DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Discourse

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

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International Organization and *Governance* Come to U of T

Two top-ranked academic journals have found new editorial expertise in the Department of Political Science. The editorial board of the leading journal of international relations, *International Organization*, voted recently to move the journal's headquarters from Harvard to the University of Toronto, marking the first time *IO* will be based outside the U.S. **Emanuel Adler** and **Louis Pauly**, working out of the Munk Centre, will serve as co-editors for a five-year term. Building on a base in international political economy, the journal presents seminal articles on a broad range of topics of interest to scholars and practitioners. According to the annual surveys published in ISI Journal Citation Ranking, *IO* places first out of 52 journals in terms of scholarly impact in the international relations category.

Meanwhile, **Joseph Wong** has become book editor for *Governance*. Published in association with the International Political Science Association's Reseach Committee on the Structure and Organization of Government (SOG), *Governance* emphasizes work that takes an international or comparative approach to public policy and administration. It is a forum for the theoretical and practical discussion of executive politics, public policy, administration, and the organization of the state. ISI impact rankings place *Governance* first among 26 public administration journals.

From the Chair

This edition of *Discourse* highlights, indeed celebrates, the outstanding quality of our doctoral program. I offer three compelling pieces of evidence. Exhibit A is **Luc Turgeon**'s provocative and sobering analysis of the sovereignty option in Quebec ten years after the 1995 referendum (see page 9). Luc, who is one of several Quebecois students in our Ph.D. program, is currently completing his doctoral dissertation on youth, governance, and social exclusion. His essay here is the transcript of the presentation he made at a roundtable on the Quebec referendum organized by another of our stellar Ph.D. students, **Amy Nugent**. Amy, who hails from Alberta, has been struck by English Canada's dangerous silence on the future of Quebec and Canada, so she took it upon herself to organize a roundtable on the referendum's anniversary, featuring Bob Rae, **Sujit Choudhry,** and Jean-François Gaudreault-DesBiens from the Faculty of Law and, of course, Luc. Without Amy's initiative and Luc's sterling contribution the event wouldn't have been such a resounding success.

Exhibit B is **Jeffrey Webber**'s account of his field research in Bolivia (page 5). A significant number of our PhD students write dissertations that require extensive field research. Jeff, who did his undergraduate work in B.C., offers a particularly colourful example of what doctoral research entails. At a point this past summer when tourists were being told it was too dangerous to visit Bolivia, Jeff was right in the thick of what he calls "the revolutionary cycle", working with and studying the dynamics of an extraordinary social movement. It is a gripping piece.

Exhibit C is the list of newly-minted Ph.D.s (page 2) – proof that there really is light at the end of the graduate school tunnel! Over the course of 2005, the University conferred a remarkable 17 Ph.D.s in Political Science. These brand new doctors of philosophy are already making their mark. They have found positions, in roughly equal numbers, in tenure-stream appointments across North America, in post-doctoral research posts, and in full-time positions working for governments and NGOs.

The simple but powerful point is that the Department attracts and produces outstanding doctoral students from across the country and, indeed, internationally. But we can't do it alone. Field research is expensive. Marshalling resources to create

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the space needed to finish a dissertation is difficult. And providing the sort of support that will persuade the very best students to do their doctoral work here (rather than in the U.S. or elsewhere) is a constant challenge.

Over the past seven years, the Department has raised approximately $1.5 million to support graduate education. Thanks to matching programs introduced by the University and the Government of Ontario, our friends have stepped up to create graduate fellowships that provide students in Political Science with the support they need to concentrate on producing first-class research; but the need is still great. Happily, a new matching program has just been announced (see page 6). If you have the financial capacity to create an enduring contribution to our graduate program, please note the way in which your donation will triple its impact – in perpetuity. If you would like to support our students in other ways, please consider giving to the Department's Trust Fund in whatever amount you can (see back page).

Winston Churchill once said: "We make a living by what we get, but we make a life by what we give." His words remain a fine motto for our times.

Robert Vipond

Focus on Faculty

Randall Hansen, who joined the Department this past summer as Canada Research Chair in Immigration and Governance, spent the first few years of his life in Inuvik, NWT (now Nunavut) where his father taught and worked for a government-sponsored bank. His teenage years found him in more temperate climes, on the shores of Lake Okanagan in central British Columbia. There, he entered Okanagan College taking first and second year courses in Arts and Science. Inspired by the teaching of Barry McCullough, he found his calling as a political scientist. He completed his undergraduate work at UBC where his studies with Don Blake and Alan Cairns set him on his way to Queen Elizabeth, Commonwealth and SSHRCC scholarships, enabling him to pursue graduate training at Oxford University working with John Gray for his M Phil., and Desmond King for his D.Phil.

