



EUROPEAN UNION CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE  
**NEWSLETTER**

CARLETON

DALHOUSIE

MONTRÉAL/McGILL

TORONTO/VICTORIA

YORK

**Progress and Obstacles on the Road to a Canada-European Union Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement**

Robert G. Finbow, Dalhousie University

Close ties have long prevailed between Canada and Europe, two democratic, capitalist regions, based on shared culture and history. The 1959 Agreement for Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy was the European Community's first formal relationship with another industrialized country. Canada has looked to Europe to ease its overwhelming trade dependence on the United States (Government of Canada, 2010). Since the 1960s, efforts have been made to forge greater trans-Atlantic trade to offset massive US ties, notably Pierre Trudeau's "Third Option" or "contractual link" with the European Community in the 1976 Framework Agreement for Commercial and Economic Cooperation. Nonetheless, as the Europeans expanded their union, and Canadians went with the continentalist tide in NAFTA, efforts at a trans-Atlantic trade agreement remained stillborn, though overall trade increased.

The Transatlantic Declaration of 1990, the Canada-European Union (EU) Political Declaration and Action Plan of 1996 and the Canada-EU Partnership Agenda of 2004 gradually led to collaboration on many issues: crisis management, customs, education, training, energy, fisheries, health, sci-

**Canada has looked to Europe to ease its overwhelming trade dependence on the United States.**

ence and technology, competition, social security, and the environment (Government of Canada, 2010). Together with trade liberalization via the World Trade Organization (WTO), these increased trans-Atlantic economic collaboration. But irritants like the 1995 "Turbot War," the controversial seal hunt, and preoccupation with opportunities

closer to home were limiting factors. After the 2005 talks on a Canada-EU Trade and Investment Enhancement Agreement (TIEA) failed to lead to an agreement, negotiations have been more frequent, spurred recently by the global economic recession. At their May 2009 Summit, Canada and EU launched negotiations toward a Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA); talks have alternated between the two capitals with a fifth round completed recently in Ottawa: further rounds are scheduled for January and April 2011 (Government of Canada, 2010).

Proponents include business groups from both continents, with a broad agenda: elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers, access to procurement at all levels of government, access to raw materials, regulatory convergence, dispute settlement measures, and skilled labour mobility, including mutual recognition of professional qualifications.

... Continued on page 6

**IN THIS ISSUE**

EUCE Canada: Recent News. . . . . 2-3  
 - Carleton University  
 - Dalhousie University  
 - Université de Montréal/McGill University  
 - University of Toronto/University of Victoria  
 - York University

Spotlight on. . . . . 4  
 - Visiting/Postdoctoral Scholars

Commentary. . . . . 5  
 - Merkel's Integration Rhetoric

Feature Article (continued) . . . . . 6-7

EUCE Network News (continued). . . . . 7

Upcoming Events . . . . . 8

EUCE Network News

**A Message from the EUCE Network Coordinator**

Joan DeBardeleben and Natasha Joukovskaia, Carleton University

The five Canadian EU Centres of Excellence (EUCE) met in Ottawa on October 18-19, 2010. The program of meetings included a Networking Luncheon held at the Sheraton Hotel that provided EUCE staff and scholars with an opportunity to network with representatives of European diplomatic missions, various Canadian government departments whose work related to Europe, and important non-government organizations. This year's Networking Luncheon featured a panel of experts from the EUCE Centres commenting on EU responses to common policy challenges. The policy areas covered included: Canada-EU trade (Robert Finbow, Dalhousie), financial crisis (George Ross, Université de Montréal), immigrant poverty (Karen Robson, York University), and environmental policy (James Meadowcroft, Carleton University).

... Continued on page 7

# EU CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE IN CANADA: RECENT NEWS

## Centre for European Studies, European Union Centre of Excellence, Carleton University

For a complete list of events hosted by the Centre for European Studies, please refer to [www.carleton.ca/ces/events/events.htm](http://www.carleton.ca/ces/events/events.htm)

The highlights from this past fall included:

- Dec. 1, 2010: **Canada-Europe Public Lecture 2010: Internet Privacy-Positions and Conflicts: Views from Europe and Canada**, Colin Bennett (University of Victoria).
- Nov. 25, 2010: **The Rise and Fall of Dominant Party Regimes in Europe**, Dr. Steffen Schneider (University of Bremen).
- Sept. 20, 2010: **Climate and Energy Security: Views from the EU and Canada**, Public Round Table Discussion, Rear Admiral Neil Morisetti (Climate and Energy Security Envoy of the Ministry of Defense and the Foreign Commonwealth Office, UK) and Jeffrey Simpson (Globe and Mail).
- Sept. 16, 2010: **(Post?) Crisis Economic Recovery in EU: Regional Cooperation and Human Well-Being**, Dr. Tatjana Muravska (University of Latvia).
- Aug. 26-27, 2010: **International Workshop on Economic and Political Impacts of the Economic Crisis in the EU and Eastern Europe**.

