#### WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY

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

<u>Instructor:</u> Professor Paul Heinbecker

Term: Winter 2007

Time: Thursdays 2:30-5:20 pm and/or Mondays, 9:30-12:20 pm

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Office Hours: By appointment

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 addresses Canadian foreign policy and diplomacy from the point of view of a practitioner, where possible discussing actual cases, and considers policy choices that Canadian governments make as they respond to the dilemmas frequently encountered in dealing with multilateral imperatives and bilateral necessities in the context of domestic realities.

## **Objectives**

The purpose of this course is:

- first, to help students develop a deeper understanding of some of the main policy issues governments face:
- second, to help them understand how governments, especially the Canadian Government, make decisions on international questions; and
- third, 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

#### **Course Details**

This is a seminar course. The student's seminar presentation is to be both written and oral. The written element will be in the form of a 4-6 page mock memorandum to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. 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 remaining class members of the class at the same time. It will be sufficient to post it on the classroom community to be created by the professor for this class.

The student/presenter is to consider the professor to be a newly appointed minister. Accordingly, the author will be able to include somewhat more material than would normally be the case for a real minister and a real memorandum. 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 will have no more than 15 minutes to make his/her presentation, which will set out the course of the action recommended, elaborate on the substance of the memo and substantiate the argumentation. A template for the Memo will be provided and explained on the first day of class; it is to be followed closely. Instructions for uploading/posting and or submitting the memos will be given at the same time.

During the first class, a list of about a dozen issue areas with several essay/memorandum topics per area will be distributed. Each student will be asked to indicate by the next day, at the latest, three preferred issue areas from the list that she/he would like to address. He/she will, also, be asked to specify which question in each of the three issue areas he/she would like to deal with. Every effort will be made to assign students one of their preferences. Only one student will be permitted to answer a given question, on a first come, first served basis. The professor reserves the right, students' preferences notwithstanding, to allocate subject areas to students to ensure that there will be a seminar every class day.

A list of presenters will be forwarded to the students electronically ASAP after the first class.

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

It is very important that the student answer the question asked, not a question the student might have wished had been asked. Memos that are beside the point will be less well received than memos that are on the point. These 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 of students of the issues the class addresses. It is not intended to be the sole source from which the course essays are to be written. 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.

Outside experts, where possible and relevant, 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 accordingly in advance of any schedule changes.

The Take-Home Final Exam will be in the form of a speech (3,000 and 4,500 words) for the Prime Minister. Drawing on course readings, additional relevant information and documentation and course discussions, you will be asked to prepare the first draft of the speech. 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.

You will be asked to prepare, as well, a 700 word covering memorandum (no particular format necessary) for the speech that sets out the strategic goal of the speech, outlines to the Prime Minister the tactical approach you believe that he should take, assesses the opportunities, pitfalls and other considerations involved in his making this speech at the particular time and in the particular place, and describes a desired outcome. Your memorandum to the Prime Minister should, therefore, explain the rationales for what you think should be included in the speech and what should be excluded from it. All students will address the same question, which will be distributed before the last day of class.

## **Grading Information**

Term Paper	25 %
Presentation of Term Paper	15 %
Class Participation	15 %
Take-home Exam	45 %

### **Syllabus**

January 4 (R) Course Overview & Introduction

Discussion of logistics, expectations, grading

• Distribution of mid-term exam question sheets

January 8 (M) No class

January 15 (M) Canadian Foreign Policy

January 18 (R) US Foreign Policy

January 22 (M) Bilateral (Canada-US) and Trilateral (Canada-US-Mexico) Relations

January 25 (R) Collective Security, Human Security and Governance Innovation

January 29 (M) No class

February 1 (R) Human Rights and Human Security

February 5 (M) Economic and Environmental Foreign Policy

February 8 (R) No class

February 12 (M) No class

February 15 (R) Arms Control and Disarmament

February 26 (M) No class

March 1 (R) The Arab-Israel Conflict; Palestine and Lebanon

March 5 (M) No class

March 8 (R) The Iraq War

March 12 (M) No class

March 15 (R) No class

March 19 (M) No class

March 22 (R) Afghanistan

March 26 (M) Wrap-up, distribution of take-home exam

NB M = Monday and R = Thursday

# Day 1 - January 4

Course Overview and Brief History of Canadian Foreign Policy

- Orientation, logistics, requirements, expectations, scheduling, essays, final exam, etc.
- Canadian Diplomacy and Foreign Policy to 1945:
  - o World War I
  - o The Chanak Crisis
  - o The Treaty of Westminster
  - o World War II

# Reading:

Berton, Pierre. Marching as to War: Canada's Turbulent Years, 1899-1953. Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2001. pgs. 245, 247-248. (Course pack)

