

WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY

Political Science 649 Foreign Policy, Canada, the US and the UN: Multilateral Cooperation in a Single Super-Power World

Term: Fall 2007
Instructor: Professor Paul Heinbecker
Time/Location: Fridays 9:30-12:20 am (3-103, third floor Woods) and/or
2:30-5:20pm (P3015, third floor Peters)
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Wilfrid Laurier University uses software that can check for **plagiarism**. Students may be required to submit their written work in electronic form and have it checked for plagiarism.

Students with disabilities or special needs are advised to contact Laurier's **Accessible Learning Office** for information regarding its services and resources. Students are encouraged to review the Calendar for information regarding all services available on campus.

The Political Science Department's policy on **deferred midterm and final examinations** can be found at <http://www.wlu.ca/arts/politicalscience>



Course Description and Rationale:

This is a seminar course that discusses international relations and Canadian foreign policy and diplomacy from the point of view of a practitioner, often using actual cases, and considers policy choices that Canadian governments make as they respond to the dilemmas frequently encountered in dealing with unexpected events, multilateral considerations, bilateral necessities and domestic realities. The emphasis is on practice and not theory.

Objectives

The purpose of this course is:

1. to help students develop a deeper understanding of some of the main policy issues and practical dilemmas governments face;
2. to help them understand how and why governments, especially the Canadian Government, make decisions on international questions; and
3. to help them refine their own judgments about the significance of international developments to Canada and to Canadians so they can participate more effectively in national and international life

Comments

There will be no extensions on assignments except for documented illness or severe personal extenuating circumstances.

Required Text

Author/Editor: Paul Heinbecker and Patricia Goff, eds

Text Title: Irrelevant or Indispensable: The United Nations in the 21st Century

Publisher: Wilfrid Laurier University Press ISBN: 0-88920-493-4

NB. The Heinbecker/Goff book will be available direct from the professor.

Course Details

This is a seminar course. The student's seminar presentation is to be both written and oral. The written element is to be in the form of a 4-6 page mock memorandum (memo) to the Minister of Foreign Affairs (for the purposes of this class, the professor). It is to be made available—preferably electronically-- to the professor no later than two full calendar days before the seminar at which it will be discussed and to the other class members at the same time. It will be sufficient to post it on the electronic “classroom community” that the professor will create for this class.

The student/presenter is to consider the professor to be a recently appointed minister. Accordingly, the student/presenter will be able to include somewhat more material than would normally be the case for a real minister and a real memo. There will, nonetheless, remain a premium on brevity and succinctness. Unlike a real memo, footnoting to indicate sources and to reinforce argumentation will be important.

In class, the presenter should take no more than 15 minutes to make his/her presentation, which should describe the course of action the student recommends, elaborate on the substance of the memo and substantiate the argumentation. Please note that this is to be a memo to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Trade. It must, therefore, recommend a course of action that the Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade has the authority to act on, i.e., it is not to recommend what the Prime Minister should do or the Minister of National Defence should do or the Cabinet, as a whole, should do.

The professor and the presenter will assume that all students have read the essay beforehand. The presenter should not simply read the essay out loud. Nor should he/she read word-for-word from a detailed script. It is an oral presentation and “eye contact” with the professor and other students is important. Power point presentations are acceptable. A template for the Memo will be provided and explained on the first day of class; students should follow it closely. Instructions for uploading/posting and or submitting the memos will be given at the same time.

During the first class, a document covering about a dozen issue areas, each with several essay/memorandum questions per area, will be distributed. Each student is asked to indicate by the next day, at the latest, three preferred issue areas from the list that she/he would prefer to write a memo on. Students should specify one (only) question in each of the three issue areas, that is, specify three issue areas in total and three questions in total drawn from the issue areas selected. Every effort will be made to meet students' preferences but only one student will be permitted to answer a given question, on a first-come, first-served basis. It is not acceptable to choose fewer than three issue areas or more than one question from a single issue area. If such cases arise, the professor will simply assign the student an essay topic. The professor reserves the right, students' preferences notwithstanding, to allocate subject areas to

students to ensure that there will be a presentation every class day. A list of presenters will be forwarded to the students electronically ASAP after the first class.

