# IP644 Interdisciplinary Seminar Revised May 15

# **Course Details**

This is a mixed lecture/seminar course, in three distinct parts. The first part will consist of three afternoon-long sessions of lectures at Laurier, May 15-18, discussing the central realities of Canadian foreign policy and diplomacy and the world in which it is conducted. The second part of the courses will cover five days, June 15-19, morning and afternoon, in Ottawa at Carleton University, where students will meet together with expert-lecturers drawn from the large foreign policy community in Ottawa; each expert-lecturer will address a particular policy area relevant to the course. There will be one or possibly two "field trips".

The seminar presentations are to be both written and oral. The written element is to be in the form of a 5-6 page mock memorandum (memo) to the Minister of Foreign Affairs (for the purposes of this class, the professor). It is to recommend a course of action. The action must lie within the scope of the Minister's authority to act; i.e., it is not to recommend what the Prime Minister should do or the Minister of National Defence should do or the Cabinet or government, as a whole, should do. It can advocate the minister's taking an issue to cabinet for deliberation and decision.

The student/presenter is to consider the professor to be a recently appointed minister. Accordingly, it will be necessary to include somewhat more material than would normally be the case for a real minister and a real memo (no more than two or three pages). 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. On the last day in Ottawa, members of the Global Governance stream will present their essays in preliminary form mode. On July 14-15 in the afternoon, there will be a wrap-up session in Waterloo for students to present their essay/memoranda, in final form, to the professor and the rest of the class. **The final essay/memorandum should be posted to the classroom community or otherwise made available to the professor and other students by July 12.** In class, the student/presenter should take no more than 15 minutes to make the presentation orally to the Minister and the Minister's advisers (i.e., the presenter's classmates), which should describe the course of action the student recommends, elaborate on the substance of the memo and substantiate the argumentation.

It is very important that the student answer the question that has been asked, not a question that 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 after the last class.

A template for the Memo will be posted on the class room community web-site and explained on the first day of class; students should follow it closely. Instructions for uploading/posting and or submitting the memos to the website will be given at the same time. The preliminary memo is to be made available—preferably electronically-- to the professor and to class members no later than June 17, two full calendar days before the day it is to be informally presented (June 19). It will be sufficient to post it on the classroom community to be created by the professor for this class.

The professor and the presenter will assume that all students have read the essay beforehand. The presenter should avoid simply reading the essay out loud. Nor should he/she read from a detailed script. It is an oral presentation and "eye contact" with the professor and other students is important. Decks, power point presentations and other visual aids can be used but are not mandatory.

During the first class in May, a list of several policy issue areas, each with attendant essay/memorandum questions, will be distributed to students. The students will be asked to indicate by the next day, at the latest, three distinct issue areas from the list that she/he would like to address and, at the same time, to specify one question in each of the three issue areas he/she would like to respond to. An 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. A list of presenters will be forwarded to the students electronically ASAP after preferences are received.

A student will be authorized to create his/her own topic only with the explicit, prior, written approval of the professor.

The professor/minister will participate actively, as the discussant. Class participation will be encouraged and 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. Equally, it should not be ignored by the essay author. Moreover, 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.

#### **Grading Information**

Seminar Paper 70 % Presentation of Term Paper 15 % Class Participation 15 %

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 high 70's-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.

# Calendar

# Waterloo

# Tuesday May 19 (afternoon)Course Overview and Canadian ForeignPolicy

# • Course Overview

Orientation, logistics, requirements, expectations, problems, scheduling, information about essays, etc.