In what Hansen describes as the launching pad for his career, he then spent two and a half years on a Jr. Research Fellowship at Christ Church College, Oxford. It was during this time that he produced *Citizenship and Immigration in Postwar Britain* (OUP, 2000), now the definitive work in the field. Moreover, in addition to collaborating on projects with Desmond King on both asylum policy and the uneven influence of eugenic ideas, he also began comparative work on colonial immigration in France and Britain and, more generally, citizenship policy throughout Europe. These latter projects led to research stints at L'Institut d'études politique de Paris (Sciences Po) and Humboldt University in Berlin. These studies have appeared in a succession of articles in *World Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *The Political Quarterly,* and the *European Journal of Political Research* as well as two edited volumes with Patrick Weil, *Towards a European Nationality: Citizenship, Immigration, and Nationality Law in the EU* (Palgrave, 2001), and *Dual Citizenship, Social Rights and Federal Citizenship in the US and Europe* (Berghahn, 2002). Current work involves the fallout of the headscarf affair in Europe and a monograph on the bombing of Germany during World War II.

Prior to coming to Toronto, Hansen taught at Queen Mary University of London, Merton College, University of Oxford and, most recently, at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne where he held an established Chair. Hansen was particularly attracted to the Department by the critical mass of scholars working here in the areas of immigration and European politics and by their methodological diversity, since his work moves across both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Hansen is married to Katja Goebs, Ph.D., an Associate Professor at U of T's Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations. Goebs is pursuing research into the concept of divine light in ancient Egyptian religion. They have a child, Kieran, who is approaching his second birthday and together they have begun exploring some of Toronto's many parks as well as reading the classics such as *Goodnight Moon*, *Winnie the Pooh* and *Postman Pat* (and his black and white cat, Jess).

Newly-Minted Ph.D.s

Congratulations to our newly-minted Ph.D.s and their supervisors:

Cheryl Collier (Sylvia Bashevkin), **Ross Corbett** (Tom Pangle), **Ellen Gutterman** (Janice Stein), **Sarah Hartley** (Grace Skogstad), **Nader Hashemi** (Frank Cunningham), **Daniel Schwartz** (Tad Homer-Dixon), **Julie Simmons** (Richard Simeon), **Dana Jalbert Stauffer** (Tom Pangle) and **David Trick** (Stephen Clarkson).

Violence, Immigration, and Islam in Contemporary Europe

Randall Hansen,
Canada Research Chair in Immigration & Governance

On November 2, 2004, the controversial film maker Theo van Gogh was taking his usual bicycle path to work. A 26-year-old Dutch/Moroccan national, Mohammed Bouyeri, was waiting at the side of the road. He stepped out and shot van Gogh eight times. The film maker crawled to the side of the road, turned to face his attacker, and begged for mercy. Bouyeri unsheathed two swords, and slashed van Gogh's throat. He implanted the knives in van Gogh's body, pinning a note threatening Jews, Western governments, and Hirsi Ali. Ali wrote a controversial short film, *Submission*, which paired partially clothed and bleeding women with misogynist Qur'anic verses. Van Gogh directed the film. This film, and his habit of referring to Muslims as 'goat fuckers' made him a controversial figure and the object of intense radical Islamist hatred.

On July 7, 2005, four men – Shehzad Tanweer, Mohammad Sidique Khan, Hasib Mir Hussain, and Germaine Lindsay – blew themselves up on London's transportation systems, killing themselves and 52 people. Three of the four men were British nationals raised in the UK.

On the weekend of October 21, 2005, riots broke out between members of Birmingham, England's Black and Asian communities. The riots were triggered by a rumour that a young Black girl had been raped by between three and 25 Asians. They left one man, a 23-year-old who was on his way home, dead, and 35 seriously injured.

Four days later, two Muslim youths dodging the police in suburban Paris hid in an electric power substation. They were electrocuted. Their deaths led to weeks of rioting, the worst civil unrest since 1968. It spread throughout France, including to its uncompromisingly bourgeois capital.

These developments have shaken the confidence of the European political elite and made citizens worry again about the capacity of Europe to cope with large-scale immigration. The remedies offered by observers are multiple. For the far-right (and some of the mainstream right), the problem is immigration itself and, above all, the immigration of Muslims, whose religion they view as irretrievably pre-modern. For the left, the problem is social deprivation: violence is a wholly understandable reaction to social deprivation. As a hard-left West Midlands County Council report described Birmingham's previous (1980s) wave of violence: "The never-employed Black under-class, interned in the workless gulags of Britain, had risen up against their oppressors." Birmingham was seeing 'violent resistance' by Blacks who believed they were being forced to live under 'a form of apartheid'. For the mainstream – Charles Clarke in the UK or Nicolas Sarkozy in France – it's a matter of crushing a few troublemakers, the 'scum' who are behind the civil unrest. For some foreign commentators – above all, Canadians – all Europe has to do is become more Canadian, fully embracing immigration and multiculturalism. Each of these suggestions is incomplete, if not wrong.

