lessons we can learn from successful community development projects elsewhere in the world, as well as his plans for the Boreal Institute.

**MCM:** *First, let's talk about the broad lessons we can learn from international experience. Are there core principles that need to be applied to achieve success in community development for marginalized groups?*

**JR:** A core principle in international development is that every community is different, and addressing community needs requires deep local knowledge. I am new to Canada, and can rely only on what I have learned from recent media reports, so my comments must be taken as a starting point for deeper exploration, not as conclusions. Yet this cautionary principle has a posi-

tive flip side: There are people who do have deep knowledge of James Bay, the Kashechewan people themselves, and their voices must be heard. The worldwide development community has found models of effective, collaborative development work that is grounded in, and accountable to, the communities to be served. The key is not one-off consultation, but ongoing, locally rooted work.

So while every community is different, my own experience suggests that tools of effective collaboration can be applied across cultures if the need for local rootedness is respected.

**MCM:** *Can you give international examples of successful collaboration?*

**JR:** Yes, local rootedness in development by no means excludes major participation by large-scale governmental and institutional players. Since 1974, for example, the World Bank, World Health Organization, and other UN bodies have acted in partnership to combat the blight of Onchocerciasis (river blindness) in Africa; the discovery by Merck of the effectiveness of its drug Mectizan against the disease, together with Merck's willingness to donate the drug, proved a major breakthrough. But it was the formation of the African Programme for Onchocerciasis Control (APOC) in 1995, with its partnership with African community organizations and its locally driven "Community-Directed Treatment" program, that yielded full-scale success: high coverage across diverse African communities, sustainably delivered. APOC engages international institutions, voluntary agencies, and both donor and host country governments to support community-directed treatment.

**MCM:** *What about the marginalized communities themselves? Do they face common challenges?*

**JR:** Many observers have noted that poor and marginalized communities worldwide are especially vulnerable to crises of various types, be they hurricanes (New Orleans), earthquakes (Kashmir) or famines (Niger). A major reason for this is that these communities lack voice

in their societies and cannot command resources to resolve problems. The economist Amartya Sen pointed out that famines do not occur in functioning democracies, because voice is possible through, among other things, a free press. As a result, people are in a position to get the word out about food shortages, and to secure a timely response. People sometimes forget that Sen talks of *functioning* democracies — it's critical in each case to look at how well democratic institutions are functioning for the communities involved.

**MCM:** *Are there lessons here that apply to the Kashechwan crisis and our broader approach to First Nations development?*

**JR:** From what we've seen in press accounts so far, the Kashechwan crisis involved a festering local problem — the water had been tainted for some time — plus an apparent breakdown of effective collaboration between the community and two levels of government. What more could go wrong? It also seems that it takes a crisis before the media gives a platform to First Nations issues.

As for the future, community and government leaders interested in preventing problems like the recent evacuation should attend to more than technical issues of water engineering and health testing. They should also seek a developmental approach that is rooted in the First Nation communities themselves and that remains accountable to them over time. A single report or consultation will not suffice here; nor will simply dropping more money into reserves without a joint approach to economic development. The structure of the effort must include ongoing, effective local voice, and First Nations must have the power to determine their own destiny. There are, I am sure, good examples of this kind of work within Canada and among First Nations. Apparently, these examples need to be expanded to assure that crises like what we have just seen do not recur. In short, whatever other features the James Bay crisis may have, it is important for Canadians to take a new, deep look at the connection between indigenous peoples and other Canadians, and to do that jointly with those very peoples. There is, no doubt, much to learn.

**MCM:** *This discussion ties in with your work at the Boreal Institute. Can you expand on the Institute's mandate and what you hope to achieve?*

**JR:** The Boreal Institute for Civil Society will explore ways for development work to be effectively informed by local knowledge, driven by local communities, and at the same time able to mobilize large-scale public and private sector resources. The mission of the Boreal Institute is to contribute to human development in Canada and worldwide. I accept Amartya Sen's definition of development as the expansion of human capabilities, or, as Sen also says, the expansion of freedom. Development is about unlocking the capacity of all people to take control of their destinies and live to their full potential.

