

**CANADA-U.S. RELATIONS (IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE)**  
**API6339J**  
**Srdjan Vucetic**  
**Winter 2012 (Jan 12 - Apr 8)**

## **COURSE OUTLINE**

**Class schedule:** Thu 8:30-11:30, DMS 11-143  
**Professor's office hours:** Mon 16:30-17:30, DMS 11-164  
Thu 11:30-13:30, DMS 11-164



**E-mail:** [svucetic@uottawa.ca](mailto:svucetic@uottawa.ca)  
**Website:** <http://aix1.uottawa.ca/~svucetic/>  
**Course website:** Virtual Campus/Blackboard

## **OFFICIAL COURSE DESCRIPTION**

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Comparative study of formal and informal relations among economic, social, and political actors in Canada and the U.S. Study of North America's changing place in the world, post-NAFTA governance, post-9/11 security concerns, energy and climate change, and assorted democratic deficits.

## **GENERAL COURSE DESCRIPTION**

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Grounded in four concepts – region, alliance, security community, and network – this course examines cultural, economic, social, and political dimensions of the Canada-United States relationship. It begins with a broad historical overview and then zooms in on a selection of contemporary issues under rubrics of American decline, the Arctic, borders and perimeter security, defence and overseas military interventions, post-NAFTA trade and continental governance, as well as some migration and labour issues. Comparisons with Europe, Mexico, and other parts of the world are managed throughout the course.

## **GENERAL COURSE OBJECTIVES**

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The course aims 1) to provide a foundation for the further study of Canada-U.S. relations and 2) to facilitate eventual careers in business, government, non-profit organizations, the media and other areas which call for individuals with a clear grasp of the politics in the North American region. By the end of the term, students should display reading facility, ability and communication proficiency in their analytical dealings with this subject.

## **SPECIFIC COURSE OBJECTIVES**

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In addition to above, students will have 1) some knowledge of the key developments in other regions in the world; 2) understanding of the current debates about Canada-U.S.

relations as conceived and synthesized in scholarly works, popular essays and op-ed pieces and 3) ability to communicate academic as well as and policy-relevant ideas concerning the ongoing bicentennial of the War of 1812 ("Did You Know? Canada would not exist had the American invasion of 1812-14 been successful," Retrieved from [www.1812.gc.ca](http://www.1812.gc.ca) on 27 November 2011).

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS & ASSESSMENT METHODS

This is an interactive course mixing lectures, discussions, and written assignments. There is no required textbook for this course, but you are strongly encouraged to peruse the latest editions of textbooks and compendiums on our subject, in the following order:

Yasmeen Abu-Laban, Radha Jhappen, and François Rocher, eds. *Politics in North America*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2008.

Geoffrey Hale and Monica Gattinger, eds. *Borders and Bridges: Canada's Policy Relations in North America*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2010.

David Thomas and Barbara Boyle Torrey, eds. *Canada and the United States: Differences that Count*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.

Jeffrey Ayres and Laura MacDonald, eds. *North America in Question: Regional Integration in an Era of Economic Turbulence*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

In January 2011, the University of Ottawa Bookstore introduced its RENT A TEXT program, which allows students to save up to 50% of the retail price by renting instead of buying textbook. For more information, visit our website: [www.bookstore.uottawa.ca](http://www.bookstore.uottawa.ca)

All required readings appearing on this syllabus (16 pages in total) are available through Virtual Campus/Blackboard (uOttawa's online course management system, also referred to Bb, Bb Vista). **OR** at the GSPIA graduate student reading room at DMS 11-149 **OR** at the uOttawa libraries **OR** through uOttawa's research databases, i.e., through any campus-networked computer (this variation has to do with copyright laws, to be discussed in Week 1). For off-campus online access to research databases, see [www.biblio.uottawa.ca](http://www.biblio.uottawa.ca)

ASSIGNMENT	RAW SCORE & WEIGHT	DUE
Research Paper Plan, due Feb 1, 17 hrs	15%	Week 4
Research Paper Draft, March 14, 17 hrs	15%	Week 10
Research Paper, April 8, 23:59 hrs	35%	Week 13
Participation	35%	Every week
<b>FINAL MARKS: 90-100 (A+), 85-89 (A), 80-84 (A-), 75-79 (B+), 70-74 (B), 66-69 (C+), 60-65 (C), 55-59 (D+), 50-54(D), 40-49 (E), 0-39 (F).</b> For graduate students, all marks below the alphanumeric C+ (66%) are <b>failing</b> marks. For substantive meanings behind these symbols: <a href="http://www.etudesup.uottawa.ca/Default.aspx?tabid=1807&amp;monControl=Examens">http://www.etudesup.uottawa.ca/Default.aspx?tabid=1807&amp;monControl=Examens</a>		

**Research Paper:** This semester we are going to do something completely different, and it begins with a wager: by following a common theme as a group, I bet that you all could produce not only a strong research paper, but a publishable piece of work. So what I wish

to do in this class is collect your research papers and submit them to a grad student journal like *Potentia*, the annual CIPS Graduate Student Journal, for a special issue publication.