A student will be authorized to create his/her own topic only with the explicit, prior, written approval of the professor. It is very important that the student answer the question that has been asked, not a question the student might have wished had been asked. The professor will be happy to provide clarifications if necessary. Memos that are beside the point will be less well received than memos that are on the point. Memos will be graded and returned to the students as soon as possible.

The professor/minister will participate actively, as the discussant. Class participation will be graded.

It is important to note that the reading material provided is for the purpose of deepening the understanding by students of the issues the class addresses. It is not intended to be the sole or even necessarily the principal source from which the course essays are to be written. The reading material is recommended, not obligatory. Students who have not read the recommended readings will not be able to participate as effectively in class as those who have. More important, their educational experiences will be diminished.

Where possible and relevant, outside experts will be invited to discuss issue areas covered by the course. It is possible that the order of the issue areas might be altered to suit the availability of experts. Presenters will be informed in advance of any schedule changes.

The Take-Home Final Exam will be in the form of a memorandum to the Prime Minister conveying the first draft of a speech for his/her use. The speech will be between 3,000 and 4,500 words, and should draw on course readings, course discussions and additional relevant information and documentation. The appropriateness of the subject matter and the tone of the speech will both be important, as will the quality of the drafting and the soundness of the judgment exercised. Again, proper footnoting is expected.

The covering memorandum to the Prime Minister is to be not more than 700 words (no particular format necessary). It should set out the strategic goal of the speech, outline to the Prime Minister the tactical approach the student believes that he/she should take, assess the opportunities, pitfalls and other considerations involved in making this speech at this particular time and in this particular place (the professor will specify the locale in due course), and describe a desired outcome. The memorandum to the Prime Minister should, therefore, explain the rationales for what should be included in the speech and what should be excluded from it. All students will address the same question, which will be distributed on or before the last day of class.

The professor will create an electronic “classroom community” to which the students will have access. Students will find there templates, schedule changes, essay questions, the final take home exam, etc. and they will post their essays there for their classmates and the professor to read.

Grading Information

Term Paper 25 %

Presentation of Term Paper 15 %

Class Participation 10 %

Take-home Exam 50 %

A student who demonstrates competence in the accomplishment of class objectives should expect to receive a grade of roughly 75 percent. Students who demonstrate superior understanding of the material may expect to receive a grade in the low 80s. A grade above 85% is a mark of considerable excellence

and is relatively rare. Students who show only an adequate grasp of the material may expect to receive a grade in the 65-74 range. Students who do not master important aspects of the course or fail to accomplish key objectives should expect to receive a failing grade.

Class Schedule

September 14	No class
September 21	9:30-12:20
September 28	9:30-12:20
October 5	9:30-12:20*
October 5	2:30-5:30*
October 12	9:30-12:20*
October 12	2:30-5:20*
October 19	No class
October 26	No class
November 2	9:30-12:20pm
November 9	9:30-12:20pm*
November 9	2:30-5:30pm*
November 16	No class
November 23	9:30-12:20*
November 23	2:30-5:30*
November 30	9:30-12:20

* NB Denotes days with two lectures

Course Outline 2007

September 21 Course Overview, Logistics and Canadian Foreign Policy

- Orientation regarding logistics, requirements, expectations, scheduling, essays, final exam, etc.
- Canadian Diplomacy and Foreign Policy basics, from 1914 to the present:
 - World War I
 - The Chanak Crisis
 - The Treaty of Westminster
 - World War II
 - The Golden Age of Canadian Diplomacy
 - The Modern Age of Canadian Diplomacy

- Canadian Foreign Policy
 - Values and interests
 - Realism and Romanticism
 - Anti-Americanism
 - The Whole of Government
 - Special Interest groups