This fall Carleton University started a yearly distance learning course (September – December) on **The Government and Politics of European Integration**. The course is aimed at undergraduate students (third-year standing) in Political Science or related disciplines and open to participants from anywhere in Canada. The course is taught by Professor Achim Hurrelmann (Dept. of Political Science). Please refer to [www.carleton.ca/ces](http://www.carleton.ca/ces).

CES Associate Director (Outreach), Dr. Robert Gould, published an edited volume jointly with Maria Golubeva: *Shrinking Citizenship. Discursive Practices that Limit Democratic Participation in Latvian Politics*, eds. Maria Golubeva and Robert Gould (Amsterdam/New York, NY 2010. 197 pp).

Since 2006 Carleton's Centre for European Studies (CES) has been designated by the European Commission as an EU Centre of Excellence and Network Coordinator for the EUCES in Canada. The Centre is housed jointly in the Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies and the Department of Political Science and includes colleagues from the University of Ottawa and Queen's University in Kingston. Carleton's Faculty of Public Affairs, Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, and the Office of the Vice-President (Research and International) offer support to this interdisciplinary effort.



## European Union Centre of Excellence, Dalhousie University

Please refer to [www.euce.dal.ca/index.php](http://www.euce.dal.ca/index.php) for a full list of past events.

- Dec. 3, 2010: **From Silk Route to Ice Route: Arctic Governance, International Shipping and the European Union**, Professor Aldo Chircop (LL.D. (Malta); LL.M.; J.S.D. (Dalhousie)).
- Oct. 22, 2010: **Centre's Brown Bag Lunch Series**, David Meadows gave a presentation entitled **The Effects of Political Culture on Divergent Patterns of Political-Economic Transformation in Latvia and Belarus**.
- June 6-8, 2010: **Fourth Annual Conference on the Lisbon Treaty**. Please refer to <http://euce.dal.ca/CONFERENCES/> for the presented papers. Selected papers and two books are now being prepared from this conference. The first one is entitled *The Making of the EU's Lisbon Treaty: the Role of Member States* (under review). The second one is entitled *The Lisbon Treaty: Institutional Choices and Implementation* (under review).

Thanks to support from the European Union's Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA), Finn Laursen, in his capacity of *ad personam* Jean Monnet Chair, is also working on a third book entitled *Designing the European Union: EU Treaties from Paris to Lisbon*.

Created in 2006, the EUCE at Dalhousie University aims to integrate existing research and teaching activities concerning the EU to establish a framework for facilitating and promoting further EU activities. Two primary ways of accomplishing this have been the expansion of European Studies through the creation of a B.A. Honours in European Studies and by recruiting research chairs in the field. The Centre carries out research in EU-Canada relations and comparative public policy, constitutionalism, and federalism.



## European Union Centre of Excellence, Université de Montréal/McGill University

Major events took place at the Université de Montréal/McGill University EUCE over the past few months.

The EUCE organised three international colloquiums:

- Oct. 1, 2010: Workshop coordinated by the McGill Faculty of Law, in cooperation with EUCE Montreal and the Institute for the Public Life of Arts and Ideas, entitled **Ius Commune - A European Common Past?**
- Sept. 29 - Oct. 1, 2010: **Le retour de l'histoire? Répercussions européennes et internationales de la réunification allemande**.
- May 6, 2010: **Are the Founding Ideas of the European Project Obsolete?** Sponsored by the Consulat Général de France à Québec. Papers will be published in a special issue of *French Politics, Culture and Society* in 2011.

This fall the EUCE (in collaboration with other organizations) organized and sponsored several events, including conferences and workshops. For more details on the past events offered please refer to [www.centreurope-montreal.ca/en/events-news/past-events/](http://www.centreurope-montreal.ca/en/events-news/past-events/).

## EU CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE IN CANADA: RECENT NEWS

...Continued: EUCE Université de Montréal/McGill University

Among other activities, the EUCE developed *EuroAffairs* ([www.euroaffaires.qc.ca](http://www.euroaffaires.qc.ca)) and *Québec@Europe* (<https://europe.umontreal.ca>) electronic newsletters. The Centre participated in a major business networking forum *Carrefour Europe*; organized a seminar on *Stratégies d'expansion en Europe*; sponsored two luncheons organized by the CORIM: *Les relations Canada-Union européenne: un nouvel essor?*, and *L'euro: quel bilan, quell avenir?*; organized two summer schools: *European and International Environmental Law*, and *Understanding Islam in Europe and Elsewhere in the World*; and also sponsored a program titled *Option Europe*, which is a program open to students completing a Master's Degree in International Studies at the Université de Montréal.