The problem facing Europe is not one of immigration, or of Islam. Europe accepts hundreds of thousands of immigrants every year, from inside and from outside the EU, who slip effortlessly into positions as highly-skilled workers and become productive members of their new society. Such immigrants cause no problems and they consequently get no press.

The problem is also not, at least not straightforwardly, Islam as millions of Muslims lead quiet, productive lives in Europe. What's more, if Islam were any predictor of violence or social conflict, it would be equally shared across Europe. It is not; Germany's 3-million strong Muslim communities have not shown a proportionate tendency to violence after 9/11. In the country that supposedly treats its Muslims the worst, Germany's Turks have not burned synagogues or set off bombs in Berlin.

Social deprivation is surely part of the story, but only part. The London bombers and van Gogh's murderer were not from particularly deprived backgrounds; they were all educated at the post-secondary level and were relatively affluent. Canadian exhortations are well meant, but not terribly relevant; a country that creams the world's educated and skilled immigrants and enjoys geographic isolation from the major asylum flows is in a poor position to lecture the rest of the world on how to cope with its very different immigrant populations.

What, then, can be done? While I hesitate to lecture from the safety of an academic chair, it seems that several steps must be taken. Above all, it is important to recognize that Europe faces two distinct problems: one of religio-political extremism and a second of race-based social deprivation. The two forms of violence – murder/terrorism on the one hand, and violent protest on the other – need to be intellectually disaggregated and dealt with separately.

In the case of politico-religious extremism, it is necessary to make it clear that liberal democracy requires basic commitments that everyone has to respect. When Muslim extremists murder people in the street, the only thing to be said is that it is unacceptable. When moderate Muslims add qualifications – as the Muslim Council of Great Britain did following van Gogh's death – they only cast their own sincerity in doubt. Van Gogh's bigoted com-

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ments about Muslims made him a loathsome human being (further evinced by the fact that he also told one Jewish critic that she 'dreamt of being fucked by Joseph Mengele'); it did not make him a legitimate target for murder.

An essential part of shoring up these basic commitments is rooting out extremism. To this end, high profile deportations of foreign radical Islamists may be necessary, and may play a role in reassuring public opinion, but by themselves they risk giving the impression to the moderate Muslim majority that the state's approach is invariably based on heavy-handed police tactics, repression, and securitization. It is therefore crucial to work closely with moderate Muslim leaders in building consensus around policy responses to violence. Throughout this process, governments must continue to make it clear to the broader public in Europe that the radicals do not represent anyone but themselves; that the vast majority of Muslims abhor violence; and that the battle against extremism is a process over which citizens of all faiths have ownership. The task will not be an easy one. As Timothy Garton Ash wrote in *The Guardian*, whether we like it or not, the encounter of first and second generation Muslim immigrants with Western secularism and hedonism generates, in a tiny minority, a zealous embrace of a "fierce, extreme, warlike new version of the faith of their Fathers. From Mohammed Atta and the Hamburg cell of al-Qaida through to the bombers of Madrid and London, this has become a depressingly familiar story." It is nonetheless an essential one. Europe's only hope lies in bringing moderate Muslims in while shutting extremists out, making all the while clear that some implications of Europe's secularism – a commitment to gender equality, right to sexuality, free expression – and, for that matter, of Europe's hedonism, are non-negotiable.

This takes us to the problem of race-based social exclusion. Though it expresses itself in less immediately horrifying ways, the problem is equally, if not more, intractable. Across Europe, postwar migration brought unskilled colonial immigrants and guestworkers in the millions to serve the needs of the booming industrial economy. Post-1973 changes in the European economy have left large numbers of these immigrants and their children without jobs or with poorly-paid and precarious positions. It is for this reason that, while America's Muslim community does well relative to the typical American worker, Europe's Muslim population does so badly. Across the continent and in the UK, ethnic minority citizens suffer higher levels of unemployment, earn lower wages, live in worse housing, and enjoy fewer life opportunities. Twenty years of well-meaning rhetoric, sharply contrasting policies on citizenship and integration, and multiple policy measures have made precious little difference. It might well be the case that the greatest predictor of immigrants' life chances is his or her skill characteristics on arrival. If so, the conclusion is a depressing one for Europe, as it is too late to do anything about it.