My responsibility here will be to act as the research director of this project (not that different from the role of the actual guest editor of a journal special issue). Your research paper will evolve in three stages: 1) proposal; 2) draft; and 3) final paper. You will receive marks for each of these pieces of writing from me, but in stages 1 and 2 you all will also get a chance to critique each other's work in class (details to be determined in Week 2, but refer to participation below). Following *Potentia* guidelines, your final draft will be max 5,000 words, with referencing fully conforming to the MLA Style Manual (explained here: [www.sass.uottawa.ca/writing/kit/reference-mla.php](http://www.sass.uottawa.ca/writing/kit/reference-mla.php)).

The common theme will be the War of 1812 bicentennial, or rather "1812 in 2012: The Politics of Commemoration in Canada and the United States." The title is borrowed from a 2002 article by Rogers Brubaker and Margit Feischmidt, in which two sociologists analyze the celebrations of the Revolutions of 1848 in three European countries in 1998. Much like this article, your paper will seek to compare and contrast commemoration discourses and/or practices in at least two carefully selected sites (Akwesasne, Canadian War Museum, Sackets Harbor, Sun News, Quebec schools, New Orleans media, The Colbert Report, YouTube [e.g., Arrogant Worms]). I will explain the rationale for choosing this particular article as a primer in Week 3 (as we go through the history of the war as well as the theoretical and methodological approaches to commemoration politics), but the basic task of your research paper will be to use the bicentennial to examine how different political actors in North America go about constructing their (ethnic, gender, national, local, regional, etc.) identities; i.e., how they express who they are, where they were, and where they are going.

Our focus will be on the Canada-U.S. region, but you are welcome to pursue further transnational and transhistorical comparisons and analyze similar commemorations in other times (1912?) and places (Britain?). Apart from analyzing texts like Heritage Canada website or newsmedia stories, you are welcome to access your data through direct or indirect observation of local observances of the bicentennial (before you do anything, do review your research methods class notes and/or consult Audie Klotz and Deepa Prakash, eds., *Qualitative Methods: A Pluralist Guide*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Remember, the bicentennial very much counts as public policy in the sense that governments are spending millions of dollars, even in these hard times, on what they regard as usable history. See, e.g.,: Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture, *War of 1812 Bicentennial Analysis: Initial Assessment of Marketing Opportunity* (June 2009) and the Government of Canada War of 1812 website (Here's something to consider: the federal government might actually pay us to read, write, and publish. As this website explains, Canadian Heritage is willing to support community-based projects related to the bicentennial in order to "foster greater awareness and understanding among Canadians of the importance of the War of 1812 in our history.")

**Important notes:** final draft should be sent by e-mail to me, while submissions of the paper plan and the paper draft will go both me and the rest of the class. Please attach only .doc or docx files, while putting last name and course number in the file name. Submissions are due at **5 pm**; thereafter, late submission penalty applies. Your writing and presentation abilities count as well, so allow time to editing and formatting (see fine print below).

**Participation.** You are expected to actively participate in *all* discussions – those related to our research project (marked with an asterisk \*) as well as the rest; attendance & attention are therefore necessary (2 non-medical absences from class are OK, thereafter you will be docked 2% per class missed). Note that I have both reduced the amount of reading and fiddled around with its order in the hope that it will be more closely coordinated with the extraordinary demands placed upon us by the collective research project. Having said thorough treatment of the required readings will bring your rewards (discussing recommended readings will bring you even more rewards). Those keen to do a short presentation on any of the readings – 15 min, preceded by a 1-page handout distributed to class beforehand – are encouraged to do so.

**Prerequisites.** This course assumes a basic level of knowledge of “Can-Am” relations. For various reasons, Canadian-educated students in the API program tend to be extremely knowledgeable on it, but even the experts need some catching up with this hyperactive area of studies. Apart from the aforementioned textbooks, I strongly recommend spending time with the recent issues of the “Key Journals and Annuals” for the study of Canadian Foreign Policy & Canada-U.S. Relations (courtesy of John Kirton, U of Toronto, 2009):

*Canadian Foreign Policy* (1992–, 3/year)  
*Canada Among Nations* (1984–, 1/year)  
*International Journal* (1945–, 4/year)  
*Global Brief* (2009–, 4/year)  
*Études Internationales* (1970–, 4/year)  
*American Review of Canadian Studies*  
*Canadian-American Public Policy*  
*Norteamérica: Revista Académica* (2006– )  
*Behind the Headlines*  
*Canadian Public Policy*  
*Policy Options*  
*Canadian Journal of Political Science*  
*Literary Review of Canada* (reviews of recent books)  
*Canada World View* (government source)

Also take full advantage of dailies and newsmagazines, government documents such as the Congressional and parliamentary reports and debates, statement and speeches, annual reports of various departments and agencies, committee minutes (e.g., the House of Commons Standing Committee on Defence), as well as non-government documents – anything from think tank reports to respectable blogs. For historical research, extremely useful is *Canadian Annual Review of Politics and Public Affairs* (1960–).

Given the nature of the written assignment for this course, I recommend that you refresh your grasp of Canadian and North American history, ideally from a perspective that might be new to you (e.g., Canadian-educated students should check out David Massell, "The Beaver and the Elephant: a History of Canadian-American Relations," in Joseph-André Senécal, ed., *Understanding Canada: A Primer for Americans*. Northeast National Resource Center on Canada, 2004, 29-72).