The Université de Montréal/McGill University EUCE was created in 2006. It is composed of three units: the Université de Montréal/McGill University Institute for European Studies (IES); the Chaire Jean-Monnet en Intégration européenne de l'Université de Montréal; and the Jean-Monnet Chair in Law of International Economic Relations. The two chairs are in charge of teaching, training, and outreach, while the IES is responsible for research activities.



[www.centreurope-montreal.ca](http://www.centreurope-montreal.ca)

### European Union Centre of Excellence University, Toronto/University of Victoria

The University of Toronto/University of Victoria's EUCE has been busy with a number of activities this fall.

The University of Victoria sponsored several lectures and courses including:

- Sept. 2010: The course **EUS 301: Cultural and Intellectual Systems and Developments in Europe** was offered for the first time. In September, EUCE had the International Conference on: **The Financial Crisis, the Euro, and the Future of the Financial System**.
- June 2010 (summer school): **Financial Institutions in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**. This summer school focused on comparative aspects of European and North American issues, including private equity and the impact of the economic crisis.

At the University of Toronto, several guest speakers and special events were featured in the fall term:

- Oct. 22-23, 2010: Workshop on **European Interventions and State-building in the Balkans**
- Oct. 2010: EUCE hosted H.E. Ambassador Ross Hornby (Canada's Ambassador to the EU), who spoke on **Canada-EU Relations on the Cusp of Free Trade**; Claudio Magris (writer) gave a lecture on **Memory and Cultural Identities in European Literatures**; and Prof. Gustav Peebles (New School for Social Research) spoke on **The Euro and Its Rivals: Policing the Boundary of Debt**.
- Sept. 2010: In collaboration with the Italian Institute of Culture and the European Union National Institutes of Culture, Canada Cluster, the EUCE hosted a panel presentation on **Memory Studies and the Identity Problem: A Cross-Reading of European and Canadian Cultural Traditions**. EUCE also brought in Holger Nehring (University of Sheffield), who spoke on **A Peaceful Europe? Reinterpreting Twentieth-century European History** and Claudia Finotelli (Universidad Complutense Madrid; Instituto Universitario Ortega y Gasset), who delivered a talk entitled **Is the Party Over? The Effects of the Economic Crisis on Immigration in the EU: The Case of Spain**.

Two Canadian universities specializing in the study of the European Union joined together to form a new European Union Centre of Excellence, launching a three-year program of public outreach, educational, and research activities. These activities are designed to deepen the understanding of European integration in Canada both within and outside of academia, and showcase EU-Canada relations.



[www.utoronto.ca/europe](http://www.utoronto.ca/europe) & [web.uvic.ca/europe/euce.php](http://web.uvic.ca/europe/euce.php)

### European Union Centre of Excellence, York University

The beginning of the new academic year brought with it a burst of activity at York University's EUCE including a change in the Centre's governance structure. Peer Zumbansen, a Professor of Law and Canada Research Chair in Transnational Economic Governance and Legal Theory at Osgoode Hall Law School, has assumed the position of Co-Director of EUCE York while Co-Director Professor Willem Maas, Jean Monnet Chair at the Glendon campus, is on leave 2010-2012 in the Netherlands.

- Oct. 29, 2010: Faculty-led lecture on multilevel governance hosted by Prof. Willem Maas and a group of international scholars.
- Oct. 6, 2010: **The EU as an International Actor: Is the Concept of Civilian Power in Europe Still Useful in 2010?** This lecture was given by Dr. Stelios Stavridis (ARAID Senior Research Fellow, Research Unit on Global Governance and the European Union, University of Zaragoza, Spain).
- Sept. 2010: Inauguration of two new Lecture Series organized by the Centre, the first entitled **EUCE Lectures in Law and Governance**, and the second entitled **EUROPEAS: EUCE Seminars in European History, Culture and Society**.

From 2009 to 2012, York University's EUCE will organize academic research conferences, offer competitive research grants, facilitate the development of new courses on the EU and EU-Canada relations and incorporate EU material into existing courses. York University's EUCE will also offer entrance scholarships to promising graduate students, host visiting scholars, offer lectures and roundtables and other activities, working together with colleagues from other EUCES and EU-funded institutions in Canada and abroad to deepen recognition of the EU and EU-Canada relations.



[www.yorku.ca/euce](http://www.yorku.ca/euce)

## SPOTLIGHT ON: VISITING/POSTDOCTORAL SCHOLARS

### Ece Ozlem Atikcan Université de Montréal/ McGill University

Dr. Ece Ozlem Atikcan holds a PhD from McGill University. She also holds degrees from the Middle East Technical University (Ankara), University of Sussex (UK) and McGill University (Canada). Her research interests include: international organizations; electoral behaviour; political parties; transnational social movements; and nationalism. During her stay at the EUCE, she will study the “double referenda” phenomena in the European Union.