Faculty News

The Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University has awarded a prestigious fellowship to **Ran Hirschl**. The Center recruits some of the top scholars in a variety of academic disciplines and brings them to Stanford "for a year in which they have the intellectual freedom, interdisciplinary stimulation, and support to engage new and challenging ideas, to think clearly and analytically, and to write more profoundly and prolifically than at any other time in their careers."

Richard Simeon will, again in 2006-07, serve as William Lyon Mackenzie King Professor of Canadian Studies at Harvard. He previously held the position, a genuine mark of distinction among Canadian scholars, in 1998.

In addition, Simeon's *Federal-Provincial Diplomacy* (University of Toronto Press: 1972) has won the Martha Derthick Award from the American Political Science Association for a book "that made a lasting contribution to the study of federalism and intergovernmental relations

Ron Manzer's recent book, *Educational Regimes and Anglo-American Democracy*, is one of five short-listed for the Harold Adams Innis Prize. The Prize is awarded by the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences for the best English-language book in the social sciences.

Grace Skogstad has been named this year's Seagram Visiting Chair in Canadian Studies at the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada. Each year, the program brings a distinguished professor from another Canadian university to McGill to develop networks in Canadian Studies. Skogstad will teach a course at the Institute and deliver the annual Seagram Lecture on agriculture and food policy in the spring term.

Janice Stein was awarded an honorary doctorate at the University of Alberta in the fall.

New Faculty

Professor **Harald Bathelt** from Philipps-University in Marburg, Germany, will join the Department in July 2006. An economic geographer by training and a superb methodologist, his work fits squarely in our political economy tradition. Bathelt is one of the leading European authorities on the conditions under which industries "cluster" to promote innovation and has projects underway in Canada, China and the U.S.

Renown Canadian author, journalist and professor Michael Ignatieff will join the University of Toronto as the Chancellor Jackman Visiting Professor in Human Rights Policy beginning in January 2006.

In the fall of 2006, Ignatieff will teach an undergraduate course on human rights and intervention for the Department as well as advise graduate students. As a fellow of the Munk Centre for International Studies, he will offer a series of public lectures. Check for details on our Website in the new year.

Visiting Faculty

Professor Gad Barzilai of Tel-Aviv University taught an intensive 2-week course in September entitled "Multiculturalism, Law, and Public Policy: Israel in Comparative Perspective".

Charles Jones, a political theorist, is with us for his sabbatical year from the University of Western Ontario.

Courtney Jung from the New School for Social Research in New York is teaching two courses in the fall term. She works at the intersection of political theory and comparative politics on questions of identity and is the author of *Then I Was Black: South African Political Identities in Transition* (Yale University Press: 2000).

Also visiting this year is Daizo Sakurada, Professor of Law and Canadian Studies at Japan's Kwansei Gakuin University. Having completed an M.A. in the Department in the late 1980s, Sakurada returns to Toronto as a leading figure in Canadian Studies in Japan. His recent publications include *Comparative Foreign Policy: G8 Diplomatic Responses to the War Against Iraq* (Tokyo: 2004) and articles "Canada and the War Against Iraq" and "American Foreign Policy in the 21st Century".

So Many Events, So Little Time….

- "Modernity in Question: Montesquieu and his Legacy", organized by **Rebecca Kingston**, featured over twenty leading scholars including keynote speaker M. Jean Ehrard, Université Blaise Pascal.
- "Rethinking Democracy: A Philosophical Workshop" with Ernesto Laclau and Simon Critchley.
- The inaugural Public Lecture for the Centre for Ethics with Bernard Shapiro (Ethics Commissioner of Canada.
- The Second Annual Lipset Lecture with Francis Fukuyama (Johns Hopkins).
- "Is Canada Prepared for Another Quebec Referendum? Reflections 10 Years Later".
- "How the Liberal Party Dominates Canadian Politics" with **Stephen Clarkson**, Andrew Coyne (*National Post*), Michael Adams (Environics), Warren Kinsella (Liberal consulant) and Michael Enright (CBC). The event was also the launch of Clarkson's book *The Big Red Machine: How the Liberal Party Dominates Canadian Politics* (UBC Press).
- "Hurricanes, Scandals and Insurgents: Is Republican Power Coming to an End?" by Chris Matthews of MSNBC's 'Hardball with Chris Matthews'.