- The impacts of Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers
 - Mackenzie King
 - St. Laurent
 - Pearson
 - Trudeau
 - Clark
 - Mulroney
 - Chrétien
 - Martin
 - Harper

September 28

Multilateral Governance

- The Founding of the United Nations
- The Charter of the United Nations and International Law
- The main components of the organization
 - The Secretary General
 - The Security Council
 - The Permanent Five
 - Chapter VII and international law
 - The use of force and sanctions
 - Reform
 - The General Assembly
 - Budget
 - Norm Building
 - Treaties
 - Special sessions and conferences
 - The Economic and Social Council
 - The Human Rights Council
 - (See separate session)
 - Funds and Programs
 - Specialized Agencies
 - The absence of consensus
 - UN: end or means?
 - Whose organization is it anyhow?

- UN, indispensable but...
 - Governance in a unipolar world
- International governance innovation
 - From the G8 to the L20?

October 5th (AM)

US Foreign Policy

- From Isolationism to unilateralism
 - Exceptionalism
 - Evangelism
 - Militarism
- An extraordinary record of success
 - And failure
 - Winston Churchill
- Empire??
 - The Monroe Doctrine
 - Manifest Destiny
 - The Single Superpower
 - The end of external and most internal checks and balances
 - Power and reality
- 9/11 changed everything?
 - The National Security Strategy
 - Pre-emption or prevention
 - Perpetual predominance
- Multilateral cooperation if necessary, but...

October 5th (PM)

Canada-US Relations, Canada-US-Mexico Relations and the Western Hemisphere Initiative

- Personal Diplomacy: Politics, Presidents and Prime Ministers
- Institutions
 - The International Joint Commission
 - NORAD
 - The Free Trade Agreement
- Border Security
 - Western Hemisphere Travel Initiative
- The Arctic
 - Sovereignty and the North west passage, and in the High Arctic
- The Partnership for Prosperity
 - NAFTA
 - And Softwood lumber
 - The North American Union

- The Western Hemisphere Initiative

October 12 (AM) Human Rights and Human Security

- The UN Charter
- The Declaration of Human Rights
- The Core treaties
- From the Human Rights Commission to the Human Rights Council via the Durban Conference on Human Rights
- Definitions of Human Security
 - Canadian
 - Other
- From practice to theory
 - The International Criminal Court
 - Anti-personnel landmines
 - Cluster munitions
 - The Responsibility to Protect
 - Rwanda
 - Srebrenica
 - Kosovo
 - Darfur
 - Protecting civilians in armed conflict

October 12 (PM) Economic Foreign Policy

- Official Development Assistance
 - The 0.7% debate
 - Prime Minister Pearson
 - Why the hypocrisy?
 - Micro-credits
- Governing International Trade
 - Doha Round
 - Development round or dud
 - Canadian trade policy “stuck in neutral”
- The international financial institutions
 - The World Bank
 - Role
 - Reform
 - The International Monetary Fund
 - Role
 - Reform
- Canada, the energy superpower?

November 2 Environmental Foreign Policy

- Climate Change
 - The International Panel on Climate Change
 - UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)
 - Kyoto
 - 5% reduction on 1990 levels
 - Carbon tax
 - Cap and trade
 - Beyond Kyoto
 - The Bush Initiative
 - The Canadian conundrum
 - Moral responsibility and legal liability

- NAFTA and the environment

- Water in a warming world

November 9 (AM) Arms Control and Disarmament

- The Arms Control and Disarmament Regime
 - The Non-Proliferation Treaty
 - The International Atomic Energy Agency
 - The Additional Protocols
 - The global nuclear energy partnership
 - The Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty
 - The Comprehensive Test ban Treaty
 - The Cooperative Threat reduction program
 - PAROS
 - The Global Partnership Program (G8)
 - The Security Council and nuclear terrorism
 - The Privatization of nuclear weapons-- A.Q.Khan
 - The Outliers
 - India
 - The US –India Agreement
 - Pakistan
 - Israel
 - North Korea
 - Israel
 - Iran?
 - Nuclear renaissance