Dr. Claire Dupuy holds a Doctorate from the Institut d'études politiques (Paris) and from the University of Milan-Bicocca (Italy). She is also a graduate of the École normale supérieure of Cachan (France). She teaches at the Institut d'études politiques of Toulouse where she is a research associate at the Laboratoire des Sciences Sociales du Politique (LaSSP). Her research interests include: the sociology of public action; comparative public policy; multi-level governance; education policy; the sociology of social movements. During her stay at the EUCE, she will be developing her doctoral research entitled: *Politiques publiques, territoires et inégalités. Les politiques régionales d'éducation en France et en Allemagne (1969-2004)*.

### Claire Dupuy Université de Montréal/ McGill University

### Justin Frosini University of Victoria

Dr. Justin Frosini was selected as the University of Victoria's EUCE visiting scholar for the summer of 2010. Professor Frosini obtained his PhD in constitutional law from Bologna University. He is a Lecturer in Public Law in the Faculty of Economics of the Luigi Bocconi University (Milan); Director of the Center for Constitutional Studies and Democratic Development (CCSDD), an interuniversity research center co-founded by the Faculty of Law of the University of Bologna and the Bologna Center of the Johns Hopkins University; Adjunct Professor in Comparative Public Law at the Faculty of Law, University of Bologna; and Co-director of the Summer School “European Union and Legal Reform” (Igalò, Montenegro). He is the author of numerous publications in Italian, United Kingdom, and comparative public law. Dr. Frosini was one of the instructors in *Law 343 Comparative Constitutional Law* in summer 2010. He also gave a public lecture entitled *The EU Constitution: Quo Vadis?*



Dr. Vincent Power is a Partner in the Corporate Department of A&L Goodbody Solicitors and advises both national and multinational clients. Dr. Power had the opportunity to teach the one-credit course **LAWS 2215**. Offered in connection with the European Union Centre of Excellence (EUCE), the course was taught for the first time in September 2007 and provided students with the opportunity to take a condensed course at the beginning of the term. He has been involved in most of the leading competition, merger control, EU and State Aid cases in Ireland for over 15 years including the major takeovers, investigations, court cases, and studies. He has been involved in over 400 merger filings in Ireland and the EU. Publications include *Competition Law and Practice*, *Irish Competition Law* and the award-winning *EC Shipping Law*. He has been invited to speak on EU competition and transport matters around the world. He has a Master's Degree and a Doctorate from Cambridge University and was the first ever Law graduate to be awarded the Distinguished Alumnus award from University College Cork where he graduated with a BCL.

### Vincent Power Dalhousie University

### Steffen Schneider Carleton University

Between September and December 2010, CES is hosting Dr. Steffen Schneider from the University of Bremen as visiting scholar-in-residence. Dr. Schneider is a comparativist with a keen interest in both European and North American politics. His current research focuses on (1) the democratic quality and social legitimacy of states and inter-/supranational institutions (including the EU), (2) the phenomenon of single-party dominance in Western democracies, and (3) public policy making in federal systems. While at Carleton, Dr. Schneider is working with Dr. Hurrelmann to launch a research project entitled *The Legitimacy of Regional Integration: Europe and North America Compared* and participated in a public roundtable discussion on the same topic. He is teaching a graduate course on *Multi-Level Governance in Europe*, cross-listed by EURUS and the Department of Political Science. Recent publications include *Democracy's Deep Roots: Why the Nation State Remains Legitimate* (with Achim Hurrelmann et al., Basingstoke: Palgrave 2010).



## Merkel's Integration Rhetoric

Dagmar Soennecken, EUCE York University

Recently, German Chancellor Angela Merkel made headlines by declaring multiculturalism an "absolute failure" (Bloemraad, 2010). Her colleague, Horst Seehofer, Bavaria's Premier and head of the Christian Social Union (CSU), the Bavarian sister party of Merkel's Christian Democratic Union (CDU), similarly proclaimed that "multikulti [an abbreviation for multiculturalism] is dead" in the article "Merkel says German multicultural society has failed" (BBC News, 2010). Both made their remarks at the annual convention of the youth wing of the CDU, the Junge Union, in Potsdam.

Given that Merkel's governing coalition has been sinking in the polls, one could interpret her remarks as a mere attempt to rally her conservative base. The latest figures according to the article "Umfragen von ARD und ZDF -Grüne im Höhenflug-Regierung ohne Mehrheit," in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nov 12, 2010, confirm the precarious position of the governing coalition (between the CDU/CSU and the Free Democrats (FDP)) relative to their opposition opponents, the Social Democrats (SPD) and the Green Party, who together are currently ahead by 10 percent in most polls. The Green Party in particular - who can claim to have coined the term "*multikulti*" - are riding high in the polls. It was their understanding of multiculturalism that Merkel lampooned. It allowed for a Canadian-style mosaic but also required state-lead integration policies.