# • The Art of the Memorandum

- Purpose
- Format
  - Addressee (who the memo is for--one line only)
  - Issue/Subject (one line only)
  - o Summary
  - Recommendation(s)

- Background
- Considerations
- Resource Implications
- Communications Implications
- Parliamentary Implications

# • Canadian Foreign Policy Basics

- What is foreign policy?
- The difference between diplomacy and foreign policy and between international relations and intergovernmental relations
  - o Definitions
    - Pearson
    - George Will
- Who makes foreign policy?
  - o The Prime Minister
  - o The Foreign Minister
  - o The Trade Minister
  - o The CIDA Minister
  - o The Finance Minister
  - o The Defence Minister
  - o The Cabinet Committees
    - Cabinet Committee on Priorities and Planning (Harper)
    - Foreign Affairs and Security (McKay)
    - Afghanistan (Day)
  - o The Public Service
    - The Clerk of the Privy Council
    - DFAIT/DM
    - DND/DM

- CIDA/President
- Chief of the Defence Staff (CDS)
- Other
- o Parliament
  - Foreign Affairs and International Development (FAAE)
- o Interdepartmental Task Forces
- o The Provinces
  - The British North America Act
  - Washington
  - Paris
  - UNESCO
- O Civil Society/Special Interest groups
- Contemporary Foreign Policy Considerations
  - o Values and interests
  - o Realism and Romanticism
  - o Anti-Americanism and pro-Canadianism
  - o Continentalism and globalism
  - o The Whole of Government, 3D's, etc.
- Canadian Foreign Policy overview,
  - from 1914 to the present:
    - World War I

- The Chanak Crisis
- The Treaty of Westminster
- The League of Nations
- o World War II

# The impacts of Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers

- The King Government
  - Avoiding entanglement and error
  - From London-centric to Washington-centric
  - The St. Laurent Government
    - St. Laurent, Pearson; engagement and multilateralism
    - > The Golden Age of Canadian Diplomacy
- oTrudeau
  - Canada first: no more helpful fixer
  - ➢ Distrust of the US
  - Skepticism about NATO
  - > The Third Option
  - ➢ North-South
  - > Quixote
- o Mulroney
  - Personal Diplomacy
  - ➤ The Gulf War
  - German Unification
  - Climate change
  - ➢ Human Rights
    - ✤ The Rights of the Child
    - Apartheid and Sanctions
- o Chrétien

- One excellent decision—the Iraq war
- Axworthy and Human Security
- Paul Martin Jr.
  - $\succ$  The G20
  - ➤ Kandahar
- o Harper
  - Diaspora politics
  - ➢ Afghanistan

## Wednesday May 20 (afternoon) Global Governance

- The United Nations
  - Indispensable or Irrelevant?
    - o Successes
    - o Failures
    - o Innovations
    - The absence of consensus
    - UN: end or means?
    - Whose organization is it anyhow?
  - The UN as Central Operating System
    - o 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

- > The General Assembly
  - ✤ Budget
  - Norm Building
  - ✤ Treaties
  - Regional Groups—G 77 and Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)
- Special sessions and conferencesThe Millennium summit
- > The Economic and Social Council
- > The Human Rights Council
  - Durban I
  - Durban II
- Funds, Programs and specialized agencies
- The UN and Reform
  - The Security Council
    - Representativeness versus effectiveness
    - The veto
    - Working methods
    - Canada and principles
- The General Assembly
  - The Cold War legacy
    - The NAM and the G77
    - The regional groups

- NATO
  - o Out of Area/Afghanistan
  - o Balkans

- o Somalia
- o Russia
- New Strategic Concept
- Association of democracies?
- o Insurance Policy?

# International governance innovation

- o From the G8 to the L20?
- o A League of Democracies
- o International Parliamentary Union
- o Networks

# Thursday, May 21 (afternoon) The United States and the World

- The United States
  - From Isolationism to unilateralism
    - The Monroe Doctrine
    - Manifest Destiny
    - The age of Empire
    - The Single Superpower
    - The end of external and most internal checks and balances
  - Exceptionalism
  - o Evangelism
  - o Militarism
- President Bush
  - o 9/11 and the Neo-Cons
  - The Invasion of Iraq
  - o the National Security Strategy
- President Obama
  - Cosmopolitanism
  - Style, tone and substance