Honouring Outstanding Undergraduates: Shown here (along with the Director of Undergraduate Studies, Ran Hirschl, and Undergraduate Administrator, Elizabeth Jagdeo) at a reception held in the November are some of the winners of this year's undergraduate student awards. Here is the complete list of winners:

Shawn Robert Friele and Jia Wang (Canadian Institute of International Affairs Book Prize); Michael Lawrence and Barbara Mazur (Ruth Robinson Leberg Book Prize); Andrew Ebejer (J. Stefan Dupré Book Prize); Nicholas Van Exan (Pollara Book Prize (POL 242Y); Ira Harris Glasner (J. Michael Kyne Award); Rory Schacter (Rabbi Isserman Prize); Jonathan Bright and Lisa Lidor (Mary Keenan Award in Political Science); Nicholas Van Exan (Monte Kwinter Political Science Award); Nicholas Van Exan and Aldous Summ Cheung (Andrew Nigrini Sr. Memorial Scholarship); Nicholas Van Exan (the Alexander Mackenzie Scholarship in Political Science); Zain Zahid Shafiq (the Political Science GRADitude Bursary); Olivia Maginley (Paul L. Nathanson Scholarship in Political Science); Alexei Volsky and Joanna Nairn (Jules and Elaine James Scholarship); and Zoe Elena Horn (Suzanne and Edwin Goodman Prize).

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
GREAT AWARDS FOR GREAT STUDENTS

U of T is committed to ensuring that qualified undergraduate and graduate students have access to the highest quality university education regardless of their financial circumstances. To support the University in this commitment, many alumni, friends, faculty and staff have chosen to establish scholarships. These awards recognize academic excellence or proficiency in a particular discipline while making university education a reality for many undergraduate and graduate students.

It is in part due to the strong support of our friends and alumni that the Department is able to attract and retain the academic talent that is the foundation of our community. We thank you for your commitment and we look forward to your continued involvement with the University of Toronto.

HOW CAN I SUPPORT STUDENT AWARDS?

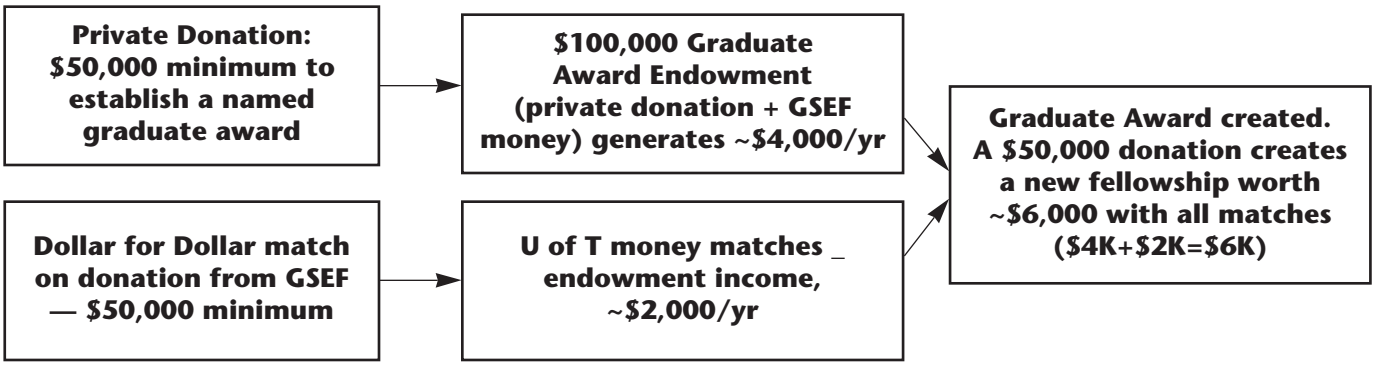
You may direct your donation towards general support for student awards, or to an established award. Alternatively, you can establish a new named award.

HOW CAN I CREATE A NEW NAMED AWARD?

An award may be funded by a single donor with either one donation or through annual donations over a period of time. New awards can be established at any time of year. Your schedule of payments will determine how quickly the fund can generate awards for students. An award can also be funded by multiple donors. For example, "in honour" awards are often funded by friends, family and colleagues. Once established, an award can be built up through future contributions which may increase both the value and number of awards made to students each year.

GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIP DONATION OPPORTUNITIES:

There is currently a remarkable leveraging opportunity that will effectively triple the impact of donations made in support of graduate student awards. Donations of (or totaling) $50,000 will be matched 1:1 through a special Graduate Student Endowment Fund established at the U of T by the Province of Ontario. The annual payout on the resultant $100,000 endowment will then be augmented by the University to create a named scholarship of approximately $6,000 per annum to benefit graduate students, in perpetuity.



If you wish to support student awards at the Department of Political Science please contact:

Christie Darville, Senior Development Officer, Office of Advancement, Faculty of Arts & Science
100 St. George Street, Suite 2032 Toronto, ON M5S 3G3
Tel: 416/946-5192 Fax: 416/946-7057

Email: cdarville@artsci.utoronto.ca

The Days of May and June:

My Fieldwork in Bolivia

Jeffery R. Webber, Ph.D. candidate

Revolutionary times in Bolivia

Since the "Water War" of 2000 which saw hundreds of thousands of *Cochabambinos*, residents of the city of Cochabamba, pitted against an international water consortium led by Bechtel, the World Bank, and the Bolivian state under the presidency of ex-dictator Húgo Banzer, Bolivia has been locked in what historians Forrest Hylton and Sinclair Thomson have termed a "revolutionary cycle". Ongoing episodes of road blockades, marches, strikes, and other forms of wide-scale, extra-electoral contentious action shook the country and continue to this day.