But most international observers were not interested in Merkel's domestic troubles. They took her comment at face value and joined in a lament over the failure of multiculturalism in Europe and Canada more generally. Only a few caught onto the truth behind the rhetoric. As Irene Bloemraad described in the article "Multiculturalism has been Canada's solution, not its problem" in *Globe and Mail* on November 4, 2010, "multiculturalism could not have failed in Germany because it was never tried." What failed, noted James Jupp, an Australian academic, in an interview with Germany's newsmagazine, *Die Zeit*, is Germany's *Gastarbeiter* (foreign workers) policy (Sprothen, 2010).

This policy, which officially ended in 1973, brought large numbers of low-skilled foreign labourers to Germany. Because the German government regarded them strictly as guests, migrants were not considered permanent

enough to institute meaningful integration measures, and the workers were not forced to return to their home countries. On the contrary, court rulings ensured that family reunification continued even after 1973. Thus immigration continued, with no one wanting to call it such by name.<sup>1</sup>

Without significant integration policies, a pattern of discrimination, exclusion and neglect became entrenched in the subsequent decades. For instance, compared to other Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, socio-economic advancement of second generation migrants in Germany, an important indicator of integration, remains uncharacteristically low.

### **Angela Merkel made headlines by declaring multiculturalism an "absolute failure."**

Unfortunately, the 2005 passing of Germany's first official Migration Act (*Zuwanderungsgesetz*) was mostly symbolic and had little effect on integration and immigration. Although the Act created highly publicized opportunities for the immigration of highly skilled workers and entrepreneurs (similar to the "Green card" program for IT workers in operation from 2000 to 2004), currently, there is hardly any net migration to Germany. While the OECD and others have long urged Germany to institute a labour-market-driven immigration policy, German politicians continue to dither.

While both the Federal Minister for Economic Development and Technology (FDP) and the Minister of Labour (CDU) have publicly called for a targeted immigration policy with a Canadian-style point system, and the reduction of hurdles for foreign workers, populist Seehofer declared that "we do not need any further immigration."

Merkel herself has followed up her headline-grabbing speech with a more moderate tone towards integration by inviting representatives of migrant organizations and others to participate in the Fourth Annual Integration Summit in early November. There, she clarified her declaration regarding the failure of multiculturalism. Integration, she argued, is not possible without massive societal effort. Previously, it was expected that integration would

occur simply by living together.

Critics argue that events such as the recent summit are mere window dressings because they neither produce substantial policy initiatives, nor counter the populist perception that a large number of migrants in Germany simply do not want to integrate.

Regardless of how one judges these latest attempts to address Germany's integration dilemma, the fact remains that given Germany's central role in the European recovery and its current labour shortage, the direction its future immigration and integration policy takes is important not just for the prospects of German society, but also for Europe as a whole.

### References

Bloemraad, Irene. 2010. "Multiculturalism has been Canada's solution, not its problem." *Globe and Mail*, November 4, 2010. Accessed November 2010. [www.theglobeandmail.com/news/opinions/opinion/multiculturalism-has-been-canadas-solution-not-its-problem/article1775471/](http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/opinions/opinion/multiculturalism-has-been-canadas-solution-not-its-problem/article1775471/)

"Merkel says German multicultural society has failed." 2010. *BBC News*, Oct.17. Accessed November 2010. [www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11559451](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11559451)

Sprothen, Vera. 2010. James Jupp cited in "Australien - Magnet für Talente von draußen." *Die Zeit*, October 17. Accessed November 2010. [www.zeit.de/2010/43/Einwanderung-Australien?page=1](http://www.zeit.de/2010/43/Einwanderung-Australien?page=1)

### Biography

**Dr. Dagmar Soennecken** is an Assistant Professor at the School of Public Policy & Administration and Department of Social Science (Law & Society Program) at York University. Dr. Soennecken holds a BA (Hons.) in Political Science and Law from Carleton University, an MA in Political Science (with a concentration in Women's Studies) and a PhD (2009) from the University of Toronto. Dr. Soennecken's research focuses on comparative politics and public policy in the EU and North America. She is particularly interested in questions concerning law and the courts as well as citizenship and migration.

<sup>1</sup>Together with asylum seeking and entry as an "ethnic" German, family reunification became one of the three routes to Germany post 1973.