- The Chemical Weapons Convention

- The Biological and Toxins Convention

November 9 (PM) Iraq

- The 1991 Gulf War
- The New American Century Project and the birth of the Neo-cons
- 9/11
- Spring 2002-war drums beating
- Summer 2002 and the White House Iraq Group
 - Card
 - Cheney

- Fall 2002
 - Challenge to the UN
 - The UN responds—Resolution 1441
 - The Mushroom cloud!
 - The Inspectors return

- Winter 2002
 - Slam dunk
 - The French visit the White House

- January-February 2003
 - The State of the Union Speech
 - Colin Powell at the UNSC
 - The proposed Canadian compromise
 - Blix
 - Cheney on Meet the Press
 - No second UN resolution

- The War
 - Cake walk or Swallowing a razor
 - Mission Accomplished
 - The Illegal War (the Oil-for-Food Program)

- The Aftermath
 - The Coalition Provisional Authority
 - The three terrible decisions
 - Disbanding the army
 - Disqualifying the Baathists
 - Permitting sectarian parties
 - The insurgency begins
 - Civil War(s)
 - Millions of refugees
 - Centrifugal Regional Pressures
 - Terrorist pool

November 23 (AM) Arab-Israeli Conflict

- The 1917 The Balfour Declaration
- 1947 UN partitions Palestine
 - The role of Canada
- The wars
 - 1948
 - The refugees issue
 - 1956
 - Pearson and the Nobel Peace Prize
 - 1967
 - Resolution 242—land for peace
 - The West Bank and Gaza are occupied
 - 1973
 - Resolution 338
 - 1982
 - Lebanon
 - 2006
 - Lebanon again
- Peace Processes
 - Jimmy Carter, Menachim Begin and Anwar Sadat at Camp David
 - Settlements continue
 - The Intifada
 - Oslo
 - Camp David, Clinton, Arafat and Barak
 - Sharon on Temple Mount
 - The second Intifada
 - 2001 Taba—outlines of a deal
 - 2003 The Geneva Accord
 - The Arab League Proposal
 - The Saudi Initiative
- Dueling narratives
- Peace or peace process
- Lebanon 2006
- Iran
- “Why they hate us”

November 23 (PM) Afghanistan

- Why we are there
 - Preventing the use of Afghanistan as a terrorist base
 - Strategic concerns (stability in a nuclear weapons area)
 - Human security
 - Buying peace with Washington
 - NATO duty
- Ours to lose or Mission Impossible?

- Afghanistan is not Iraq
- Peacemaking versus peacekeeping
- Collateral damage and the loss of local support
- The Three “D’s
- Communications
 - Strategic versus tactical
- The necessity of public support
 - Prime Minister Harper searches for consensus

November 30

Terrorism and Final Exam Distribution

- Terrorism
 - 9/11
 - “War on Terror” or Clash of Civilizations”
 - Conflation or disaggregation
- Canada and terrorism
 - Foreign Policy and domestic peace
 - CSIS
 - The RCMP
 - Relations with allies
 - The advantages
 - The problems
- The risks of abuse
 - The Arar Commission
 - Justice Noel’s decision
 - The Internal (Iacobucci) Commission
 - Security Certificates
- Final Exam
 - Distribution of Take-home exam,
 - Guidance
 - Questions and answers

Recommended Reading List

- There is no required reading but plenty of recommended reading. Strongly recommended readings are marked with an asterisk*

September 21 Course Overview, Logistics and Canadian Foreign Policy

*Burney, Derek H, “A Time for Courage and Conviction in Foreign Policy”,
<http://www.irpp.org/po/archive/feb05/burney.pdf>

*Gotlieb, Allan "Romanticism and realism in Canada's foreign policy",
<http://www.irpp.org/po/archive/feb05/gotlieb.pdf>

Government of Canada's International Policy Statement: A Role of Pride and Influence in the World, 2005 —see especially *Overview and Diplomacy*, <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/cip-pic/ips/ips-overview3-en.asp>