For the War of 1812 itself, spend time with some of your history books at home, assorted American and Canadian websites dedicated to the event and its memory ([www.visit1812.com/](http://www.visit1812.com/), [www.celebrate1812.com](http://www.celebrate1812.com), and <http://www.eighteentwelve.ca>), encyclopedia entries (e.g., Smithsonian's "Star-Spangled Banner and the War of 1812"), and/or works penned by seasoned historians. Currently popular is Alan Taylor, *The Civil*

*War of 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels, & Indian Allies*. Knopf, 2010, but, for our purposes, it should be read in parallel with Wesley Turner, *The War of 1812: the War that Both Sides Won*. Dundurn Press, 2000 (2nd ed.), and George Sheppard, "'Deeds Speak:' Militiamen, Medals, and the Invented Traditions of 1812," *Ontario History* 82: 3 (1990), 207-32. You will find ample annotated bibliographies on the websites above, and elsewhere, such as this LAC list [www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/military/025002-2011-e.html](http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/military/025002-2011-e.html) or J. Grodzinski, *The War of 1812: An Annotated Bibliography* (Routledge, 2008).

### Fine Print

1. Late submissions of assignments are not tolerated. University regulations require all absences from exams and all late submissions due to illness to be supported by a medical certificate (In the event of an illness or related complications, only the counseling service and the campus clinic [located at 100 Marie-Curie] may issue valid certificates to justify a delay or absence). Exceptions for other "serious situations" are not guaranteed – **notify the professor as soon as possible and in writing** if a religious holiday or some other serious situation forces your absence during an evaluation. Reasons such as travel, work and errors made while reading the exam schedule are not accepted; indeed, if it is not medical, the professor reserves the **right to reject** the reason put forth.
2. There will be a **penalty for** tardiness: **1/3rd** of a letter grade for each day overdue (e.g., an A- work that is one day late will be reduced to a B+; work submitted **4** days after the deadline will not be accepted). This also applies to assignments sent by email, and in this case, the time of receipt of the email by the recipient is guarantor of the time of delivery.
3. You will also be judged on your writing and presentation abilities. It is recommended to take the appropriate measures to avoid mistakes. You will be penalized **up to 15%**.
4. Re-marking requests will be considered for **one week after** the assignment is returned **if and only if** an explanation of why the original mark is not justified is made in writing.
5. New and additional readings might be announced at the end of class and/or through Bb, which are to be read before the subsequent class meeting(s). Changes to the syllabus necessitated by the circumstances of the class may be made **at my discretion**. If/when there are any changes, the professor will make an appropriate announcement in class, on Bb and/or in an email sent to all students' uOttawa e-mail accounts (as maintained by the registrar's list) prior to class time.
6. Any questions by email should receive a response within two business days or during the following class if taken place within the 48 hours following receipt of the email. The professor reserves the right not to answer an email if the level of language used is inadequate.

**Week 1 (January 12)**

- **Region, Alliance, Security Community, Network**

Policy Research Division, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), "Official Response to the eDiscussion on Canada's Role in North America," June 2007  
Available at: [http://www.international.gc.ca/cip-pic/discussions/NA-AN/official\\_response-reponse\\_officiel.aspx?lang=eng&view=d](http://www.international.gc.ca/cip-pic/discussions/NA-AN/official_response-reponse_officiel.aspx?lang=eng&view=d)

Douglas Bland, "Canada's National Interest: Alliance with the United States", *Policy Options* 28: 10 (November 2007), 63-9.

Karl W. Deutsch, Sidney A. Burrell, Robert A. Kann, Maurice Lee, Jr., Martin Lichterman, Raymond E. Lindgren, Francis L. Loewenheim, and Richard W. Van Wagenen, *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957, pp. 5-7, 23-116 (excerpts).

Canadian International Council (CIC), "Open Canada: A Global Positioning Strategy for a Networked Age," July 8, 2010. <http://www.onlinecic.org/opencanada>

**Recommended:**

Stephen M. Walt, "Alliances in a Unipolar World," *World Politics* 61 (2009), 86-120.

Emanuel Adler & Michael Barnett, eds. *Security Communities*. Cambridge University Press, 1998. Especially chapters by Adler & Barnett and Shore.

Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver. *Regions and Powers; the Structure of International Security*, Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Stéphane Roussel, *The North American Democratic Peace: Absence of War and Security Institution-Building in Canada-US Relations, 1867-1958* (McGill-Queen's Press, 2004).

Alexandra Gheciu, "Security Institutions as Agents of Socialization? NATO and the 'New Europe'" *International Organization* 59 (2005), 973-1012.

David Haglund, "A Security Community – 'If You Can Keep It': Demographic Change and the North American Zone of Peace," *Norteamérica* 2 (2007), 77–100.

S. Neil MacFarlane and Monica Serrano, "Security Regulation or Community? Canada, Mexico and the Borders of Identity," in Louise Fawcett and Monica Serrano (eds), *Regionalism and Governance in the Americas: Continental Drift*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, 228-255.