- Engagement versus censure
- Cooperative leadership—G 20 and financial crisis
- The Rise of the Rest
  - o India
  - o China
  - o Russia
  - o Brazil
- The (tentative meaning of the) Global Financial Crisis for International Order and Global Governance

# <u>Ottawa</u>

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# Monday June 15 Morning

# 08:30 <u>Ottawa Orientation, problems, etc.</u>

• Paul Heinbecker

# 9-10:30 How Ottawa works

• Jim Mitchell , CEO of Sussex Circle, former Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet, Machinery of Government and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Board

# 10:30-11:00 <u>Middle East</u>

• Paul Heinbecker

11:00-12:30

• Michael Bell, University of Windsor and former Canadian Ambassador to Israel and Egypt

# Monday June 15 Afternoon

## 2:00-3:00 Canada-US Bilateral Relations

• Paul Heinbecker

#### 3:00-4:30

• Former Ambassador to Washington Michael Kergin

# Tuesday June 16, Morning

# 8:30-9:30 <u>Climate Change and Summitry</u>

• Paul Heinbecker

#### 9:30-11:00

• Keith Christie, Assistant Deputy Minister, Global Issues Branch Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada

# 11:00-12:30 Parliament and Foreign Policy,

• Paul Dewar, M.P., Ottawa Centre, Foreign Affairs Critic, New Democratic Party

# Tuesday, June 16 Afternoon

# 1:00-2:45 Human Rights, Human Security and Peace-Building

- (TBD) Human Rights Policy Division
- Donica Pottie, Director, Democracy and War Economies Division (DFAIT)
- Michael Bonser, Deputy Director, Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Response Division, (DFAIT)

#### 3:00-4:30

 Carolyn McCaskie, former Assistant Secretary General, UN Peace-Building Support Office, Former Acting Coordinator, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, former UN Special Representative of the UN Secretary General in Burundi, former Vice-President, CIDA

## Wednesday, June 17 Morning

# **Civil Society and Non-Government Organizations**

#### 9:30-11:30

- Visit to Amnesty International
- 11:30 -1:00
  - TBD (Some students remain at AI)

# Wednesday, June 17, Afternoon

#### **Arms Control and Disarmament**

#### 1:00-1:30

• Paul Heinbecker

1:30-3:00

• Andre-Francois Giroux, Director, Non-Proliferation and Disarmament (Nuclear), Division, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

# 3:00-4:30 Security and Foreign Policy in Contemporary India

• David Malone, President, International Development Research Centre, and former Canadian High Commissioner to India.

# Thursday, June 18 (Morning)

# <u>Afghanistan</u>

# 8:30-9:30

• Paul Heinbecker

#### 9:30-12:00

• Elissa Golberg, Director General, Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force (START) Secretariat, former Representative of Canada in Kandahar

# June 18 Afternoon

#### 1:00-1:30

• Paul Heinbecker

1:30-3:00

# **Foreign Policy, Security and Afghanistan**

• Lieutenant-General Andrew B. Leslie, OMM, MSC, MSM, CD, Chief of the Land Staff (TBC)

3:15-4:45

## Foreign Policy, Development Policy and Afghanistan

• Stephen Wallace, Vice-President, Afghanistan Task Force, Canadian International Development Agency

# Friday June 19 Wrap-Up in Ottawa

#### 8:30-9:30

• Paul Heinbecker

#### 9:30-11:00

• TBD

#### 11:00-4:30

# For Global Governance Stream students, preliminary presentation of draft essays/memos in seminar format, 30 minutes each

For remainder of students –personal contacts in Ottawa or return to Waterloo

#### **IP 644**

#### **Recommended Reading List**

**Canadian Foreign Policy** 

#### **Basic Documents**

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 IP644 online classroom community

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 IP644 online classroom community* 

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 IP644 online classroom community* 

Government of Canada, "Canada-US Relations: Options for the Future". Published Under the Authority of The Hon. Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State – External Affairs. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1972.