Government of Canada. Foreign Policy for Canadians. Published Under the Authority of The Hon. Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State – External Affairs. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970. pgs 5-9. **Available at PO649 online classroom community**

* Harper, PM Stephen. Speech to the UN General Assembly Fall 2006 at <http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?category=2&id=1329>

* Harper, PM Stephen. Speech to the Woodrow Wilson International Centre, 05 October, 2006, <http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?category=2&id=1343>

Heinbecker Paul, “Between the UN and the US: Reforming One and Restraining the Other,” Policy Options 2005 available at <http://www.heinbecker.ca/Articles/Between-the-UN-the-US-IRPP-Policy-Options-2005.pdf>

*Heinbecker, Paul, “Polycentric Governance? Sub-national Governments and Foreign Policy in an Age of Globalization”, Norm Paterson School of International Affairs, June 2006 available at <http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/NPSIA-June7-2006.pdf>

*Heinbecker, Paul, “The 2007 Davey Lecture: The Ups and Downs of Canadian Foreign Policy, from Lester Bowles Pearson to Stephen Joseph Harper <http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/DaveyLectureCanadianForeignPolicyPH.pdf>

Martin, PM Paul. speech to the UN General Assembly Fall 2004 at http://www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/default.asp?Language=E&Page=archivemartin&Sub=speechesdiscours&Doc=speech_2004092_2_266_e.htm

Pearson, L.B. “Canada's Role as A Middle Power: Transcript of Prime Minister's Address to the Third Banff Conference on World Development”. J. King Gordon, ed. Canada's Role as a Middle Power. Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1966. 195-209. **Available at PO649 online classroom community**

Stairs, Denis. “Myths, morals, and reality in Canadian foreign policy”, International Journal 58 (Spring 2003, Issue 2). Pp 239-256 available through (Trellis Online)

St. Laurent, Louis Stephen. “The Foundations of Canadian Policy in World Affairs.” Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947. *Read odd numbered (English) pages only.* **Available at PO649 online classroom community**

Polling

6 March 2007 Canada tops BBC poll on influence
http://www.globescan.com/news_archives/bbcntryview/

September 28 Multilateral Cooperation

Collective Security/The United Nations

*2005 World Summit Outcome. Press statement

http://www.un.org/summit2005/presskit/fact_sheet.pdf

*Heinbecker, Paul, “An Institution in Crisis? The Future of the United Nations, International Law Association, Ottawa, June 2006, available at,

<http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/International%20law%20Association%20presentation-June2006.pdf>

Heinbecker, Paul “ Chapter 15: The UN in the Twenty-first Century: Canada Needs this Old Dog to Learn New Tricks,” in David Carment, Fen Osler Hampson and Norman Hillmer, eds, *Canada Among Nations 2004: Setting Priorities Straight* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).

Available at

<http://www.heinbecker.ca/Writing/CanadaAmongNations.pdf>

Heinbecker Paul, “The UN between heaven and hell”, *Behind the Headlines* vol. 62 no. 2 Canadian Institute for International Affairs, Available at <http://www.heinbecker.ca/Articles/UN-Between-heaven-hell.pdf>

Heinbecker, Paul. “Washington's Exceptionalism and the UN,” in Tom Weiss, ed. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 10(3) NY: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004 (Trellis Online)

*Heinbecker, Paul. “Volcker’s Report is More Passing-the Buck than Oil-For-Food,” in *The Globe and Mail*, September 16, 2005 available at: <http://www.heinbecker.ca/Articles/VolckerReport-Globe-MailSep16-2005.pdf>

Heinbecker, Paul and Patricia Goff, eds. “The Way Forward” Chapter 17, in “Irrelevant or Indispensable: the UN in the 21st Century”, Wilfrid Laurier University Press 2005

“In Larger Freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all”, Report of the Secretary-General— *see especially the Executive Summary*,