Anne-Marie Slaughter. *A New World Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

John Higginbotham and Jeff Heynen, "Managing Through Networks: The State of Canada-US Relations," in David M. Carment, ed., *Canada Among Nations 2004: Setting Priorities Straight*. Montreal/Kingston: McGill/Queen's University Press, 2004, 123-140.



- **North America: Places, Peoples, Populations, & Publics**

José Vasconcelos, *The Cosmic Race: The Mission of the Ibero American Race*, trans. Didier T. Jaén. LA: California State University Press, 1979 [1925], pp. 22-6, 39-40.

Munroe Eagles, Nikita Nanos, and Daniel Kolundzic, "The Public Opinion Environment for Canadian-American Relations: 2005-2009." ITSA/SUNY Buffalo Working Paper 2, December 2009, <http://www.nanosresearch.com/library/polls/POLNAT-W09-T402.pdf>

\*Research Paper Time (10 am, unless otherwise indicated): "The War of 1812," excerpts from a two-hour documentary produced by WNED-TV (Buffalo-based PBS station serving viewers in NY and ON).

"War of 1812 Well Worth Commemorating," *Globe and Mail*, Oct 12, 2011; & Jeffrey Simpson, "Let's not exalt the folly of 1812," *Globe and Mail*, Oct 7, 2011.

**Recommended:**

J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830*, Yale University Press, 2006.

Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History," *American Historical Review* 104: 3 (June 1999), 814-841

Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, "On the Limits of Historical Imagination: North America as a Historical Essay," *International Journal* 61: 3 (Summer 2006), 567-587.

Radha Jhappan, "The 'New World': Legacies of European Colonialism in North America," in Yasmeen Abu-Laban, Radha Jhappan, & François Rocher (eds.) *Politics in North America: Redefining Continental Relations*, Broadview Press, 2008, 27-50.

Denise Dresser and Veronica Wilson. *U.S.-Mexico Relations: Permeable Borders, Transnational Communities*. Los Angeles: Pacific Council on International Policy, 2006.

Seymour Martin Lipset, *Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada*. New York: Routledge, 1990.

Frank Graves, "North America: Mosaic, Community, or Fortress?" *Norteamérica* 2:2 (2007), 107-129.

Samuel Huntington, *Who Are We?* New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004.

Jack Granatstein & Michael Ignatieff, "Does History Matter?" in Rudyard Griffiths, *Great Questions of Canada*. Toronto: Stoddart, 2000, 1-24.

The Dominion Institute, "American Myths: What Canadians Think They Know About the USA," 5-part series, available online.

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### Week 3 (January 26)

- **Interdependence & Integration: What Sums, What Parts?**

\$1,788bn (\$1,452bn)	\$15,605bn (\$15,604bn)	\$1,100bn (\$2,035bn)
\$51,530 (\$41,860)	\$49,340 (\$49,340)	\$9,570 (\$17,700)

Geoffrey Hale and Stephen Blank, "North American Economic Integration and Comparative Responses to Globalization – Overview" in Monica Gattinger and Geoffrey Hale, eds., *Borders and Bridges: Canada's Policy Relations in North America*. Oxford University Press, 2010, 21-40.

\* Brubaker and Feischmidt, "1848 in 1998: The Politics of Commemoration in Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia," *Comparative Study in Society and History* 44: 4 (2002), 700–44, followed by a discussion of 'Can-Am Memory Studies' and some relevant theoretical and methodological frameworks.

### Recommended:

Amy Skonieczny, "Constructing NAFTA: Myth, Representation, and the Discursive Representation of U.S. Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly* 45 (2001), 433-454.

Stephanie R. Golob "Beyond the Policy Frontier: Canada, Mexico, and the Ideological Origins of NAFTA," *World Politics* 55:3 (April 2003), 361-398.

Stephen Clarkson's trilogy (University of Toronto Press and Woodrow Wilson Press): *Uncle Sam and Us: Globalization, Neoconservatism, and the Canadian State* (2002); *Does North America Exist?: Governing the Continent after NAFTA and 9/11* (2008); and *Dependent America? How Canada and Mexico Construct US Power* (2011).

Michael Hart, *A Trading Nation*. UBC Press, 2002; & John N. McDougall. *Drifting Together*. Broadview Press, 2006.

IRPP Working Paper Series 9-2004, "Mapping the New North American Reality" especially papers by George Haynal (b), Yan Cimon and Claudia Rebolledo (c), Earl Fry (d), and Laura MacDonald (e), <http://www.irpp.org/miscpubs/archive/>

\*Matthew Hayday, "Fireworks, Folk-dancing, and Fostering a National Identity: The Politics of Canada Day," *Canadian Historical Review*, 91: 2 (2010), 287–314.

\*Jim Miller and Myra Rutherdale. "'It's Our Country': First Nations' Participation in the Indian Pavilion at Expo '67," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 17: 2 (2006), 148-173.

\*P.J. Gough, "'Invicta pax' Monuments, Memorials and Peace: An Analysis of the Canadian Peacekeeping Monument, Ottawa," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 8: 3 (2002), 201-223.

\* HIS9800 Public History Syllabus (Michelle A. Hamilton and Michael Dove, UWO), <http://history.uwo.ca/faculty/hamilton/9800%209801%20syllabus%20September%202011.pdf>



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## Week 4 (February 2)

- **Integration as Inevitability** Email Paper Plans to Class by Wed, Feb 1, 17:00h

In-class viewing, Robert Pastor, the Lou Dobbs interview, June 2007,  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WBB-SkrBqrY> (5 minutes).