De Glazebrook, G.P. A History of Canadian External Relations. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1950. pgs. 358-360 (Chanak Crisis), 406-414 (League of Nations/Abyssinian Crisis). (Course pack)

MacMillan, Margaret, Paris 1919—for a penetrating examination of the decisions that led us to where we are now; Chapter 1, pp 3-16, 44-48 on Canada (Course pack)

Schlesinger, Stephen C. Act of Creation: The Founding of the United Nations. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2003. Chapter 2 "The League Follies: Wilson & Roosevelt". Pgs 17-33. (Course pack)

Day 2 – January 11

# Canadian Foreign Policy

- Pearson
- Trudeau
- Mulroney
- Chrétien (Axworthy)
- Martin
- Harper
  - o Foreign Policy Reviews
  - o Foreign Policy Priorities

#### Reading:

PM Harper to the UN General Assembly at http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?category=2&id=1329

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

Axworthy, Lloyd. Navigating A New World: Canada' Global Future. Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2003. Chapter 6 (pgs. 126-155)

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

Heinbecker, Paul. "Multilateral Cooperation and Peace and Security," International Journal (Autumn 2004): 783-800 and at http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/CIIA-InternationalJournalArticle.pdf

Heinbecker Paul, "Between the UN and the US: Reforming One 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, "An Institution in Crisis? The Future of the United Nations, International Law Association, Ottawa, June 2006, available at, http://www.heinbecker.ca/Links/index.html

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/Links/index.html

Stairs, Denis. "Myths, morals, and reality in Canadian foreign policy", International Journal 58 (Spring 2003, Issue 2). 239-256 available through Laurier's library e-journal system

Welsh, Jennifer, "Reality and Canadian Foreign Policy," Canada among Nations 2005, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 2005. (Course pack)\*

Heinbecker, Paul, Canada's Position on the Use of Force Internationally, at the 2005 Couchiching Conference, available at http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/couchiching.pdf

UN Secretary General's Address to the Canadian Parliament - March 9, 2004. (See Hansard link) http://www.parl.gc.ca/37/3/parlbus/chambus/senate/deb-e/018db\_2004-03-09-E.htm?Language=E&Parl=37&Ses=3

## **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. (Course pack)\*

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. (Course Pack)\*

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. (Course Pack)\*

Department of External Affairs. Competitiveness and Security: Directions for Canada's International Relations. Ottawa: Department of External Relations, 1985. pgs 17-28. (Course Pack)\*

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

Conservative Party, The. "Stand Up for Canada" http://media.conservative.ca/video/20060113-Platform.pdf pp. 44-46

Day 3-- January 15

United States Foreign Policy

- Isolationism
- Unilateralism
- Multilateralism
- Plurilateralism
- Exceptionalism
- Militarism
- Idealism vs. Realism

#### Readings

Gaddis, John Lewis. Surprise, Security and the American Experience Boston: Harvard University Press, 2004. read Chapter 2: "Surprise" (Course pack)\*

Judis, John B. "Imperial Amnesia." Foreign Policy no 143 (July/August 2004) pp. 50-9. Available through Laurier's e-journal system.

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

Haass, Richard. "Defining U.S. Foreign Policy in a Post-Post-Cold War World." Speech to the Foreign Policy Association, New York, April 22, 2002. (9 pages) (Course Pack)\*

Judt, Tony "Its Own Worst Enemy", 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!). (Course pack)\*

Ferguson, Niall. "A World Without Power." Foreign Policy no 143 (July/Aug 2004) pp. 32-9. Available through Laurier's e-journal system.

Ikenberry, John. "Multilateralism and U.S. Grand Strategy." In Patrick, Stewart & Shepard Forman eds. Multilateralism & U.S. Foreign Policy: Ambivalent Engagement. Bolder Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 2002, pp. 121-140. (Course pack)\*

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 <a href="http://www.wws.princeton.edu/ppns/report/FinalReport.pdf">http://www.wws.princeton.edu/ppns/report/FinalReport.pdf</a>

#### 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

X Foreign Affairs, July 1947 (written by George Kennan under pseudonym) pp. 575-576 (only). http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19470701faessay25403/x/the-sources-of-soviet-conduct.html

The White House. National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House, Washington, D.C. 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: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/03/16/AR2006031600491.html

World Public Opinion.Org "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

Day 4 – January 18

Canada-US Bilateral Relations and Trilateral Relations with Mexico

- Economics and Trade (NAFTA)
- Defence (NORAD)
- Border Security
- Environment and Water (IJC)

#### Reading:

PM Harper to the Economic Club of New York http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?category=2&id=1327