<http://www.un.org/largerfreedom/>

*Luck, Edward C., “The UN Security Council: Reform or Enlarge?” in *Irrelevant or Indispensable?*, in Paul Heinbecker and Patricia Goff, eds, *pages 143-52*

Urquhart, Brian “Can the United Nations adapt to the 21st century?” *International Journal*, vol. LX, no. 1 (Winter 2004-2005), (Trellis Online)

Polling

New UN Chief Heads an Organization That Faces Both Skepticism and Support

<http://pewresearch.org/pubs/108/new-un-chief-heads-an-organization-that-faces-both-skepticism-and-support>

World Public Opinion.org, “Poll of 9 Major Nations Finds All, including U.S., Reject World System Dominated by Single Power in Favor of Multipolarity”

http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/views_on_countriesregionsbt/208.php?nid=&id=&pnt=208&lb=btvoc

International Governance Innovation

Daalder, Ivo H. and James M. Lindsay. “An Alliance of Democracies”, Washington Post, (May 23, 04).

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A46728-2004May21.html>

Hajnal, Peter I. “Summitry from G5 to L20: A Review of Reform Initiatives.” Working Paper No.20, March 2007, The Centre for International Governance Innovation

http://www.cigionline.org/community.igloo?r0=community-download&r0_script=/scripts/document/download.script&r0_pathinfo=%2F%7B7caf3d23-023d-494b-865b-84d143de9968%7D%2FPublications%2Fworkingp%2Fsummitry%2Fpaper20_&r0_output=xml&s=cc

*Martin, PM Paul , “A Global Answer to Global Problems”, From Foreign Affairs, May/June 2005, available at: <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20050501facomment84301/paul-martin/a-global-answer-to-global-problems.html>

Lecture 3 October 5 (AM) US Foreign Policy

*Bacevich, Andrew. The Normalization of War

<http://www.motherjones.com/news/dailymojo/2005/04/bacevich.html>

Heinbecker, Paul. “Multilateral Cooperation and Peace and Security,” International Journal (Autumn 2004): 783-800, *especially the discussion of empire*,

<http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/CIIA-InternationalJournalArticle.pdf>

*Heinbecker, Paul, “The 2007 Davey Lecture: The Ups and Downs of Canadian Foreign Policy, from Lester Bowles Pearson to Stephen Joseph Harper

<http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/DaveyLectureCanadianForeignPolicyPH.pdf>

Jefferson, Thomas. “First Inaugural Address In Washington, D.C.” March 4, 1801 *Read the passage on entangling alliances 2pp* Available from The Avalon Project, Yale University, at:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/presiden/inaug/jefinau1.htm>

*Judis, John B. “Imperial Amnesia.” Foreign Policy no 143 (July/August 2004) pp. 50-9. (Trellis Online)

Judt, Tony “Its Own Worst Enemy”, summary/preview in The New York Review of Books Volume 49, Number 13, August 15, 2002 on “The Paradox of American Power: Why The World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone” by Joseph S. Nye Jr., Oxford University Press,

http://www.nybooks.com/articles/article-preview?article_id=15632

*Koh, Harold. "On American Exceptionalism" *Stanford Law Review* (May 2003) pp. 1479-1527. Read pages 1495-1527 *skip the footnotes!* (Trellis Online)

*Mead, Walter Russell "God's Country?", in *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2006
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20060901faessay85504/walter-russell-mead/god-s-country.html>

*Nye, Joseph S. Jr., "The Decline of America's Soft Power", *summary/preview in Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2004.
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20040501facomment83303/joseph-s-nye-jr/the-decline-of-america-s-soft-power.html>

Office of the Press Secretary. "Fact Sheet: The President's National Security Strategy," *The Washington Post*, March 16, 2006 available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/03/16/AR2006031600491.html>

*Power, Samantha, "Our War on Terror", *Sunday book Review New York Times*, July 27, 2007
<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/29/books/review/Power-t.html?ex=1186977600&en=4f3d108ff795f9bd&ei=5070>