Donald Barry, "Managing Canada-US Relations in the Post-9/11 Era: Do We Need a Big Idea?" in Duane Bratt and Christopher J. Kukucha, eds. *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy*. Oxford University Press, 2007, 117-138.

Patrick Lennox, "The Illusion of Independence" in Brian Bow and Patrick Lennox (eds.) *An Independent Foreign Policy for Canada? Challenges and Choices for the Future*. University of Toronto Press, 2008, 41-60.

\* Class Discussion of Research Paper Plans

### Recommended:

Robert A. Pastor. *The North American Idea*. Oxford University Press, 2011.

Council on Foreign Relations, "Building North American Community," 2005  
<http://www.cfr.org/canada/building-north-american-community/p8102>

Marie Bernard-Meunier, "The 'inevitability' of North American integration?" *International Journal* 60: 3 (Summer 2005), 703-11.

Emily Gilbert, "The Inevitability of Integration: Neoliberal Discourse and the Proposals for a New North American Economic Space after September 11," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 95:1 (March 2005), 202-222.

Bruce Campbell, "Managing Canada-US Relations: An Alternative to Deep Integration," in Ricardo Grinspun and Yasmine Shamsie, eds., *Whose Canada: Continental Integration, Fortress North America and the Corporate Agenda*. McGill-Queen's, 2007, 529-545.

Gary Hufbauer and Jeffrey J. Schott. "The Prospects for Deeper North American Economic Integration: A U.S. Perspective." *The Border Papers* 195 (CD Howe Institute), January 2004, <http://www.iie.com/publications/papers/hufbauer0104.pdf>

John McDougall "The Long Run Determinants of Deep/Political Canada-US Integration." in folio no.7 of *Thinking North America*, Thomas J. Courchene, Donald Savoie and Daniel Schwanen, eds., *The Art of the State*, vol. 2. Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2004.  
[http://www.irpp.org/books/archive/AOTS2/folio\\_7.pdf](http://www.irpp.org/books/archive/AOTS2/folio_7.pdf)

Isabel Studer, "Obstacles to Integration: NAFTA's Institutional Weakness," in Studer and Carol Wise, eds., *Requiem or Revival? The Promise of North American Integration*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2007, 53-75.

CUCUSP (Carleton University Canada-U.S. Project), "From Correct to Inspired: A Blueprint for Canada-U.S. Engagement," January 19, 2009.  
<http://www.ctpl.ca/sites/default/files/FINAL-BLUEPRINT-ENGLISH.pdf>

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## Week 5 (February 9)

- **Slow Boat to China (and to rest of the Indo-Pacific)**  
GUEST SPEAKER FROM DFAIT: MS CINDY TERMORSHUIZEN,  
DIRECTOR OF THE GREATER CHINA DIVISION, 8:30h

In-class viewing of the Munk Debate between Brian Crowley and Michael Byers, "Canada Should Take Advantage of China's Rise by Fuelling It," Jan 13, 2011, selections.

Jeffrey Simpson, "America, the Eagle with Clipped Talons," *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 12, 2011.

Bruce Gilley, "Middle Powers During Great Power Transitions: China's Rise and the Future of Canada-US Relations," *International Journal* 66: 2 (2011): 245-64.

Colin Robertson, "The China Question and Canadian Interests," *Policy Options* (November 2011), 65-69.

### Recommended:

National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World*. Washington, D.C.: November 2008, online.

Michael Mandelbaum, *The Frugal Superpower: America's Global Leadership in a Cash-Strapped Era*. New York: Public Affairs, 2010.

Derek Burney, "Twenty Years On, the Cassandras are Still Wrong," *Policy Options* (October 2007), 41-44.

Danielle Goldfarb, "Too Many Eggs in One Basket? Evaluating Canada's Need to Diversify Trade," C.D. Howe Institute *Commentary* No. 236, July 2006.

William A. Dymond and Michael M. Hart, "A Canada-EU FTA is an Awful Idea," *Policy Options* (August 2002), 27-32.

Patrick Leblond, "The Canada-EU Comprehensive Trade Agreement: More to It than Meets the Eye," *Policy Options* (July-August 2010), 74-78.

Joan DeBardeleben and Patrick Leblond, "The Other Transatlantic Relationship: Canada, the EU and 21st Century Challenges," *International Journal* 66 (2011), 1-7 (Special Issue).

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## Week 6 (February 16)

- **Borders**

Joel J. Sokolsky and Philippe Lagassé, "Suspenders and a Belt: Perimeter and Border Security in Canada-U.S. Relations." *Canadian Foreign Policy* 12: 3 (2005/2006), 15-29.

Mark B. Salter, "Canadian Border Policy as Foreign Policy: Security, Policing, Management", in J. Marshall Beier and Lana Wylie, eds., *Canadian Foreign Policy in Critical Perspectives*, Oxford University Press, 2009, 72-82.