The Centre for Research and Information on Canada Quick Guide: Canada-US Border available at: http://www.cric.ca/en\_html/guide/border/border.html

Council on Foreign Relations. "Building a North American Community," Independent Task Force Report vol 53: pp. 1-6 available at http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/NorthAmerica\_TF\_final.pdf

Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America. A Report to Leaders. June 2005 available at http://www.spp.gov/report\_to\_leaders/index.asp?dName=report\_to\_leaders

International Trade Canada. "NAFTA Works Brochure", Available at http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/nafta-alena/broch-main-en.asp

Stanford, Jim. "NAFTA Is Hopeless: Let's Make a New Deal" Globe and Mail August 29, 2005, Available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/ArticleNews/TPStory/LAC/20050829/COSTANFORD29/TPComment/?query=Jim+Stanford

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 http://www.irpp.org/indexe.htm (must search for title, no direct link)

Heinbecker Paul. "Book Review: Getting it Done by Derek Burney," Diplomat and International Canada Magazine (May-June 2005) available at: http://www.heinbecker.ca/Articles/BurneyBookReview.pdf

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

Burney, Derek "We Must Speak Truth over Power," The Toronto Star August 30, 2005 available through (Course pack)\*

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

Watts, Ronald L. "The Macdonald Commission Report and Canadian Federalism." Publius: The Journal of Federalism, 16 (Summer 1986) pp.175-199. (Course pack)\*

#### **Basic Documents:**

Heeney, 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. (Course pack)\*

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

Graham, William "Text of the Canada-US Security Cooperation Agreement: letter to Colin Powell," Department of Foreign Affairs December 9, 2002 available at: http://geo.international.gc.ca/can-am/main/defence/security\_coop-en.asp

Government of Canada – Privy Council Office. "Executive Summary". Securing an Open Society: Canada's National Security Policy. April 2004. Available at http://www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/docs/Publications/NatSecurnat/natsecurnat e.pdf (Read "Executive Summary" only.)

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

Press Release by Hon. John Manley announcing Smart Borders Agreement, Smart Border Declaration and 30 Point Action Plan, available at

http://w01.international.gc.ca/minpub/Publication.asp?publication\_id=379370&Language=E

#### Day 5 – January 25

Collective Security, Human Security and Governance Innovation

#### The United Nations

- The Founding of the United Nations
- The Charter of the United Nations and International Law
- The Secretary General
- The Security Council
  - The Permanent Five
  - Chapter VII and the Instruments of Coercion; the use of force and sanctions
- The General Assembly
  - Norm Building
  - Treaty Negotiating, e.g. the NPT
- Funds and Agencies, and Programs
- Autonomous Bodies
- UN Reform
  - The Peace-Building Commission
  - The Human Rights Council
- The Oil-for-Food "scandal"

#### **Human Security**

- Landmines
- The International Criminal Court
- The Responsibility to Protect
- Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia, Sudan, Congo, West Africa, Congo Kosovo
  - o Darfur
- Democracy Caucus
- The G8 and the L20
- Alliances of Values versus Coalitions of Interests
- Civil Society

Reading: International Governance Innovation

Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay. "An Alliance of Democracies", Washington Post, (May 23, 04). http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A46728-2004May21.html

Martin, 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

Reading: Collective Security

The United Nations

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

2005 World Summit Outcome

http://www.un.org/summit2005/presskit/fact\_sheet.pdf

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

Chapter 17, "The Way Forward" in Paul Heinbecker and Patricia Goff, eds, Irrelevant or Indispensable the UN in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Wilfrid Laurier University Press 2005

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 <a href="http://www.heinbecker.ca/Writing/CanadaAmongNations.pdf">http://www.heinbecker.ca/Writing/CanadaAmongNations.pdf</a>

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 (Course pack)\*

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

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization:

- o The Origins
- o The Canadian Article
- o The End of the Cold War and the Absence of an Enemy.
- o Out of Area/Afghanistan and Beyond

Holbrooke Richard and Ronald D. Asmus "Next Step for NATO" in the Washington Post, Tuesday, March 14, 2006; Page A19, available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/03/13/AR2006031301487.html

Secretary-General Says NATO Goes "Out of Area" to Build Stability, NATO chief speaks at U.N. Security Council on Balkans, Afghanistan, Iraq, available at: http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2004/s041111a.htm

Basic Documents:

PM Harper to the UN General Assembly, http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?category=2&id=1327

The United Nations Charter (Preamble and Chapters 1, 6, 7 and 15 only) http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/

NATO Treaty (Articles 1-6, especially Article 2) http://www.nato.int/docu/basictxt/treaty.htm