There are many actors in the drama of human development, and I've already stressed that each person in need must be seen as a key actor (and never merely as an object). So we face a problem of scale: If development work must respect individual differences and be driven at the local level, how can our programs be large enough to serve everyone in need?

**MCM:** *Can you expand on this problem of scale?*

**JR:** Yes. Put another way, it is very challenging for development work to both

1. Help people control their own lives and flourish as individuals, a task that requires the work to be driven by and accountable to the communities and individuals being served; and,
2. Mobilize sufficient resources — knowledge, technology, and finance — to meet everyone's needs, a task that frequently requires engaging larger institutions.

Boreal will explore especially how civil society organizations can tackle this challenge. In particular, we will work collaboratively with participants in development work locally and globally to jointly identify, develop, and disseminate practical solutions to help grassroots development organizations and larger public and private institutions better work together. We will do this through two main activities: First, we will partner with civil society (at

both the grass roots and larger scales) in concrete, results-driven projects whose lessons can be applied broadly. Second, we will collaborate to foster a community of practice, made up of people with interest, experience, and insights into the scale problem.

**MCM:** *What specific projects do you have in mind?*

**JR:** Our practical work will begin close to home, working with youth in Toronto neighbourhoods to expand youth opportunity; for example, youth employment in at-risk neighbourhoods. Boreal is partnering with youth-led grassroots organizations, seeking ways to help them achieve practical results consistent with their own agendas. Our goal in this effort is to work together with these partners on the scale problem: to share ideas with them, and to develop collaborations across civil society, including the public and private sectors, on the basis of equality and mutual respect. We seek both specific results — expanding youth opportunity through youth engagement — and lessons that can be applied more broadly. Once we have obtained specific results in Toronto, we will work to catalyze similar work across Canada. Equally, we will launch projects with similar characteristics — joint problem solving in civil society — in the international arena as well.

**MCM:** *What role do you see the Munk Centre playing in your efforts?*

**JR:** A key activity stream for Boreal is fostering a community practice tied to the issues we focus on, so that we inform and strengthen each other's work, and to enable voice for previously isolated actors. Our colleagues at the Munk Centre and the University of Toronto — including students and faculty — will be vital participants in this collaborative effort, which will include a regular Boreal Seminar Series at the Munk Centre on key development challenges related to the problem of scale. We invite the Toronto community to join us in this exploration. If we work together, we may yet find new tools that all Canadians can use not only to attack infrastructure problems, but also to expand the freedoms that Amartya Sen identifies as integral to human development.

## PARTNERS IN LAW

EILEEN LAM, ASIAN INSTITUTE



*Alan Alexandroff in conversation with Eileen Lam and visiting Chinese judges at the Munk Centre.*

**A** group of Chinese judges deepened their understanding of law, Canadian style, this past summer, thanks to an innovative exchange program between the Asian Institute at the Munk Centre and the city of Shenzhen. The visiting judges met with a high-calibre roster of Canadian legal talent, with a view to gaining insights into modern judicial and court management that can be used to develop Shenzhen's reform practices and to modernize the Chinese legal system.

Shenzhen is a major Chinese city of 7 million people, which is well known as the pilot city, or testing ground, for China's modernization reforms. Since 2003, the Asian Institute has been collaborating with Shenzhen through development programs for senior government officials and professionals in several areas of good governance and modern urban management, ranging from legal reforms to best practices in water resource and environmental management.

The judges' program provided participants with an opportunity to do a comparative analysis of the Chinese and Canadian legal systems. As Madam Justice Maryka Omatsu, Ontario Court of Justice, remarked, "Cross-cultural exchanges benefit both sides," adding, "I was impressed that the Chinese government sent a delegation of 20 young, bright Shenzhen judges to learn about the Canadian judicial system."

The Chinese judges visited the Faculty of Law at UofT where Associate Dean Lorne Sossin gave an overview of the administration of justice in Canada. The program also included visits to the Ontario Ministry of the Attorney General, the Superior Court of Canada, the Federal Court of Canada, and the Maplehurst Correctional Complex.