\* In-class viewing of Terry Copp's lecture (Wilfrid Laurier University), "The War of 1812: Stephen Harper and the Battle for Memory," (excerpts only), followed by another discussion of 'Can-Am Memory Studies' and the idea of rebranding.

*The Economist*, "Rebranding Canada: Tenacious, Smelly—and Uncool," Feb. 15, 2007; Peter C. Newman's "Stephen Harper: It's His Canada Now (Review of Martin's *Harperland*)," *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 8, 2010; and Carl Meyer. "DND: Military's 'values' shape 'Canada's identity'," *Embassy*, Dec. 6, 2011.

### **Recommended:**

Chapters by Louis Pauly and Monica Serrana, among others, in Peter Andreas and Thomas Biersteker, *The Rebordering of North America*. New York, Routledge: 2003.

Geoffrey Hale, "Sharing a Continent: Security, Insecurity and the Politics of "Intermesticity"," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 12: 3 (2005/2006), 31-43.

Frank P. Harvey, "The Homeland Security Dilemma: Imagination, Failure and the Escalating Costs of Perfecting Security," *Can Journal of Poli Sci* 40 (2007), 283-316.

Christina Gabriel and Laura Mc Donald "From the 49th Parallel to the Rio Grande: US Homeland Security and North American Borders" in Abu-Laban, Jhappan, & Rocher (eds.) *Politics in North America*, Broadview Press, 2008, 353-370.

Jason Ackleson, "From 'Thin' to 'Thick' (and Back Again?): The Politics and Policies of the Contemporary US–Canada Border," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 39: 4 (2009), 336–351.

\*Roy Rempel, *Dreamland: How Canada's Pretend Foreign Policy Has Undermined Sovereignty*. Queen's Policy Studies Series, 2006.

\*Evan Potter, *Branding Canada: Projecting Canada's Soft Power through Public Diplomacy*. McGill-Queen's, 2009.

\*Christian Nadeau, *Contre Harper: bref traité philosophique sur la révolution conservatrice*. Éditions du Boréal, 2010.

\*Lawrence Martin, *Harperland: The Politics of Control*, Viking Canada, 2010.

\*Adam Chapnick, "A "Conservative" National Story? The Evolution of Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Discover Canada," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 41: 1 (2011), 20-36.

\*Ian McKay and Jamie Swift. *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in a Fearful Age*. Between the Lines, 2011.

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### **Week 7 (February 23) NO CLASS - STUDY WEEK**

Review your War of 1812 notes from Weeks 2-6 and start working on your research paper – it's only a draft, but a good draft takes time (as well as 15% of your final mark).

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## Week 8 (March 1)

- **Energy & Environment**

**GUEST SPEAKER: PROF. MONICA GATTINGER (uOTTAWA), 10:30h**

API6339A 2009-10 (Paul Robinson), GSPIA, uOttawa, in collaboration with the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, "Canadian Energy Security: What Does Energy Security Mean for Canada?" [http://www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/pblctns/cdmctrch/Cnd\\_nrg\\_Scrt\\_Rprt-eng.pdf](http://www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/pblctns/cdmctrch/Cnd_nrg_Scrt_Rprt-eng.pdf)

Monica Gattinger, "Canada's Energy Policy Relations in North America: Toward Harmonization and Supranational Approaches?" Ch. 8, in Gattinger & Hale, 2010, 139-57; skim through Douglas Macdonald and Debora L. VanNijnatten, "Canadian Climate Policy and the North American Influence," *Ibid.*, Ch. 10, 177-194.

### **Recommended:**

Dave Sawyer and Carolyn Fischer, "Better Together? The Implications of Linking Canada-US Greenhouse Gas Policies," CD Howe Institute Commentary, 2010.

Morales, Isidro. "Mexico's Energy Policy Options in North America's Continental Energy Markets." *American University Working Papers*, no. 3 (2006), [http://www.american.edu/ia/cnas/pdfs/workingpaper3\\_energy.pdf](http://www.american.edu/ia/cnas/pdfs/workingpaper3_energy.pdf)

Thomas J. Courchene and John R. Allan. "Climate Change: The Case for a Carbon Tariff/Tax," *Policy Options* (March 2008), 59-64.

Mark Jaccard and Nic Rivers, "Intensity-based Climate Policies in Canada", *Canadian Public Policy* 36: 4 (2010), 409-428.

Edward Parson and Andrew Dessler, *The Science and Politics of Global Climate Change: A Guide to the Debate*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.

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## Week 9 (March 8)

- **Defence**

**GUEST SPEAKER: PROF. PHILIPPE LAGASSE (uOTTAWA), 10:30h**

Philippe Lagassé, "Canada and Strategic Defence: A Retrospective and Look Ahead", *International Journal* 63: 4 (2008), 917-937.

Bruno Charbonneau and Wayne S. Cox, "Global Order, US Hegemony and Military Integration: The Canadian-American Defense Relationship," *International Political Sociology* 2: 4 (2008), 305-21.

Michael Byers, "Canada-U.S. Military Relations: Who to Serve? (Ch. 8)," in Byers, *Intent for a Nation: What is Canada for?* Douglas and MacIntyre, 2008, 173-190.

### **Recommended:**

Ann Denholm Crosby, "A Middle-Power Military in Alliance: Canada and NORAD," *Journal of Peace Research* 34: 1 (1997), 37-52.