## Feature Article: Progress and Obstacles on the Road to a Canada-European Union Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement

. . . Continued from page 1

The agenda includes trade in services (finance, environment, engineering, architecture, etc.); extended protection for intellectual property (covering patents, copyright, trademark, industrial design); and opening of telecommunications and electronic commerce. Since procurement, services, corporate regulation, and labour mobility involve provinces, they are directly involved in negotiations and most are pledged to sign onto the terms of a CETA accord. Joint studies and business estimates suggest gains for both parties, though the EU may get somewhat more access for its goods and services (Goldfarb & Theriault, 2010).

Canada runs persistent trade deficits with the EU, which totalled close to \$20 billion in 2009 (Lister & Poisson, 2008). According to a Statistics Canada report by Craig Byrd (2006), the EU accounts for 8% of Canada's total trade. Canada's largest exports are raw or semi-processed goods. Diamonds are Canada's biggest export to the EU, at over \$3.2 billion in 2004, while wood pulp exports declined by half after 1995 to \$1.3 billion. EU exports to Canada feature high value-added products like chemicals and machinery, giving Europe an advantage in terms of trade as these promote high-end, technologically advanced production. For instance, Canada imported \$8.5 billion worth of pharmaceuticals from Europe in 2004, 50% of all such imports (Byrd, 2006). Critics suggest that Canada's trade deficit could widen after CETA, with low value added exports making Canadians into "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Even some supporters of trade liberalization ponder if this is the best deal for Canada and instead suggest a focus on improving US border access.

Civil society actors like unions and critical think tanks raise concerns, claiming that opening procurement to European bidders would hinder promotion of local sustainable development; access to resources may lead to loss of local control and damaging development at costs to consumers, especially if it is extended to water supplies or sewage. Critics fear challenges to public services such as postal delivery and health care; harmonized regulations and investor-state disputes mechanisms might permit Chapter 11 style challenges by European companies against laws to protect the environment or consumers, where individual investors have the right to evoke international arbitration to demand compensatory damages for government measures (Pavey & Williams,

2003). Some fear extended patent and copyright protection may inflate prices for intellectual property with few benefits to Canada in high-end jobs or investment. These concerns have less visibility than in previous free trade talks, but attention is growing (Stanford, 2010).

Critics oppose investor-state disputes settlement mechanisms like Chapter 11 of NAFTA, which produced costly settlements for business challenges of environmental regulations. Investor rights measures could give foreign firms a leg up over domestic competitors as restrictive policies and regulations may be banned if they affect trans-ocean trade, even though practiced internally in the EU. Some critics want to make sure all indigenous rights recognized by the United Nations are observed and that protection for public services and cultural sovereignty are kept in place. Criticisms are based on a leaked version of proposals from the parties, and it is unclear what will be included in the final text. Civil society organizations argue for transparent negotiations and full assessment of CETA effects on jobs, environment, poverty, gender, human rights and culture (Drache & Trew, 2010).

---

***Political will to adopt CETA appears high, but the closed door process may lack legitimacy, especially if CETA's broad measures cost Canadians through higher drug prices or lost local and provincial jobs.***

---

Canadian government officials from Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (DFAIT) defend the secrecy surrounding the negotiations as in keeping with past practice for trade talks, but the broad agenda intrudes on domestic and constitutional matters. If many long-term policy decisions are taken as part of a complex omnibus accord, negotiated in secret, there will be concerns about democratic deficits. Political will to adopt CETA appears high, but the closed door process may lack legitimacy, especially if CETA's broad measures cost Canadians through higher drug prices or lost local and provincial jobs. Ottawa cannot use its treaty powers to compel provincial action and may have to cover costs of penalties if provincial governments walk away from CETA commitments in the future. Prime Minister Stephen Harper hints at a mechanism to force

provinces to pay, but it remains uncertain whether this would withstand a court challenge without unanimous provincial ratification.

Progress to date has been reported on goods, services, technical barriers to trade, regulatory cooperation, customs, and trade facilitation. Other areas remain problematic, including labour mobility, intellectual property, and procurement. Outstanding obstacles include municipal resistance on procurement; also contentious are farm subsidies, supply management, genetically modified foods, fisheries access, seal hunt and furs, oil sands, and clean energy initiatives. CETA faces an environmental impact assessment by the EU. Action on oil sands has been delayed, but the Commission will act by 2012 if no agreement emerges on how to treat these resources (Harrison, 2010). There is much to be negotiated before CETA is ratified, and it remains unclear whether the complex EU and the regionalized Canadian federation can ratify a deal without significant defections by nations and provinces respectively.