The Princeton Project on National Security, *Forging A World Of Liberty Under Law*, U.S. National Security In The 21st Century, G. John Ikenberry and Anne-Marie Slaughter, Co-Directors, *read the Executive summary and the Introduction, pp.4-13*
<http://www.wps.princeton.edu/ppns/report/FinalReport.pdf>

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19470701faessay25403/x/the-sources-of-soviet-conduct.html>

*The White House, "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America", September 2002, [*read Present Bush's Introduction, Chapter II "Champion Aspirations for Human Dignity" Chapter V. "Prevent Our Enemies from Threatening Us, Our Allies, and Our Friends with Weapons of Mass Destruction", especially the discussion of pre-emption, and Chapter IX. "Transform America's National Security Institutions to Meet the Challenges and Opportunities of the Twenty-First Century" for insights into plans to predominate*]

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2002/nssintro.html>

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2002/nss2.html>

*<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2002/nss5.html>

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2002/nss9.html>

*The White House. "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. March 2006 (*see especially introductory statement*) <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2006/>

"X", *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947 (written by George Kennan under pseudonym) pp. 575-576 (*only*).

Polling

World Public Opinion, "Global Poll Finds Iran Viewed Negatively, US Continues to get Low Marks."

http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/home_related/168.php?nid=&id=&pnt=168&lb=hmpg

World Public Opinion "Israel and Iran Share Most Negative Ratings in Global Poll", Published on 6 March 2007

http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/views_on_countriesregions_bt/325.php?nid=&id=&pnt=325&lb=btvoc

World Public Opinion.Org, "World View of US Role Goes From Bad to Worse", published on 6 March 2007

http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/international_security_bt/306.php?nid=&id=&pnt=306&lb=btis

Lecture 4, October 5 (PM) Canada-US Relations

Canada-US General

*Gotlieb, Allan. "Romanticism and realism in Canada's foreign policy",

<http://www.irpp.org/po/archive/feb05/gotlieb.pdf>

* Harper, PM Stephen. Speech to the Economic Club of New York

<http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?category=2&id=1327>

Heenev, A.D.P. and Livingston T. Merchant. Canada and the United States: Principles for Partnership. Government of Canada (Joint United States-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs), June 28, 1965. *Chapter 7- pgs 48-52. Available at PO 649 online classroom community*

Heinbecker, Paul. "Canada and the New American Empire" speech presented at Canada-US Relations Project Conference November 26, 2004 available at <http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/Canada-NewAmericanEmpire-Nov2004-Victoria.pdf>

Sharp, Mitchell. "Canada-U.S. Relations: Options for the Future". International Perspectives. Ottawa: Department of External Affairs. Special Issue, Autumn 1972. *Pages 1-24.*

Available at PO 649 online classroom community

Canada- US Economic and Trade

*Burney, Derek "We Must Speak Truth to Power," The Toronto Star August 30, 2005 available through (Trellis Online)

*Dobson, Wendy. "The Future of North American Integration," A Background Paper for the Trilateral Commission," Toronto November 1-2 2002 available at:

http://www.trilateral.org/nagp/regmtgs/pdf_folder/dobson02.pdf

Dymond, Bill and Michael Hart. "Finishing What we Started: Canadian Trade and Economic Policy: 25 years of Backward and Forward," International Research on Public Policy available at (*must search for title, no direct link*)

<http://www.irpp.org/indexe.htm>

*Heinbecker, Paul: U.S. record of agreements ignored is growing, Toronto Star, Aug. 30, 2005. Available at

<http://www.heinbecker.ca/Articles/AUG30-2005Softwood-TorontoStar.pdf>

Wilson, Ambassador Michael. Letter on Softwood Lumber <http://geo.international.gc.ca/can-am/washington/ambassador/20061021-en.asp>

Canada-US Environmental

Devils Lake – Article 14(1) Determination A14/SEM/06-002/04/14(1)

Secretariat of the Commission for Environmental Cooperation

Determination in accordance with Article 14(1)

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