David Massell, "'As Though There Was No Boundary': the Shipshaw Project and Continental Integration," *The American Review of Canadian Studies* 34, 2 (2004): 187-222.

Dwight Mason, "The Canadian-American North American Defence Alliance in 2005," *International Journal* 60: 3 (2005), 385-396.

Bernard Stancati, "The Future of Canada's Role in Hemispheric Defense," *Parameters* 36 (Autumn 2006), 103-116.

Lawrence Spinetta, "Expanding North American Aerospace Defense (NORAD): A Strategy to Engage Mexico," *Air & Space Power Journal*, 2005,  
<http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/apjinternational/apj-s/2005/2tri05/spinettaeng.html>

Woodrow Wilson Center, The Canada Institute, "Threat Perceptions in the United States and Canada" *One Issue, Two Voices* 4 (2005), 1-20.

Danford W. Middlemiss and Denis Stairs. "Is the Defence Establishment Driving Canada's Foreign Policy," in Jean Daudelin and Daniel Schwanen, eds. *Canada Among Nations 2007: What Room for Manoeuvre?* McGill-Queen's, 2007, 66-90.

Alan Williams, *Reinventing Canadian Defence Procurement*, McGill-Queen's, 2006.

James Fergusson, "Beneath the Radar: Change and Transformation in the Canada-U.S. North American Defence Relationship," Calgary: Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute, December 2009; and *Ibid.*, *Canada and Ballistic Missile Defence, 1954-2009: Déjà vu All Over Again*, University of British Columbia Press, 2010.

Elinor C. Sloan. *Security and Defence in the Terrorist Era: Canada and the United States Homeland* (McGill-Queen's, 2010).

Robert Killebrew, "Criminal Insurgency in the Americas and Beyond," *Prism* 2: 3 (June 2011), 33-52.

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## **Week 10 (March 15) Email Paper Drafts to Class by Wed., March 14, 17:00h**

\* Discussion of Research Paper Drafts, no readings for today.

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## **Week 11 (March 22)**

- **The Arctic**

**GUEST SPEAKER: PROF. ANDREA CHARRON (CARLETON), 8:30h**

Scott Borgerson, "Arctic Meltdown: The Economic and Security Implications of Global Warming," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2008), 63-76.

Rob Huebert, "Canadian Arctic Maritime Security: The Return to Canada's Third Ocean," *Canadian Military Journal* (2007), 1-16.

Andrea Charron, "Military not likely to see conflict in the Arctic," *Embassy*, Nov. 16, 2011.

Michael Byers, "Time to Negotiate the Northwest Passage with the United States," *Policy Options* (October 2011).

**Recommended:**

Michael Byers, *Who Owns the Arctic? Understanding Sovereignty Disputes in the North*, D&M Publishing, 2010; and Ibid., "Cold Peace: Arctic Cooperation and Canadian Foreign Policy," *International Journal* 65: 4 (2010), 899-912. Also: <http://byers.typepad.com/arctic/>

Rob Huebert, *Thawing Ice, Cold War: Canada's Security, Sovereignty, Security and Environmental Concerns in the Arctic*, University of Manitoba, 2009.

Ken Coates, P. Whitney Lackenbauer, Bill Morrison and Greg Poelzer, *Arctic Front: Defending Canada in the Far North*. Thomas Allen, 2009.

Franklyn Griffiths, *Towards a Canadian Arctic Strategy*. Preliminary paper for Canadian International Council (CIC), 2008. Available online.

Andrea Charron, "Canada, the United States, and the Northwest Passage: Sovereignty to the Side." *Polar Geography*, Vol. 29(2), (October-December 2005): 171-187.

Michael Mifflin, "Arctic Sovereignty: A View from the North," *Policy Options* (2007), 55-8.

Mary Simon, "Sovereignty from the North," *The Walrus* 4 (November 2007), 32-34.

Brian Flemming. *Canada-U.S. Relations in the Arctic: A Neighbourly Proposal*, CDFAI, December 2008.

Elizabeth Elliot-Meisel, "Politics, Pride, and Precedent: The United States and Canada in the Northwest Passage", *Ocean Development & International Law* 40 (2009), 204-232.

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**Week 12 (March 29)**

- **The Great Slump, Civil Society, & North American Democracy**

John Higginbotham, "When Worlds Collide: Handling New Forms of US Protectionism," and Derek Burney & Kevin Ackhurst, "Canadian Protectionism? Political and Legal Considerations for Foreign Investment in Canada," both in *Policy Options* (November 2011), 50-3, 57-64.

Greg Albo, Sam Gindin & Leo Panitch, "Another Way Out of the Crisis? (Ch.7)" & "Ten Theses on the Crisis (Ch.8)," Albo, Gindin & Panitch. *In and Out of Crisis: The Global Financial Meltdown and Left Alternatives*. Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2010, 103-129.

\* Discussion of Research Paper Drafts.

**Recommended:**

Carl Ek and Ian F. Fergusson, "Canada-U.S. Relations," Congressional Research Service Report 7-5700, 96-397, 13 Sept. 2011, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/96-397.pdf>



Arthur Cockfield, "The Coming Canada-U.S. Tax War," *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 13, 2011.