### References

- Byrd, Craig. 2006. "Canada's merchandise trade with the European Union, 1995 to 2004." Statistics Canada. Accessed November 2010. [www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/65-507-m/65-507-m2006006-eng.pdf](http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/65-507-m/65-507-m2006006-eng.pdf).
- Drache, Daniel & Trew, Stuart. 2010. "The Pitfalls and Promises of the Canada-European Union Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement." Social Science Research Network. Accessed November 2010. <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1645429>.
- Goldfarb, Danielle & Theriault, Louis. 2010. "Canada's 'Missing' Trade with the European Union Ottawa." The Conference Board of Canada. Accessed November 2010. [www.conferenceboard.ca/documents.aspx?did=3759](http://www.conferenceboard.ca/documents.aspx?did=3759).
- Government of Canada. 2010. "Canada- EU Relations: An Overview." Accessed November 2010. [www.canada.international.gc.ca/eu-ue/commerce\\_international/overview-apercu.aspx?lang=eng&menu\\_id=13&menu=L](http://www.canada.international.gc.ca/eu-ue/commerce_international/overview-apercu.aspx?lang=eng&menu_id=13&menu=L).

## Feature Article: Progress and Obstacles on the Road to a Canada-European Union Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement

... Continued from page 6

Harrison, Pete. 2010. "EU Yields on Oil Sands Trade: Sources." *Globe and Mail*, March 24, 2010.

Lister, Michael & Poisson, Yves. July 2008. "Canada and the EU: Prospects for a Closer Economic Partnership." Public Policy Forum. Accessed November 2010. [www.pppforum.ca/sites/default/files/canadaeu\\_report\\_en\\_july1608.pdf](http://www.pppforum.ca/sites/default/files/canadaeu_report_en_july1608.pdf).

Pavey, Bronwyn & Williams, Tim. 2003. "The North American Free Trade Agreement – Chapter 11." Government of Canada. Accessed November 2010. <http://dsp-psd.pwgsc.gc.ca/Collection-R/LoPBdP/inbriefprb0254-e.htm>.

Stanford, Jim. October 2010. "Out of Equilibrium: The Impact of EU-Canada Free Trade on the Real Economy." Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. Accessed November 2010. [www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/National20Office/2010/10/Out\\_of\\_Equilibrium.pdf](http://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/National20Office/2010/10/Out_of_Equilibrium.pdf).

### Biography

**Dr. Robert Finbow** is a Professor and Chair of Political Science at Dalhousie University. He received his doctorate from the London School of Economics and now teaches courses on comparative politics and political economy. He has published articles on the labour-related and environmental aspects of NAFTA, comparative health care and social policy, comparative North American political cultures and Atlantic Canadian regionalism. He has published "The Evolving Labour Relations Dimension of the European Regional System: a Model for North America" in Finn Laursen (ed.) *Comparative Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond London* (Ashgate 2010), *The Limits of Regionalism: NAFTA's Labour Accord* (Ashgate 2006), and "NAFTA, Disparities and Regional Redistribution" in *Convergence and Divergence in North America: Canada and the United States*, edited by Karl Froschauer, Nadine Fabbi and Susan Pell (Vancouver: SFU Centre for Canadian Studies, 2006). His cur-

rent research focuses on comparative regionalism, development and multi-level governance in North America and Europe, and comparisons of trade relations, labour adjustment and social policies in NAFTA and the European Union.

### Additional Information on CETA

The *Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue*, a project of a Canadian network of Europeanists housed at Carleton University's Centre for European Studies, co-sponsored a public policy workshop on CETA on October 28, 2010. **A Canada-EU Free Trade Agreement: Public Good or Private Interest**, in cooperation with the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. For a summary of discussions at the event, for presentation materials, and for other resources see [www.canada-europe-dialogue.ca](http://www.canada-europe-dialogue.ca) (see Event Archives). CETD is supported by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) and under its Strategic Knowledge Clusters program. For further information please contact Helen Morris ([helen\\_morris@carleton.ca](mailto:helen_morris@carleton.ca)).

## EUCE NETWORK NEWS

... Continued from page 1

The presentation slides and interviews with some speakers can be accessed at [www.euce-network.carleton.ca/publications.php](http://www.euce-network.carleton.ca/publications.php).

The *ShareSpeaker* program of the Canadian EUCE Network allowed Dr. Steffen Schneider, a visiting scholar at Carleton's Centre for European Studies, to travel to three other EUCEs between September and December 2010. Dr. Schneider spoke on ***Skewed Competition in Established Democracies: The Rise and Fall of Dominant Party Regimes in Europe*** at the University of Toronto. At York University, Dr. Schneider presented on ***Good, Bad, or Ugly? International Regimes and Narratives of Democratic Legitimacy in Academic and Public Discourses***. He also presented a French-language version of the same lecture, ***Contre la légitimité de l'Union européenne: Narrations académiques, discours médiatisés et opinion publique***, at the Université de Montréal. In December he will make a presentation on ***Good, Bad, or Ugly? Academic Narratives, Media Discourses and Public Opinion on the Legitimacy of the European Union*** at the University of Victoria. In cooperation with the German Embassy, which contributed travel costs, Carleton's Centre for European Studies organized a visit of Dr. Hartmut Schmeck (Karlsruhe Institute of Technology), to Dalhousie University in November. Dr. Schmeck gave a lecture on electromobility.