DAY 6 - February 1

## **Human Rights**

- The Declaration of Human Rights
- The Core Treaties/Conventions
- The International Criminal Court
- The Ad Hoc Tribunals
- The Commission and the High Commissioner

#### Reading:

Prestowitz, Clyde. "In Arms We Trust." In Rogue Nation: American Unilateralism and the Failure of Good Intentions. New York: Basic Books, 2003, pp. 156-161. (Course pack)\*

Roth, Kenneth Irrelevant or Indispensable, The UN Reform Agenda and Human Rights, Chapter 12, pp 131-139

Robinson, Darryl. "Case Study: The International Criminal Court." In McRae, Rob and Don Hubert., eds. Human Security and the New Diplomacy: Protecting People, Promoting Peace. Montreal & Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001, pp. 170-177. (Course pack)\*

McMahon, Robert, "Q&A: The Effort to Reform the UN's Human Rights Commission" New York Times (Course pack)\*

"How to put the UN Human Rights Council back on track," Human Rights Watch http://hrw.org/english/docs/2006/11/03/global14503.htm

## **Primary Documents:**

Heinbecker, Paul. Speech at World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. Durban, South Africa. September 8, 2001. Available at <a href="http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/UN\_speeches/WCAR-statement">http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/UN\_speeches/WCAR-statement</a> of reservation-sep01.pdf

Heinbecker, Paul. Remarks Given by H.E. Mr. Paul Heinbecker Before the United Nations Security Council Open Debate on Women and Peace and Security, October 24, 2000. Available at <a href="http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/UN\_speeches/SecCouncil-open-debate-women-oct00.pdf">http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/UN\_speeches/SecCouncil-open-debate-women-oct00.pdf</a>

Speech by Paul Heinbecker to the UN Security Council on the Situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina (10 July 2002)—about the ICC. Available at: http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/UN\_speeches/Bosnia-Herzegovina-SC-ICC-July10-2002.pdf

Letter to the UN Security Council from Paul Heinbecker requesting an open meeting of the Security Council under the Bosnia-Herzegovina agenda item (and the ICC) (July 3, 2002). Available at: http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/UN\_speeches/letter-SC-bosnia-herzegovina-jul02.pdf

Letter from John Negroponte. American Foreign Policy and the International Criminal Court. Marc Grossman, Under Secretary for Political Affairs. May 6, 2002. (Course pack)\*

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (6 pages in length) http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html

United Nations. UN Human Rights Documentation available at http://www.un.org/Depts/dhl/resguide/spechr.htm

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Core human rights treaties, "International Law", Available at: http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/index.htm

Reading: Human Security

Human Security Report; see Overview http://www.humansecurityreport.info/HSR2005\_PDF/Overview.pdf

Thakur, Ramesh. "Freedom from Fear" from Irrelevant or Indispensable pp 115 – 130

Heinbecker, Paul. "Human Security," Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Behind the Headlines Magazine, January-March issue, 1999, Volume 56(2): pages 4-9, available at http://www.heinbecker.ca/Articles/HumanSecurity-1999-BehindHeadlines.pdf

Gwozdecky, Mark and Jill Sinclair. "Case Study: Landmines and Human Security." in Human Security and the New Diplomacy: Protecting People, Promoting Peace. Rob McRae and Don Hubert. Montreal & Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001. pp. 28-40. (Course Pack)\*

Evans, Gareth and Mohamed Sahnoun. "The Responsibility to Protect," Foreign Affairs. Council on Foreign Relations. November/December 2002. Pages 99-110. Available through Laurier library e-journal system

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. The Responsibility to Protect. December 2001. (Synopsis pgs xi-xiii, Chapter 4 pgs 29-35, Chapter 6 pgs 47-53 and Chapter 8 pgs 69-75.) International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty <a href="http://www.iciss.ca/pdf/Commission-Report.pdf">http://www.iciss.ca/pdf/Commission-Report.pdf</a>

Report of the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations During the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda (The Carlsson Report). December 15, 1999. Introduction (pgs. 1-2) and Recommendations (pgs. 35-40). http://www.un.org/Docs/journal/asp/ws.asp?m=S/1999/1257

Powers, Samantha. "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen". Atlantic Monthly. September 2001 (pgs. 84-108). http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200109/power-genocide

Day 7 - February 5

Economic and Environmental Foreign Policy

- The MDGs
- The WTO
- The World Bank
- The International Monetary Fund
- Regional Banks
- ODA
- Climate Change

## Reading:

Birdsall, Nancy, Devesh Kapur et al Center for Global Development, The Hardest Job in the World: Five Crucial Tasks for the New President of the World Bank (Executive Summary only), http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/2868/