"Competitiveness and Security: directions for Canada's international relations", Review of Canadian Foreign Policy by the Mulroney Government, 1985 *Available at IP644 online classroom community* 

McDougall, Barbara, the Hon., former Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, "How we handled foreign policy" The Globe and Mail (Canada), December 9, 1994 Friday

Available at IP644 online classroom community

Lloyd Axworthy TBC

A Role of Pride and Influence in the World – Overview, Archived document, Review of Canadian Foreign Policy by the Martin Government, 2005 <u>http://www.international.gc.ca/cip-pic/documents/IPS-EPI/overview-</u> <u>survol.aspx?lang=eng</u>

Government of Canada's International Policy Statement: A Role of Pride and Influence in the World, 2005 — *see especially Overview and Diplomacy*,

http://www.international.gc.ca/cip-pic/documents/IPS-EPI/overviewsurvol.aspx?lang=eng

\* 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

Cannon, the Honourable Lawrence, MP. Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the 2008 Diplomatic Forum, December 17, 2008, Quebec City, Quebec <u>http://w01.international.gc.ca/minpub/publication.aspx?publication\_id=386706&l</u> <u>ang=eng&docnum=2008/24</u>

## <u>Analysis</u>

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

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

\*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

\*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 return of diplomacy: A vital investment for an effective voice", March, 2009 in 'Vanguard: http://www.heinbecker.ca/Writing/Vanguard%20March%202009.pdf

Heinbecker, Paul, "Canada's forward defence: Why Ottawa should learn to love the Department of Foreign Affairs", the Globe and Mail, September 4, 2007 <u>http://www.heinbecker.ca/Writing/CanadasForwardDefence.pdf</u>

\*Heinbecker ,Paul, "Respect in Washington Through Action Abroad", Embassy Magazine, February 11, 2009 <u>http://www.heinbecker.ca/Writing/Embassy-Feb11.pdf</u> \*Leblanc, Daniel, "Tories target specific ethnic voters: Long-term goal is to 'replace the Liberals as the primary voice of new Canadians and ethnic minorities'", Globe and Mail, October 16, 2007 <u>http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20071016.wtarget16/BN</u> <u>Story/National/home</u>

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

6 March 2007 Canada tops BBC poll on influence http://www.globescan.com/news\_archives/bbccntryview/

#### **Global Governance**

#### **Basic Documents**

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

\*2005 World Summit Outcome. Press statement http://www.un.org/summit2005/presskit/fact\_sheet.pdf

"In Larger Freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all", Report of the Secretary-General— *see especially the Executive Summary*, <u>http://www.un.org/largerfreedom/</u>

\*Rice, Dr. Susan Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations-Designate, Statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, January 15, 2009 http://www.usunnewyork.usmission.gov/press\_releases/20090115\_015.html

#### <u>Analysis</u>

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 \*Frechette, Louise, Inside the UN: "What works, what doesn't, and how to fix it" *Available at IP644 online classroom community* 

Frechette, Louise, "UN reform- a work in progress (China Speech, Beijing)" *Available at IP644 online classroom community* 

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 <u>http://www.cigionline.org/community.igloo?r0=community-</u> <u>download&r0\_script=/scripts/document/download.script&r0\_pathinfo=%2F%7B</u> <u>7caf3d23-023d-494b-865b-</u> 84d143de9968%7D%2FPublications%2Fworkingp%2Fsummitry%2Fpaper20\_&

r0\_output=xml&s=cc

\*Hampson, Fen and Paul Heinbecker, "The Current Economic Crisis- What It Will Mean for Global Order and Efforts to Restructure international Institutions, April 16 2009 (working paper)

Available at IP644 online classroom community

\*Heinbecker, Paul, Governance, Accountability and Transparency in the United Nations, January 26, 2007 http://www.the4ni.org/images/stories/documents/governance,%20accountability %20and%20transparency%20%20(final).doc