September and October 2003 marked the momentous mobilization of indigenous Aymara peasants from the *altiplano* (high plateau) and poor, largely indigenous urban dwellers from El Alto and La Paz who eventually brought down president Gonzal ("Goni") Sánchez de Lozada, forcing him into exile in the United States. Before fleeing, however, he ordered his troops on unarmed protesters, killing upwards of eighty people – precise numbers remain contested.

The revolutionary cycle brought together the Twentieth Century Bolivian traditions of revolutionary Marxism (primarily from the tin mines), indigenous nationalism (mostly from the Aymara *altiplano*), and left Bolivian nationalism. Popular control of natural resources (natural gas and water), land and territorial integrity for indigenous nations within the Bolivian state, an end to neoliberal capitalism, anti-imperialism (mostly against the United States, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund), and a Constituent Assembly to remake the state in the name of, and through the participation of, the poor indigenous majority are central demands and grievances. Within Latin America and the Caribbean, Bolivia ranks third to Haiti and Nicaragua in terms of absolute poverty rates and suffers from abysmal levels of inequality. The 62 percent of the population who identified themselves as indigenous in the 2001 census suffer the lion's share of the exploitive and oppressive socioeconomic, cultural and political relationships that grow out of the current system.

I arrived in January 2005 to begin fieldwork for my dissertation, *Red October: Popular Class Formation, Indigenous Nationalism and the New Bolivian Left* (supervised by **Judith Teichman**). Getting off the plane to enter the deep-valley capital city of La Paz, one first traverses through the massive, 700,000-strong shanty-town of El Alto, perched precariously above La Paz, where the *altiplano* comes to an end. 82 percent of *alteños*, residents of El Alto, self-identify as indigenous and the slum acts as a reserve army of poorly remunerated labourers for the La Paz economy. Unsurprisingly, El Alto was the epicentre of the October 2003 "Gas War" and would be the site of the bulk of my fieldwork.

The tense calm of the post-October period was starting to break into a new wave of mobilizations. Carlos Mesa Gisbert, who had taken over the presidency after the fall of Sánchez de Lozada, was now seen (correctly) as simply a softer face to the neoliberal model that Sánchez de Lozada had made famous in Bolivia.

I spent the first three months making daily trips up to El Alto to spend time in the offices of the Federation of United Neighbours (FEJUVE-El Alto) and the Regional Workers' Central (COR-El Alto), among many other popular organizations key to understanding the revolutionary cycle.

This Spanish-as-a-second-language, white *gringo* from Canada, rightfully had to prove as best I could that I was writing and working in solidarity with their struggles. There is no pretence of "objective distance" in this aspect of my work. It was only after roughly three months of steady and ongoing "always being there" that activists grew accustomed to me, shared insights not divulged earlier, invited me to further meetings, talked politics seriously, and asked me to voice my own views on matters. At certain points in the height of mobilizations, described below, I was invited to local television and radio stations to express my views – here was a *gringo*, anti-imperialist socialist!

Through months of interviews, I heard a 60-year-old man – a self-declared communist – cry and show me the bullet wounds in his calf from the October Gas War, others simultaneously crying and gesticulating angrily as they remembered the

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bloodbath under Sánchez de Lozada, the tanks and helicopters that invaded El Alto. I learned how the extraordinary youth of El Alto lived through October and articulated for themselves their understanding that the state is hardly a "neutral" actor under liberal capitalist democracy. They saw their friends gunned down because they were indigenous, because of their class position, and because they lived in El Alto. It was impossible to imagine that the "democratic" state would turn its guns on the rich, largely white Zona Sur (Southern Zone) neighbourhood of the capital. I attended meeting after meeting, assembly after assembly, witnessing folks in desperate straits, working seven days a week for virtually nothing, holding extraordinary, participatory, democratic, and revolutionary gatherings for close to four hours, several nights a week. This was popular democracy, as distinct from ritual elections every four years.