Einhorn, Jessica, "Reforming the World Bank", Foreign Affairs, January/February 2006 http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20060101facomment85103/jessica-einhorn/reforming-the-world-bank.html

Evenett, Simon J. "The WTO Ministerial Conference in Hong Kong: What Next?" January 18, 2006 available at: http://www.tralac.org/pdf/20060109\_evenett\_doha.pdf

Jeffrey Sachs, "the Millennium Project" in Heinbecker, Paul and Goff, Patricia, editors, Irrelevant or Indispensable the UN in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Wilfrid Laurier University Press 2005,

John McArthur, Ensuring Adequate Resources to Meet the Millennium Development Goals in Heinbecker, Paul and Goff, Patricia, editors, Irrelevant or Indispensable the UN in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Wilfrid Laurier University Press 2005

Nitin Desai, The Monterey Consensus in Heinbecker, Paul and Goff, Patricia, editors, Irrelevant or Indispensable the UN in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Wilfrid Laurier University Press 2005

Truman, Edwin, "A Strategy for IMF Reform," Institute for International Economics (summary only) http://bookstore.iie.com/merchant.mvc?Screen=PROD&Product\_Code=3985

Stiglitz, Joseph. "Fair Trade for None," Tom Paine.common sense available at http://www.tompaine.com/articles/2005/12/09/fair\_trade\_for\_none.php

Friedman, Benjamin M. "Globalization: Stiglitz's Case" in the New York Review of Books. Available at http://www.nybooks.com/articles/15630

Bhagwati, Jagdish. "Don't Cry for Cancun." Foreign Affairs 83(1) (January/February 2004):52-63. (Course pack)\*

Sutherland, Peter. "Doha Development Agenda," Journal of Economic Law 8(2). (Course pack)\*

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Clapp, Jennifer, "Developing Countries and the WTO Agriculture," CIGI March 2006 available at http://www.cigionline.ca/publications/docs/Develop\_WTO\_Clapp.pdf

Mikesell, Raymond F. "Bretton Woods - Original Intentions and Current Problems." Contemporary Economic Policy, 18(4) (October 2000) p.404-414. (Course pack)\*

#### **Basic Documents:**

Canada's International Policy Statement 2005—Commerce—see especially North America at http://www.itcancican.gc.ca/IPS/IPS-commerce-en.asp

Government of Canada, NAFTA REPORT available at http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/eet/research/nafta/nafta-en.asp See especially Canada-US Trade

#### Environment

Statement by Klaus Toepfer Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in Response to US-Led Climate Initiative Nairobi, 28 July 2005. Type, or copy and paste the following link into your web browser address bar:

http://www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?DocumentID=443&ArticleID=4876&l=en

#### **Basic Documents**

Government of Canada, Canada and the Kyoto Protocol http://www.climatechange.gc.ca/cop/cop6\_hague/english/overview\_e.html

UN Environment Program—See especially links to Multilateral Agreements, Chemicals and Wastes for agreements of particular interest to Canada, http://www.unep.org/dec/links/chemicals\_wastes.html

Summary Brochure of the Clean Air Act, October 19, 2006 http://www.ec.gc.ca/cleanair-airpur/Clean\_Air\_Act/Brochure-WS6EBBF05D-1\_En.htm

Minister Rona Ambrose's address upon release of the policy, October 19, 2006 http://www.ec.gc.ca/minister/speeches/2006/061019 s e.htm

Day 8 -February 15

#### Arms Control and Disarmament

- The Centrality of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
- Iran, North Korea, India, Pakistan and Israel

Cirincione, Joseph, "A Brief History of Nuclear Age," Presentation to the Carnegie International Non-Proliferation Conference, November 7, 2005 available at <a href="http://www.carnegieendowment.org/static/npp/2005conference/presentations/cirincione.pdf">http://www.carnegieendowment.org/static/npp/2005conference/presentations/cirincione.pdf</a>

Meyer, Paul, "Statement to the 2005 NPT Review Conference," http://www.dfaitmaeci.gc.ca/canada\_un/geneva/npt-closing-stat-27-may-en.asp

Heinbecker, Paul "Hanging Together or Hanging Separately, CIIA, Behind the Headlines http://www.igloo.org/igloo/community.igloo?r0=community&r0\_script=/scripts/folder/view.script&r0\_pathinfo= %2F%7B37abb2df-7c8d-4d64-b2f4-93265b5cc444%7D%2FPublications%2Fbehindth&r0\_output=xml&s=cc

Krepon, Michael, "Are the Basic Assumptions Behind the Bush Administration's Nuclear Deal with India Sound?" The Henry L. Stimson Center March 15, 2006 available at: http://www.stimson.org/southasia/pubs.cfm?ID=276