We would like to remind members of the global EUCE Network that travel support under the *ShareSpeaker* program is available to EUCE scholars visiting North America and interested in speaking at Canadian EUCEs. Please contact Natasha Joukovskaia ([natasha\\_joukovskaia@carleton.ca](mailto:natasha_joukovskaia@carleton.ca)) for more information.

Profiles of Canadian EUCEs: [www.euce-network.carleton.ca/centres.php](http://www.euce-network.carleton.ca/centres.php)  
Events at Canadian EUCEs: [www.euce-network.carleton.ca/cal2/month.php](http://www.euce-network.carleton.ca/cal2/month.php)

## UPCOMING EVENTS

### CARLETON UNIVERSITY

[www.carleton.ca/ces](http://www.carleton.ca/ces)

#### **Impacts of the 2004/2007 Enlargements on the European Union: Lessons learned**

Date: January 2011 (location to be announced)

Speaker: Giovanni Di Girolamo (First Counselor/Head of Political and Public Affairs Section, Delegation of the European Union to Canada)

#### **2011 Canada-Europe Public Lecture**

##### **Rebuilding Local Food Systems in an Era of Empire and Globalization: Lessons from the EU and beyond**

Date: March 3, 2011,

Location: Room 608, Robertson Hall, Carleton University

### DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

[www.euce.dal.ca](http://www.euce.dal.ca)

#### **Brown Bag Lunch Meetings**

Date: Once a month

#### **EU Law Speaker Series**

##### **Euthanasia in the Netherlands: Medical Malpractice and Societal Control**

Date: Friday, January 7, 2011, 12:10-1:30 pm

Speaker: Dr. Hans Van Delden (Faculty of Medicine, Utrecht University)

Location: Room 104, Weldon Law Bldg, 6061 University Avenue

#### **Fifth Annual Conference**

##### **The EU and Transatlantic Relations: Security and Political Economy Issues**

Date: April 11-12, 2011

Topics: Security and economic relations

See website above for details on Call for Papers.

### UNIVERSITÉ DE MONTRÉAL/McGILL UNIVERSITY

[www.centreurope-montreal.ca](http://www.centreurope-montreal.ca)

#### **Les acteurs du commerce international vers l'Europe: quelles aides pour quels services?**

Date: January 26, 2011

Closed workshop for Montreal's business community.

For the complete winter 2011 program, visit our website at [www.centre-urope-montreal.ca/fr/activites-nouvelles/activites-avenir/](http://www.centre-urope-montreal.ca/fr/activites-nouvelles/activites-avenir/)

### UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO/UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

[www.utoronto.ca/europe/index.html](http://www.utoronto.ca/europe/index.html)

Both University of Victoria and University of Toronto are having **EUCE Lecture Series** events (two and three, respectively) in the spring. Locations and dates to be announced.

#### **Conference on Multi-level Governance in Europe and Canada: Managing Migration and Integration**

University of Victoria

Date: April 2011

#### **Conference on European Migration**

University of Toronto

Date: April 2011

#### **Policy Workshop on EU - Third Country Partnership**

Date: May 2011

(University of Victoria jointly hosted with University of Toronto)

### YORK UNIVERSITY

[www.yorku.ca/euce](http://www.yorku.ca/euce)

#### **Graduate Student Conference**

##### **Europe in Troubled Waters/L'Europe en eaux troubles**

Date: March 11-12, 2011

Location: Glendon Campus, York University,

Deadline for paper abstracts January 7, 2011, email [euconf@yorku.ca](mailto:euconf@yorku.ca)

#### **International Forum on Multiculturalism**

Date and location: To be announced

This event is organized by the Centre's Junior Research Associates, Hannah Biester and Sibylle Schaffhauser.

#### **Adversarial Legalism à la Européen**

Overseen by Professor Dagmar Soennecken

Faculty Conference



Centre for European Studies,  
Carleton University,  
EUCE Network Coordinator for Canada



Carleton University  
c/o EURUS 1311 Dunton Tower  
1125 Colonel By Drive  
Ottawa, ON K1S 5B6  
Canada

Phone: (613) 520-2600 ext.1179  
Fax: (613) 520-7501  
[euce-canada@carleton.ca](mailto:euce-canada@carleton.ca)  
[www.euce-network.carleton.ca](http://www.euce-network.carleton.ca)

Editor: Lauren Tognela