

PSCI 4607 A
Politics of North America
6:05 p.m. – 8:55 p.m. Wednesday
Southam Hall 409 SA

Instructor: Dr. Teresa Healy
Office: B 645 Loeb Building
Office Hours: 4:30-5:30 pm W and 9:00-10:00 pm W
Phone: (613) 520-2600 x 1657 (no voice mail)
Email: teresahealy@sympatico.ca

Course description:

This course will address the politics of North American integration. The central objective is to understand the current moment in light of contested histories at the local and national levels, and at the level of region and world order. We will begin with an historical overview of colonialism in North America. We will turn to problems of twentieth century nation-building and to the subsequent political struggles which have transformed 'national projects' along neo-liberal lines. We will investigate the character and impacts of North American integration as it has been intensified over the past twenty years. True to the seminar format, students will participate actively in this course by engaging with the readings on a weekly basis. We will employ concepts which are central to political science both in written form and in class presentations. Assignments will be closely integrated with the course materials. In the final research paper, students will consider one of the many emerging issues in the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America.

Required Texts: Available from Octopus Books -116 Third Ave (613-233-2589)

- Ronald Wright, *Stolen Continents* Penguin Books, 2003 \$25.00
- Abu-Laban, Yasmeen; Jhappan, Radha; Rocher, Francois, eds. *Politics in North America: Redefining Continental Relations* Broadview Press, 2008 \$46.95 (PNA)
- Grinspun, Ricardo; Shamsei, Yasmine eds. *Whose Canada?* McGill University Press, 2007, \$32.95 (WC)

Evaluation:

Class Participation 30%
Discussion Paper 25% (Due January 23; Feedback by February 6)
Class Presentation 15%
Research Paper 30% (Due April 9)

Class Participation:

Students will be evaluated on their attendance, participation and consistent progress. I expect each student to come prepared to discuss the readings each week. I will be looking for active-listening skills and constructive, critical thinking. This will include evidence that each student is engaging with the argument and perspective of the authors, and not only the empirical material presented there. Students are expected to contribute to an analytical discussion which links insights from previous weeks. Since so much of intellectual work is a social activity, I expect that each of us will benefit from creative, generous, respectful and vigorous discussion. Class discussions will be held in a variety of formats, including plenary and small groups.

Discussion Paper:

Jhappan argues that all three modern states of Mexico, Canada and the US were born in violence directed at the "Indigenous nations whose distinct forms of sovereignty, land ownership, governance, cultures and relationships to the natural world were to be either eliminated entirely or otherwise subdued and /or assimilated." Discuss with reference to the agency of the Aztec, Maya, Cherokee and Iroquois peoples as presented by Wright in *Stolen Continents* (1250-1500 words).

Class Presentation:

In order to help focus their work, students will present an outline of their final paper in class once during the last six weeks of the term. Each student will have 7-10 minutes to present their topic, their main organising concepts and central argument before receiving questions and feedback from the class.

Research Paper:

The research paper is designed to treat one aspect of the Security and Prosperity Partnership (SPP) of North America. The SPP was announced by the Presidents of Mexico and the United States and Prime Minister of Canada in 2005. It is not a treaty, but a framework within which much trilateral work in North American has been shifted.

Using primary documents along with 7-10 class readings and up to 5 other analyses, your assignment is to identify and evaluate one aspect of the SPP in terms of key impacts on North American politics (eg. patterns of production, ideas, institutions, gender relations, racialisation, relations between states, democracy, asymmetries, economic inequality).

Since the SPP contains within it such a wide range of issues, you will have a lot to choose from. Please review the attached sheet which outlines the basic elements of the SPP to help you identify your research area. I will also prepare a grading sheet which will indicate what I am looking for in the final paper. You will be asked to staple the sheet to the front of your paper when you hand it in. The paper is due April 9 (5,000- 6,000 words).

Submitting Written Work:

Term work must be submitted to me in hard-copy in class or during office hours. (double spaced; 12 pt Times New Roman; single-sided; staple top left corner, no covers; endnotes; word count). I will receive final papers in my office on April 9 between 4:30-6:30 pm. The Political Science drop box is intended to collect late assignments only or if a student has extenuating circumstances and is unable to submit the paper directly in class or during office hours. The drop box is emptied **every weekday at 4 p.m.** and all items collected at that time are date-stamped with that day's date. Late papers will be deducted 2% per day.

COURSE SCHEDULE

I. January 9: Introductions

- Robert W. Cox, "A Canadian dilemma: The United States or the world", *International Journal*, Summer 2005, 667-684 (in-class hand-out)

II. January 16: Colonialism and dis-integration in the Americas

- Wright: Invasion – Aztec, Maya, Cherokee, Iroquois
- Wright: Resistance - Aztec, Maya, Cherokee, Iroquois

Discussion: What is do we learn from Wright about diverse indigenous political histories in North America? What do we learn about the productive life, ideas and institutions of indigenous peoples? / of the colonisers?