\*Heinbecker ,Paul, "Canada and the United Nations" Lecture at the First Unitarian Church, Ottawa, November 5, 2008

http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/First%20Unitarian%20Church.pdf

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

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%20pre sentation-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. "Volcker's Report is More Passing-the Buck than Oil-For-Food," in The Globe and Mail, September 16, 2005 available at: <u>http://www.heinbecker.ca/Articles/VolckerReport-Globe-MailSep16-2005.pdf</u>

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

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

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

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

\*United States Mission to the United Nations, "A New Era of Engagement, Advancing America's Interests in the World," April 29, 2009 http://www.usunnewyork.usmission.gov/press\_releases/20090429\_082.html

Wolfe, Robert, (forthcoming) 'Can the Trading System Be Governed? Institutional Implications of the WTO's Suspended Animation,' in Alexandroff, Alan, ed. Can the World Be Governed? (Waterloo: Centre for International Governance Innovation) http://post.queensu.ca/~wolfer/Papers/WolfeWTO.pdf

# <u>Polling</u>

New UN Chief Heads an Organization That Faces Both Skepticism and Support <u>http://pewresearch.org/pubs/108/new-un-chief-heads-an-organization-that-faces-both-skepticism-and-support</u>

\*Poll of 9 Major Nations Finds All, including U.S., Reject World System Dominated by Single Power in Favor of Multipolarity, World Public Opinion, June 12, 2006.

http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/views\_on\_countriesregionsbt/20 8.php?nid=&id=&pnt=208&lb=btvoc

# The United States and the World

## **Basic Documents**

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

Wilson's Fourteen Points, Woodrow Wilson presidential Library, January 8, 1918 <a href="http://www.woodrowwilson.org/learn\_sub/learn\_sub\_show.htm?doc\_id=377217">http://www.woodrowwilson.org/learn\_sub/learn\_sub\_show.htm?doc\_id=377217</a>

"X" (George Kennan), "The Sources of Soviet Conduct", Foreign Affairs, July 1947 <u>http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19470701faessay25403/x/the-sources-of-soviet-conduct.html</u>

Obama, Barack President, Inaugural Address, January 20, 2009 http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story\_id=4640

\*President Obama's Foreign Policy, White House website, May 13, 2009 http://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/foreign\_policy/ 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/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/

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

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\*Bacevich, Andrew. The Normalization of War http://www.motherjones.com/news/dailymojo/2005/04/bacevich.html

\*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-scountry.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/thedecline-of-america-s-soft-power.html

Nye, Joe, "Taking democracy to the People", Globe and Mail, May 13 http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20090512.wcodemocrac y13/BNStory/specialComment/

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

\*Ikenberry ,. John and Anne-Marie Slaughter, Co-Directors, The Princeton Project on National Security, Forging A World Of Liberty Under Law, U.S. National Security In The 21st Century, read the Executive summary and the *Introduction*, pp.4-13

http://www.wws.princeton.edu/ppns/report/FinalReport.pdf

\*Heinbecker, Paul, "President Obama's Foreign Policy and Canada", presentation to the Advanced Leadership Program, Canada School of Public Service. Ottawa, January 19, 2009

http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/january%2019%202009.pdf

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

# <u>Polling</u>

World Public Opinion, "Global Poll Finds Iran Viewed Negatively, US Continues to get Low Marks." <u>http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/home\_related/168.php?nid=&id</u> <u>=&pnt=168&lb=hmpg</u>

World Public Opinion "Israel and Iran Share Most Negative Ratings in Global Poll", Published on 6 March 2007<u>http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/views\_on\_countriesregions\_bt/325.php?nid=&id=&pnt=325&lb=btvoc</u>

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.ph p?nid=&id=&pnt=306&lb=btis

#### **Canada-US Bilateral Relations**

#### **Basic Documents**

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