In May and June 2005, the protests that began in January reached their apogee, leading to the ousting of Mesa and the formation of an interim government with the singular mandate of calling early elections, now set for December 4, 2005. It's impossible to convey the events of May and June in this short space. Three weeks of general strikes in El Alto closed off supplies of many food products, natural gas, gasoline, and other goods to the capital. Tourists fled the country with the aid of their embassies. Coup rumours flourished every night on television as dynamite exploded in the streets (the heritage of the revolutionary miners), tires burned downtown, and military police clashed with and repressed protesters. In colonial streets, bricks were used to erect temporary barricades and the stench of tear gas was omnipresent. Neighbourhood federations in rich areas in the south of La Paz began forming "self-defence" militias, having armed themselves following the mobilizations of the poor and indigenous in October, close to two years earlier. On June 6, 2005, I marched downtown with 300,000 to 500,000 largely indigenous peasants, workers, miners, ex-miners, teachers, healthcare workers, students, the unemployed, and other protagonists of the revolutionary cycle.

As one of the only leftist witnesses to these events who could convey what was happening to an English-reading audience, demand was high for alternative journalism. I engaged in a flurry of journalistic and engaged scholarly writing over these months. These articles appeared in *Znet, Counterpunch, Green Left Weekly, International Viewpoint, New Socialist, Against the Current, Canadian Dimension,* and *Monthly Review*, among many others.

This, my fourth trip to Bolivia, changed my life. For some ten years I've had an increasingly revolutionary consciousness, in the vein of socialism-from-below, which shares nothing similar to the bureaucratic authoritarian Stalinist version from above. Still, I had rarely encountered evidence in my immediate political activities that it might be possible to realize a liberating socialism during my lifetime. The current struggles in Bolivia have renewed my hope and enhanced my revolutionary resolve. To paraphrase Noam Chomsky, the picture of the world is often clearer at the other end of the imperial gun. There is much for us to learn about authentic democracy in the streets and barricades of Bolivia.

Inaugurating CERES

Four successful research units merged this autumn under the direction of **Jeff Kopstein** to bring about the Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (CERES) at the University of Toronto. CERES brings together the former Centre for Russian and East European Studies (CREES), the European Studies Program, the Joint Initiative in German and European Studies (JIGES), and the Institute of European Studies.

The logic behind the merger is a recognition that more than fifteen years after the end of the Cold War, much has changed that interests scholars in these areas. Countries that were formerly in "Eastern" Europe are now members of the European Union. Others are waiting in the wings to get in. Russia and the rapidly evolving countries of the Eurasian space find themselves in a new geopolitical context that is no longer easily understood using the old categories. At the same time, unified Germany and an enlarged European Union are no longer the same entities they were before 1989. This is reflected in the changing interests of students, faculty, and the concerns of friends of the Centre. In short, after extensive discussions, the scholarly communities at UofT working on Europe, Russia, and Eurasia, decided it was time to break down the intellectual walls that divide them.

In September, an inaugural event for CERES was held at the Munk Centre for International Studies entitled "What's Ahead for Europe?" Speakers included H.E. Jeremy Kinsman (Canadian Ambassador to the European Union), Jeffrey Kopstein (Director, CERES), Jo Shaw (Salvesen Chair of European Institutions, University of Edinburgh) and **Susan Gross Solomon** (outgoing Director, European Studies).

No More Two Solitudes?

Luc Turgeon, Ph.D. candidate

The *Globe and Mail* published an editorial on the day following the 1995 referendum reminding Canadians that they not only came extremely close to losing Québec, but also that the majority *yes* vote among Francophones "constitutes a severe rebuke to the complacent spokesmen for Canada's status quo". The editorial concludes,

> "Whatever the method, change must come. Canada cannot simply ignore the threat of nearly half the citizens of its second most populous province to leave the Federation. Calmly, carefully, we must press on with renewing federalism and find a formula around which all Canadians gather. Canada came within a whisker of disaster yesterday. Let us make sure it never happens again."

In discussing the 10th anniversary of the 1995 referendum, we must ask why so little has changed in Canada since 1995, despite the many calls in the aftermath of the referendum for reform of the Canadian federation. In short, where is the carrot to complement the stick that is the Clarity Act? Is the sponsorship program the best this country can do to win the hearts and minds of Québecers? Where is the love that Canadians expressed to Québecois four days prior to the referendum? At the same time, why have Québecois not shown any interest in reforming the Canadian federation?

Let me try to provide some explanations for the lack of reform of the Canadian federation, and the lack of a strategy to reduce the potential of a third referendum beyond the Clarity Act which provides, in my view, a false sense of security.

The first explanation is what I call the Parizeau effect. Jacques Parizeau's infamous comments about money and the ethnic vote became central elements of discussion after the referendum and were used as a way to de-legitimize and demonize the claims of Québec nationalists. It also became a way for Canadians outside Québec, shocked by the results of the referendum, to reassert certain feelings of moral superiority. Let me quote another editorial of the *Globe and Mail*, published shortly after the referendum.