Regehr, Ernie. "BMD and Arms Control Implications", Project Ploughshares Briefing, # 04/2. March 2004. pgs 1-4. http://www.ploughshares.ca/libraries/Briefings/brf042.pdf

Potter, William. "The New Look in US Nonproliferation Policy", Presentation to the Carnegie International Non-Proliferation Conference, November 7, 2005 http://www.carnegieendowment.org/static/npp/2005conference/presentations/Potter.pdf

Cohen, Roger. "Nuclear Deal with India a Sign of New US Focus", International Herald Tribune March 4, 2006

Gareth, Evans. "Time to Take a Deep Breath over Plans for a Nuclear Iran", Financial Times, February 22, 2006 available at http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3978&l=1

"Clarifying the Record on the July 18 Proposal for Nuclear Cooperation with India", Arms Control Association available at http://www.armscontrol.org/country/india\_pakistan/India\_Nuclear\_Cooperation\_Docs.asp

El Baradei, Mohammed. Nobel Lecture Oslo December 10, 2005 available at: http://nobelprize.org/peace/laureates/2005/elbaradei-lecture-en.html

Blix, Hans, "Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Search fro the Truth," Speech delivered at the Fletcher School, October 21, 2005 available at http://fletcher.tufts.edu/news/2005/10/blix-speech.shtml

North Korea

(Course pack)\*

North Korea: Ending Food Aid Would Deepen Hunger (October 11 2006) http://hrw.org/english/docs/2006/10/10/nkorea14381.htm

Arms Control Association Condemns North Korean Nuclear Test Threat; Experts Call for More Effective, Energetic U.S. Diplomacy (October 2006) http://www.armscontrol.org/pressroom/2006/20061004 NorthKorea.asp

News Analysis: North Korea: Are the Six-Party Nuclear Talks Dead? (September 2006) http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2006\_09/newsanalysis.asp

"Lure' North Korea", Foreign Policy No 97 (Winter 1994), 97-105 [Available Online – JSTOR]

Basic documents

Resolution 1718 (October 2006) & Resolution 1695 (July 2006) http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc\_resolutions06.htm

Resolution 1540 (April 2004)

http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc\_resolutions04.html

Statement by the President of the Security Council (October 2006) http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc\_pres\_statements06.htm

ACT Interviews Undersecretary Bolton on North Korea (May 2003) http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2003\_05/bolton\_may03.asp

"President Announces new Measures to Counter the Threat of WMD", The White House February 11, 2004 available at: http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/02/20040211-4.html

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, available at http://disarmament2.un.org/wmd/npt/npttext.html

Canada, Government of "Canada Announces new Areas of Cooperation with India", Department of Foreign Affairs September 26, 2005. Available at <a href="http://w01.international.gc.ca/MinPub/Publication.asp?Language=E&publication\_id=383095">http://w01.international.gc.ca/MinPub/Publication.asp?Language=E&publication\_id=383095</a>

Day 9 - March 1

The Middle East, including Israel-Palestine and Israel-Lebanon

Israel-Palestine

Reading:

## (PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING THREE ARTICLES AS A PACKAGE)

Agha, Hussein and Robert Malley. "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors". New York Review of Books. Volume 48, Number 13 · August 9, 2001. 13 pages. Available at http://www.nybooks.com/articles/14380

Ross, Dennis and Gidi Grinstein. "Camp David: An Exchange". A Reply to the Hussein Agha and Robert Malley article. New York Review of Books. Volume 48, Number 14, 7 pages. http://nybooks.com/articles/14529

Morris, Benny. "Camp David and After: An Exchange (1. An Interview with Ehud Barak)", New York Review of Books. Volume 49, Number 10. 12 pages. http://nybooks.com/articles/15501

Carter, Jimmy. "Colonization of Israel Precludes Peace," Tom Paine.common sense March 9, 2006 available at http://www.tompaine.com/articles/2006/03/09/colonization\_of\_palestine\_precludes\_peace.php

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby" http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/mear01\_.html

"The War over Israel's Influence", Foreign Policy, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story\_id=3501

**Basic Documents:** 

"Canada's Statement to the Plenary of the General Assembly (General Debate)" November 30, 2005 http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/middle\_east/resolutions/ga60-15-statement-en.asp

Canada, Government of. Canada and the Middle Eastern Peace Process http://www.international.gc.ca/middle\_east/peaceprocess-en.asp

Resolution 1397: The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question, http://www.state.gov/p/nea/rt/11134.htm

Resolution 267: The situation in the Middle East,

 $http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/d744b47860e5c97e85256c40005d01d6/5932ecf53ff36a04852560c3006561\\22!OpenDocument$ 