Dr. Alan Alexandroff, co-director of the exchange program, briefed the judges on the WTO and its consequences. The judges found the intensive briefing useful and applicable to trials that would

involve international business.

As Guo Dun-Min, Director of the Shenzhen Department of Human Resources, noted in a thank-you letter, "Our delegation has spoken very highly of the lectures, instructors, presentations and all the other arrangements. Hopefully, this project will continue in the future, and we may establish a long-term relationship with the Asian Institute."

## THE LABOUR ROOTS OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS:

Feminism is usually understood as a distinctly middle-class ideology, but it actually had deep roots within the working class. Commencing in the last years of the 19th century and peaking in the mid-20th, labour feminism flowed into and profoundly shaped the larger struggle for gender equality in both the United States and Canada. In late September, nearly 300 scholars from around the globe convened in the Munk Centre to explore this subject. Organized by the Centre for the Study of the United States (CSUS) with a range of co-sponsoring institutions, professional associations, and journals, the conference was the first gathering of its kind. "In one location we brought together not only the leading historians of women's work but important theorists and commentators on gender and politics from disciplines as diverse as sociology, political science, and labour studies," said Professor Franca Iacovetta, who chaired the conference program committee.



*L to R: leading feminist scholars in the MCIS garden  
Nancy Hewitt, Nancy MacLean,  
Silke Neunsinger, Dorothy Sue Cobble*

# PEOPLE AND IDEAS

## LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

**A** newly launched program, based at the Munk Centre, is breathing new life into Latin American Studies at the University of Toronto. It took shape over the last 18 months as scholars working on Mexico and Central and South America discussed ways of revitalizing the university's Ibero-American Studies Program. This summer, the Faculty of Arts and Science relaunched the program as Latin American Studies at the University of Toronto (LAS@UofT) and appointed as Director, Professor Kenneth Mills, an historian of colonial Latin America. LAS@UofT has quickly established itself as a presence on the Munk Centre's weekly event calendar and is poised to become one of the more vibrant and multi-disciplinary programs on campus. Rick Halpern, Director of the Centre for the Study of the United States, spoke with Mills about Latin American Studies and its goals and vision for the future.

**RH:** *Why has Latin American Studies been relaunched at this particular juncture? Is there something about this moment in time and space that has led to the University's renewed commitment to study of the region?*

**KM:** Toronto is home to the largest Latin American communities in Canada, and the University of Toronto possesses some of the country's finest library resources for teaching and research. But beyond these factors, hiring in a number of departments in recent years has brought a remarkably energetic cohort of new faculty to the university. This, combined with the tireless efforts of established Toronto scholars of the region to keep the program alive, caught the attention of the administration and prompted a rebirth. The Dean of Arts and Science, Pekka Sinervo, deserves congratulations for allowing his attention, in particular, to be caught! The Faculty's vision and support means that, together, Latin Americanists now have an exciting opportunity to put Latin America at

the heart of the university's international future.

**RH:** *What are the particular strengths and interests of the people, junior and senior, involved in the new LAS@UofT?*

**KM:** The research and pedagogical mission of Latin American Studies is very broad. It encompasses ancient American civilizations such as the Incas and the Aztecs; the transoceanic study of the ideas and people who came together and emerged within a widening Iberian world; investigations and comparisons of the history, literatures, politics, and cultures of the Latin American regions and countries; and the transnational investigation of Latin American migrants and their descendants in Canada and elsewhere. We continue to draw upon expertise from the Departments of Spanish and Portuguese, Political Science, and Anthropology. Yet there are several significant challenges just ahead, as well. Not the least of these is to discover just how to replace the gap left by the retirement of a great scholar and teacher, Professor Jock Galloway, from Geography, and how to bolster offerings with significant Latin American content in Sociology.