> "At its core, Québec separatism is a species of ethnic nationalism, by nature exclusionary, intolerant and, in its worst forms, racist. ... Ours is a modern nationalism: liberal, decent, tolerant and colour-blind ... We must show Québecers that Canada and Canada alone waves the banner of pluralism and common humanity."

As argued by Eva McKay in her brilliant book, *The House of Difference*,

> "the demands of French Canada are equated with intolerance and racism, and English Canada is constructed as the opposite, a modern tolerant nation. English Canada transcends the particularisms of Francophone ethnic nationalism and becomes a universal model of civic nationhood." In short, why negotiate with people whose values are profoundly foreign to our way of life?

This brings me to a second factor, one that is in many ways more permanent, and I would say more important: Canadians outside of Québec have become increasingly nationalistic over the last twenty years, even more nationalistic than Québecois. I call this nationalism, following my former professor John Hall, the "nationalism of an ideal"; the profound belief that one's country's values and political model ought to be adopted by the rest of the world. The *Globe and Mail* columnist John Ibbitson provides an excellent illustration of this nationalism of an ideal in his latest book, *The Polite Revolution*, when he states:

> "Sometime, not too long ago, while no one was watching, Canada became the world's most successful country ... Canada, the country that embodies the world, is the only country that can make the world finally understand itself."

Or, in the words of the Indigo-Chapters marketing slogan, "The world needs more Canada."

The point here is not to deny the significant and extraordinary success story that has been and remains the management of diversity in Canada, but rather simply to point to the fact that if a nation views itself as an ideal to be followed by the world, there is little incentive to reform or transform it. Too often, Canada's multiculturalism has been used by English Canada as a way to reaffirm its superior tolerance, at Québec's expense.

I have so far looked at Canada outside of Québec, but there are also factors internal to Québec, besides the obvious fact that there is no longer a sovereignist government in place in Québec, to explain the lack of pressures to reform the Canadian federation. Among these are the quasi-disappearance of a nationalist federalist voice in Québec and, foremost, the ongoing generational change in Québec.

With the passing of Claude Ryan and Leon Dion, we have perhaps seen the last of Québec leaders and intellectuals who really believe in, or wish for, a special status within Confederation for Québec. The current leaders of the federalist force in Québec, especially Premier Jean Charest, have more or less accepted the current terms of the Canadian federation. The third option that had been for so long at the centre of Québec's political life, whether in the writing of André Laurendeau or through the political projects of Daniel Johnson and Robert Bourassa, has largely disappeared.

Another reason that there has been little call in Québec for renewal of the Canadian federation is that a significant proportion of Québecois, and not only sovereignists, are not interested in attempts to reform the Canadian federation. This is especially the case for

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the younger generation of Québecois. More so than their parents, and even the sovereignist leaders of the past, young Québecers are already sovereign in their head. As such, the spiritual secession from Canada has already occurred for this generation. They see themselves first and foremost as Québecois, feel little attachment to Canada, and expect little from it.

In many ways, the new Governor General is right. The last ten years have shown that the time of the two solitudes is over. She is right if we take the meaning of the two solitudes given to it by Rainer Maria Rilke in his letter to a young poet, "Love consists in this, that two solitudes protect, and touch, and greet each other."

Over the last ten years, there has certainly been some bitterness and a lot of indifference, but very little of that love between two solitudes that Canadians expressed to Québecois on October 27th, 1995.

Discourse is published twice a year by the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto. Correspondence should be directed to: The Editors, *Discourse*, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto, 100 St. George Street, Toronto, Canada M5S 3G3. This issue was edited by **J. Fletcher.**

The Association of Political Science Students (APSS)

The Association of Political Science Students has been particularly active this year under new president **Ausma Malik**. Kicking off the fall was an inspiring evening at the Isabel Bader Theatre, "The Real World of Canadian Diplomacy: An Evening of Public Conversation", with Michael Kergin, Canadian Ambassador to the United States 2000-2005, and David Wright, Canadian Ambassador to NATO, 1997-2003 and Kenneth and Patricia

Ausma Malik, Michael Kergin and David Wright in front of a full house.

Taylor Distinguished Visiting Professor in Foreign Affairs at UofT. APSS also organized (with the International Relations Society and **Renan Levine**) Chris Matthews' appearance on campus. Other APSS events included an evening of debate and discussion, "The G8 and the Responsibility of International Aid", and special screenings of the films ***Everyone's Child*** and ***End of Suburbia: Oil Depletion and the Collapse of the American Dream*** which were fundraising events to benefit FoodShare and the earthquake victims of South Asia. Also on the busy autumn agenda was a mid-November "evening away from the books" at a local pub as well as a career night (now an annual event) featuring six speakers - all graduates in Political Science from the University of Toronto.