Resolution 338: Cease-Fire in the Middle East

http://domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/9a798 adbf322 aff38525617b006d88d7/7fb7c26fcbe80a31852560c50065f878! Open Document to the property of the p

Resolution 1322: on the situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question, http://www.caabu.org/press/documents/unscr\_1322.html

The Israel-Palestinian Negotiations Progress Report on Current Peace Process (Israeli Foreign Ministry). Available at http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Archive/Peace%20Process/1992/THE%20ARAB-ISRAELI%20PEACE%20PROCESS%20PROGRESS%20REPORT%20-%208

Joint Israeli-Palestinian Statement, January 27, 2001 (Taba Talks from Israeli Foreign Ministry). Available at http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFAArchive/2000\_2009/2001/1/Israeli-Palestinian%20Joint%20Statement%20-%2027-Jan-2001

A Performance-Based Roadmap to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (The April 30, 2003 "Road Map" from Israeli Foreign Ministry, US State Department & Palestinian Authority). Available at http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Peace+Process/Guide+to+the+Peace+Process/A+Performance-Based+Roadmap+to+a+Permanent+Two-Sta.htm

The Oslo Declaration of Principles, September 13, 1993: http://nybooks.com/articles/15501

"The Geneva Accord" (Oct 2003), http://www.mideastweb.org/geneva1.htm

Palestinian Prisoners Document, http://www.mideastweb.org/prisoners\_letter.htm

Lebanon

Reading:

Heinbecker, Paul, "Lessons Learned"

http://www.heinbecker.ca/Articles/LessonsLearned-GlobeMailAug18-2006.pdf

Heinbecker, Paul, "Tilting Towards Israel," http://www.heinbecker.ca/Articles/Tilting%20toward%20Israel-GlobeMailJuly25-2006.pdf

Baker, Ambassador Allan, (Course pack)\*

Human Rights Watch, Various reports on Israeli and Hezbollah violations of international law, especially August 20 letter of Executive Director Kenneth Roth,

http://www.hrw.org/campaigns/israel\_lebanon/

**Basic Documents** 

G8 Communique, http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?category=1&id=1251

Statement by Foreign Minister McKay,

 $http://w01.international.gc.ca/minpub/Publication.aspx?isRedirect=True\&publication\_id=384288\&Language=E\&docnumber=2006/14$ 

UNSC Resolution 1701, http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc\_resolutions06.htm

Day 10 - Mar 8

The Iraq War; Terrorism

- The Prelude
  - o The 1990 Gulf War
  - Sanctions
  - Weapons of Mass Destruction and Inspections
- The Security Council Deadlock
- The Aftermath
- The Oil for Food Program/Scandal

#### Readings:

Heinbecker, Paul. "Canada, the US, the UN and International Law," presented at Academy of Legal Studies in Business Annual Conference; Plenary Lunch August 20, 2004 available at <a href="http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/AcademyLegalStudies-BusinessAug20-2004.pdf">http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/AcademyLegalStudies-BusinessAug20-2004.pdf</a>

Blix, Hans, "Disarming Iraq," The Security Council, 27 January 2003 an Update on Inspection available at http://www.un.org/apps/news/infocusnewsiraq.asp?NewsID=354&sID=6

Burrough, Bryan, Evgenia Peretz, David Rose and David Wise. "The Path to War: Special Report - The Rush to Invade Iraq". Vanity Fair, May 2004. pgs. 228-245, 281-294. (Course pack)\*

Pillar, Paul, "Intelligence Policy and the War in Iraq," Foreign Affairs (March/April 2006) (Course pack)\*

Heinbecker, Paul. "Canada Got it Right on Iraq", Globe and Mail, March 19, 2004 available at http://www.heinbecker.ca/Articles/Canada-got-it-right.pdf

Harper, Stephen and Stockwell Day, "Canadians We Stand," Wall Street Journal March 28, 2003 (Course pack)\*

Basic Documents:

Manning, David. "Iraq Prime Minister's Meeting, July 23, 2005," The Secret Downing Street Memo, available at http://www.downingstreetmemo.com/docs/memotext.pdf

UN Resolution 1441, http://www.un.org/Docs/journal/asp/ws.asp?m=S/RES/1441(2002)

Text of Colin Powell's January 27, 2003 Address to the UN Security Council: http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030205-1.html

Excerpt from President Bush's January 28,2003 State of the Union Address: http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030128-19.html

Interview with Vice-President Dick Cheney, NBC, "Meet the Press," Transcript for March 16, 2003. (Read especially paragraph where Cheney declares "...We believe he has, in fact, reconstituted nuclear weapons.") Note, if printing the document, the paragraph can be found on Page 5, second paragraph above "(Videotape, August 27, 2000):" http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/bush/cheneymeetthepress.htm