Jeff Ayres and Laura Macdonald, "Deep Integration and Shallow Governance: The Limits to Civil Society Engagement Across North America," *Policy and Society* 25: 3 (2006), 23-42.

North American Center for Transborder Studies, "North America Next: A Report to President Obama on Building Sustainable Security and Competitiveness," February 2010.

Canada and UMS, "Mexico-Canada Joint Action Plan," 27 May 2010,  
<http://embamex.sre.gob.mx/canada/images/mexico-jap.pdf>

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**Week 13 (April 5)** Easter Break begins April 6

- **What Advice to the Prince?**

Wendy Dobson, Alan Gotlieb, and Michael Hart, "Bed the Elephant," *Maclean's*, March 23, 2005.

Brian Bow, "Out of Ideas? Models and Strategies for Canada-US Relations," *International Journal* 62 (Winter 2006-07), 123-142.

Colin Robertson, "Ottawa Needs a Permanent Pro-Canada Campaign," *National Post*, May 11, 2009. Also available at [colinrobertson.com](http://colinrobertson.com)

\* Discussion of Research Paper Drafts

**Recommended:**

John Holmes. *Life with Uncle: The Canadian-American Relationship*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

Allan Gotlieb, *"I'll be with you in a Minute, Mr. Ambassador" The Education of a Diplomat in Washington*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1991.

Jeff Heynen and John Higginbotham, *Advancing Canadian Interests in the United States: A Practical Guide for Canadian Public Officials*. Canadian School of Public Service, 2004.

Danielle Goldfarb, "The Canada-Mexico Conundrum: Finding Common Ground." *The Border Papers* 91 (CD Howe Institute), 2005  
[http://www.cdhowe.org/pdf/backgrounders\\_91.pdf](http://www.cdhowe.org/pdf/backgrounders_91.pdf)

Derek Burney, "The Perennial Challenge: Managing Canada-U.S. Relations," in Andrew F. Cooper and Dane Rowlands, eds., *Canada Among Nations 2005*, McGill-Queen's, 2005, 47-62.

Brian Bow, "What Next? (Ch. 7: "Diplomatic Cultures), in Bow, *The Politics of Linkage: Power, Interdependence and Ideas in Canada-US Relations*, UBC Press, 2009, 176-180.

**RESEARCH PAPER DUE April 8, 23:59h**

### **Beware of Academic Fraud**

Academic fraud is an act committed by a student to distort the marking of assignments, tests, examinations, and other forms of academic evaluation. Academic fraud is neither accepted nor tolerated by the University. Anyone found guilty of academic fraud is liable to severe academic sanctions. [Here are a few examples of academic fraud:](#)

- engaging in any form of plagiarism or cheating;
- presenting falsified research data;
- handing in an assignment that was not authored, in whole or in part, by the student;
- submitting the same assignment in more than one course, without the written consent of the professors concerned.

In recent years, the development of the Internet has made it much easier to identify academic plagiarism. The tools available to your professors allow them to trace the exact origin of a text on the Web, using just a few words. In cases where students are unsure whether they are at fault, it is their responsibility to consult the University's Web site at the following address:

[http://www.socialsciences.uottawa.ca/eng/writing\\_tools.asp](http://www.socialsciences.uottawa.ca/eng/writing_tools.asp)

Persons who have committed or attempted to commit (or have been accomplices to) academic fraud will be penalized. Here are some examples of the academic sanctions, which can be imposed:

- a grade of « F » for the assignment or course in question;
- an additional program requirement of between 3 and 30 credits;
- suspension or expulsion from the Faculty.

In earlier years, most of the students found guilty of fraud were given an « F » for the course and had between three and twelve credits added to their program requirement. For more information, refer to: [http://www.uottawa.ca/academic/info/newsletter/fraud\\_e.html](http://www.uottawa.ca/academic/info/newsletter/fraud_e.html)

### **Resources for you**

**Mentoring Centre** - <http://www.sciencessociales.uottawa.ca/mentor/fra/>

The goal of the Mentoring Centre is to help students with their academic and social well being during their time at the University of Ottawa. Regardless of where a student stands academically, or how far along they are in completing their degree, the mentoring centre is there to help students continue on their path to success.

**Academic Writing Help Centre** - <http://www.sass.uottawa.ca/writing/>

At the AWHC you will learn how to identify, correct and ultimately avoid errors in your writing and become an autonomous writer. In working with our Writing Advisors, you will be able to acquire the abilities, strategies and writing tools that will enable you to:

**Career Services** - <http://www.sass.uottawa.ca/careers/>

Career Services offers various services and a career development program to enable you to recognize and enhance the employability skills you need in today's world of work.

**Counselling Service** - <http://www.sass.uottawa.ca/personal/>

There are many reasons to take advantage of the Counselling Service. We offer:

**Access Service** - <http://www.sass.uottawa.ca/acces/>

The Access Service contributes to the creation of an inclusive environment by developing strategies and implementing measures that aim to reduce the barriers to learning for students who have learning disabilities, health, psychiatric or physical conditions.

**Student Resources Centres** - <http://www.communitylife.uottawa.ca/en/resources.php>

The Student Resources Centres aim to fulfill all sorts of students needs.