**RH:** *What are the immediate goals for a new program like yours? How are you going about both raising the profile of LAS@UofT and building a sense of community?*

**KM:** The short- and medium-term objective must be the realization of this vast potential for the study of Latin America at the University of Toronto and, you're right, we also want to turn the heads of the world's best scholars of the region. I'd say the immediate goals are threefold: first, to gather and excite our own diverse community of Latin Americanists through discussions of our work in regular forums; second, to encourage innovative curricular pathways — mixed with extra-curricular social and intellectual opportunities — for undergraduate and graduate students who seek to learn more about Latin America; and third, to lead by example at the UofT as a connective unit, rigorous about all that we do as scholars and teachers,

and imaginative about how we engage and collaborate with others.

Earlier this term we launched a "Latin America Studies Luncheon Series" towards the first goal. We feature a lunch and an informal place to talk about work-in-progress and common challenges. We've drawn encouraging crowds for speakers on topics ranging from the political engagements of Latin immigrants in Toronto and Montreal, to the promotion of public health in 19th-century Mexico.

A "Latin American Studies Speaker Series" is also underway. Catherine Julien spoke about the ways in which the 16th-century rebel Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui composed a performative work of history for royal readers in Spain. Political scientist Eric Hershberg lectured on the travails of second-generation reforms in Colombia. Other speakers in the line-up: Patrick Timmons on "The Experience and Meaning of Violent Death in Twentieth-Century Latin America" and Susan Kellogg on ethnography as a way of finding Latin America's contemporary indigenous women.

**RH:** *Do you have plans for outreach beyond the University of Toronto into the wider community? Is this part of the mandate of the new program?*

**KM:** Yes. We are keenly aware of our public responsibility in promoting a better understanding of Latin America as a broad and culturally diverse neighbour-region in the hemisphere. We are planning a complementary array of artistic and cultural events. This is a wonderfully rich city from which to draw in Latin American visual artists, musicians, and dancers. These cultural initiatives can only enhance what we do as teachers and scholars. I hope we can think simultaneously in quite large, as well as in smaller, incremental ways. For example, on the larger side, we'll be welcoming a touring exhibition of Baroque paintings from South America in the Autumn of 2007, in collaboration with the University of Toronto Art Centre. Around this rare cluster of paintings, there will be seminars for students, public lectures, gallery talks, and an international symposium.



**Ken Mills**  
is Professor of History and Director of the new Latin American Studies Program at the University of Toronto.

## THE HALBERT EXCHANGE PROGRAM



Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Israel (above) has exchanged research and scholars with the UofT in the Halbert Exchange Program for more than a decade.

### BUILDING BRIDGES WITH IDEAS: THE HALBERT EXCHANGE

One scholar, Carol Kidron, is looking at the long-term effects of historical trauma on families. Another, Khalid Ghanayim, is working on legal issues arising from modern terrorism. And a third, Benjamin Pollock, is exploring aspects of Jewish philosophy. Three scholars in diverse fields of study who share a common source of funding: they are all post-doctoral fellows of the Halbert Exchange Program at the Munk Centre.

Created more than a decade ago with an endowment from Dr. Ralph and Rosalyn (Roz) Halbert, the Halbert Exchange Program fosters collaborative research and student exchanges between the University of Toronto and Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Israel. Since the 1993-1994 school year, the Halbert Exchange has awarded 38 fellowships to fellows at both universities for research in the social sciences, humanities, education, and law.

"I have a commitment to higher education," says Dr. Halbert, explaining his support. Dr. Halbert is a graduate of UofT (Dentistry 1954), as is his wife, Roz (Arts 1954). After practicing as an orthodontist, Dr. Halbert became a successful real estate developer (Glen Corporation) and a philanthropist for educational causes. He prefers not to divulge the amount of his financial support nor

to take credit for the Halbert Exchange Program's success. That goes, he says, to the Program's academic review committee, chaired by Janice Stein, Director of the Munk Centre.

The three post-doctoral fellows selected by the committee for 2004-2005 are conducting research that promises to advance the boundaries of knowledge in their respective fields (see profiles). For all three, the Munk Centre provides an excellent environment for their studies. As Benjamin Pollock puts it: "The research facilities I've had access to, and the individual scholars I've been able to work with here, have made the Munk Centre an ideal place to begin my research." He adds: "I want to thank the Halbert Exchange Program for making this possible."