Iraq Body Count, available at http://www.iraqbodycount.net/database/

CBC, "Casualties in the Iraq War," http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/iraq/casualties.html

CNN. "Transcript – David Kay at Senate Hearing Jan. 28, 2004." Available at http://www.cnn.com/2004/US/01/28/kay.transcript/

Statement by Paul Heinbecker to the Security Council - March 11, 2003, available at http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/UN\_speeches/Statement-March11-2003-situation-between-Iraq-Kuwait.pdf

Paul Heinbecker's Canadian Compromise Speech - February 19, 2003, available at: http://www.heinbecker.ca/Speeches/UN\_speeches/Iraq\_Stmt\_Open\_Debate\_Feb19-2003.pdf

Government of Canada "Iraq Overview", Available at http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/iraq

Terrorism

"The War On Terror"

- Homogenous or Heterogeneous
- Root Causes
- Power and Asymmetric Responses

## Reading

Allison, Graham, What can the G20 leaders do to prevent terrorists' WMD attacks? http://www.cigionline.org/cigi/.view/Publications/document/conferen/g20princ

Flynn, Stephen The Best Defense May Be A Good Defense: Cooperation On Homeland Security http://www.cigionline.org/cigi/.view/Publications/document/conferen/g20pri~1

Krugman, Paul The Costs Of Terrorism: What Do We Know? http://www.cigionline.org/cigi/.view/Publications/document/conferen/g20pri~2

Purdy, Margaret What could an L-20 do to address the issue of terrorism's root causes? http://www.cigionline.org/cigi/.view/Publications/document/conferen/g20pri~3

Roth, Kenneth Counterterrorism and Human Rights: An Essential Alliance http://www.cigionline.org/cigi/download/Publications/document/conferen/g20pri~4

Waslekar, Sundeep War On Terror: Clash Of Civilizations Or Civilization Versus Chaos? http://www.cigionline.org/cigi/.view/Publications/document/conferen/g20pri~5

Government of Norway & International Peace Academy. "Fighting Terrorism for Humanity: A Conference on the Roots of Evil", New York, 22 September 2003. pgs 1-8. (Course pack)\*

Wesley Wark. "Terrorism: It's time to grow up", The Globe and Mail. Thursday April 1, 2004. Page A17. (Course pack)\*

**Basic documents** 

Department of Justice, Canada. Highlights of Anti-Terrorism Act. Ottawa: Department of Justice. October 15, 2001, http://canada.justice.gc.ca/en/news/nr/2001/doc\_27787.html

Canada's National Security Policy http://www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/docs/Publications/NatSecurnat/natsecurnat\_e.pdf

The White House. "National Security Strategy of the United States of America". The White House, Washington, D.C. September 17, 2002, Read Introductory Statement by President Bush from September 17, 2002 only (1<sup>st</sup> page of document).http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nssall.html

Day 11 - March 22

Afghanistan

Reading:

Barney Rubin, The Forgotten War: Afghanistan, March 14 2006 http://www.cceia.org/resources/transcripts/5331.html

Senlis Report, Five Years Later: The Return of the Taliban, September 5 2006 http://www.senliscouncil.net/documents/integrated\_social\_control\_afghanistan

International Crisis Group Report, Countering Afghanistan's Insurgency: No Quick Fixes, November 2 2006 http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4485&l=1

Heinbecker, Paul. "Doing Good Well in Afghanistan", available at http://www.heinbecker.ca/Articles/DoingGoodWellinAfghanistan\_HillTimes.pdf

#### **Basic Documents**

Secretary General Report to the Security Council, September 11 2006 http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/sgrep06.htm

Foreign Minister McKay Address on Afghanistan, "Canadian Foreign Policy and Our Role in Afghanistan", October 30 2006

 $http://w01.international.gc.ca/minpub/Publication.asp?publication\_id=384525\&language=E\&docnumber=2006/1~q$ 

Canada, Government of, "Canada Delivers Emergency Aid and New Reconstruction to the People of Kandahar," CIDA October 23, 2006 available at

http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/CIDAWEB/acdicida.nsf/En/RAC-102216131-RGZ

Canada, Government of "Canadian Forces Operations in Afghanistan Backgrounder," Department of National Defence, August 21, 2006 available at http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/newsroom/view\_news\_e.asp?id=1703

Harper, Stephen PM, "Prime Minister Stands by Canada's Commitment to Afghanistan" http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?category=2&id=1165

Harper, Stephen PM, "Address to the UN General Assembly" http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?category=2&id=1329

Day 12 - March 26

Wrap-up;

Distribution of final exam (take-home), guidance, discussion of expectations, timing