The Halbert Exchange Program has grown over the years, thanks to two endowment enhancements by the Halberts. In the early years of the Program, the fellowships mainly funded shorter research trips to, or from, Israel. Recipients of these early awards include leading scholars from the UofT, such as Lorraine Weinrib (Law) and David Cameron (Political Science), as well as from Hebrew University, including Gabriela Shalev (Law) and Dan Avnon (Political Science).

Post-doctoral fellowships were added in 1997. These fellowships have contributed to the careers and success of a number of future faculty at the UofT and in Israel: Ran Hirschl (Law/Political Science, HUJI) was a

post-doc in 1999-2000 before joining the UofT's Department of Political Science. Oded Lowenheim spent over two years at the Munk Centre (2000-2003) before taking up a faculty position at Hebrew University. Tal Dingott-Alkopher was at the Munk Centre (2003-2004) before taking up a position at Haifa University in the Department of Political Science.

Yet another dimension to the Program was added in 1999-2000 with the introduction of Network Fellowships to fund research by teams of scholars drawn from the two universities. Examples of their work include:

- Research into the development of Early Stone Age and Bronze Age communities, led by Professors Ted Banning and Michael Chazan (Anthropology, UofT) in Israel, Jordan, and South Africa;
- The development of an electronic database of Medieval Jewish biblical exegesis by Dr. Barry Walfish (Libraries, UofT);
- An international conference on the nature of the state of Israel's Jewish roots and the blend of revolutionary and conservative qualities that have characterized the Zionist project by Professor Derek Penslar (Jewish Studies, UofT).

While the quality of scholars and research is gratifying for the Halberts, the rewards for them are personal. "We've met some wonderful people. That's the big reward," says Dr. Halbert. "Along with knowing that we are assisting the future of the country."

### Meet the Halbert Fellows for 2004-2005

#### Carol Kidron

What are the lasting psychological effects of trauma on the descendants of its victims? Are there culturally specific differences? Fascinating questions, on which Carol Kidron's research will shed light. Carol, who previously studied at Columbia University, Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Israel (HUJI) and McGill, is conducting an ethnographic study on the long-term effects of trauma on Canadian-Cambodian families. This work will ideally allow for a cross-cultural comparison of the long-term effects of trauma on Cambodians and Jewish-Israeli families. "I will explore the different culturally specific experiences of self-hood, memory, silence, and time in the every day life of trauma descendants," she says.

#### Khalid Ghanayim

Khalid, a graduate in law from the University of Cologne, Germany and HUJI, is conducting research on "The Theory of Necessity in Criminal Law: The New Developments." This arcane-sounding topic has great relevance to pressing new legal issues raised by terrorism. For example, is the military justified in shooting down a passenger plane hijacked by terrorists with 100 people on board when it is headed for a building containing many more potential victims? In other words, is killing a small group of people justified by saving the lives of a larger group? This presents a new situation for the legal defence of justified necessity, Khalid points out. "The law recognizes life as the highest value, and in the case of human lives, the balance is one of quality, not of quantity or quantity-quality," he says. Khalid is exploring this and other new questions related to the defence of necessity.

#### Benjamin Pollock

Benjamin, a graduate of the University of California, Berkeley and HUJI, is pursuing research on the "esotericism and enlightenment" in modern Jewish philosophy. "I suppose one way to explain the subject is to say that it deals with the relationship between telling the truth and keeping secrets," he says. "I'm interested in what appears to me to be the shared conviction, among a number of modern Jewish thinkers, that truth itself is inherently enigmatic – it's a secret we're all trying to get in on."

"Since this enigmatic character is part and parcel of the nature of truth, however, truth cannot simply be learned or communicated to others in a direct and explicit manner, as one would, say, the recipe for a cake or even the laws of gravity, because in such a manner, truth would be presented, ironically, as something it is not, i.e., falsely. Thus, when it comes to guiding others towards truth – i.e., when it comes to teaching philosophy – these thinkers employ a purposely obscure form of writing, hoping to 'enlighten' their students precisely by preserving the hidden character of the truth they are trying to teach."