III. January 23: Post-colonialism in North America

- Jhappan: "The 'New World': Legacies of European Colonialism in North America" *PNA*
- Wright: Rebirth – Aztec, Maya, Cherokee, Iroquois

Discussion: What were the most significant aspects of colonialism woven into early capitalism in North America? (ie. patterns of production, ideas, institutions, gender relations, racialisation, relations between states, asymmetries, economic inequality)

IV. January 30: Asymmetries and Nation-building

- Couture, "Nation-building and Regionalism in the US, Canada and Mexico" *PNA*
- Gutiérrez-Haces, "Roots of North American Economic Development" *PNA*
- Rocher and DiGiacomo, "National Institutions in North America: US, Canadian and Mexican Federalism" *PNA*
- Brunelle and Levesque, "Free Trade and Quebec Models of Development" *WC*
- Castro-Rea and Altamirano-Jiménez, "North American First Peoples: Self-Determination or Economic Development?" *PNA*

Discussion: What key elements defined 'national projects' in North America?; How do these authors explain asymmetries between them?; How do they explain uneven development within them? What has been the impact of US hegemony on these national projects?

V. February 6: Political Institutions in North America

- Bottomley, "Globalization and the Democratic Deficit: Challenging Times for Canada's Political Institutions" *PNA*
- Burkhart, "Political Institutions in the United States" *PNA*
- Crespo, Borrego and Ruelas, "Political Institutions in Mexico" *PNA*
- Clarkson and Rangaswami, "Governance of North America: NAFTA's Complex Institutional Structure" *PNA*

Discussion: What are the most significant differences between national political institutions in North America? Have these been mitigated by recent experiences of economic integration?

VI. February 13: Economic and Labour Impacts of Integration

- Jackson, “From Leaps of Faith to Hard Landings” *WC*
- Seccareccia, “Critical Macroeconomic Aspects of Deepening North American Integration” *WC*
- Robinson, “All Pain, No Gain: Canadian Labour in the Integrated North American Economy” *WC*
- Lee, “Costs and Benefits of a Canada-US Customs Union” *WC*
- Albo and Crow, “Under Pressure: The Impasses of North American Labour Movements” *PNA*

Discussion: According to these authors, what happened to 'national projects'? What do they identify as the most important impacts of North American integration on working-class politics?

READING WEEK: February 18 – 22

VII. February 27: State and Social Policy

- Shrybman, “International Bill of Rights for Foreign Investors” *WC*
- Corrigan, “Impact of Trade Agreements on Subnational Governments” *WC*
- Grieshaber-Otto, Sinclair and Grinspun, “Trade Treaties, Privatization and Health Care Reform in Canada” *WC*
- Harder and Taylor, “Ragged Cruelty?: Social Policy Transformation in North America” *PNA*
- Schneiderman, “Default Convergence?: Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in North America” *PNA*

Discussion: Based on these readings, how would we describe the character of state transformations? How would we explain them? What are the implications for power relations between social classes; genders; racialised groups of people?

VIII. March 5: Deeper Integration

- Grinspun and Shamsie, “Canada, Free Trade and “Deep Integration” in North America: Context, Problems, and Challenges” *WC*
- Cameron, “Free Trade Allies: The Making of a New Continentalism” *WC*
- Clarke, “Corporate Canada: Washington’s Empire Loyalists” *WC*
- Clarkson and Banda, “Community of Law: Proposals for a Strategic Deal with the United States” *WC*

Discussion: What do these authors identify as significant differences between “free trade” and “deep integration” in North America? Are these useful distinctions? Why / Why not?

IX. March 12: Energy and Environment

- Griffin Cohen, “Imperialist Regulation: US Electricity Market Designs and Their Problems for Canada and Mexico” *WC*
- Pratt, “Pipelines and Pipe Dreams: Energy and Continental Security” *WC*
- May and Dover, “Breaking the Free Trade Addiction: An Intervention on Environmental Grounds” *WC*
- Swenarchuk, “Of Harvard Mice and Prairie Farmers: Canadian Patents on Life” *WC*
- Juillet, “Ten Years After: Continental Free Trade and Environmental Policy” *PNA*

Discussion: What do the authors see as the role of energy integration in North American politics at present? How do you see the relationship between energy integration and broader changes at the level of production?

X. March 19: North American Borders post-9/11

- Abu-Laban, “Migration in North America” *PNA*
- Gabriel and Macdonald, “From the 49th Parallel to the Rio Grande: US Homeland Security and North American Borders” *PNA*
- Aiken, “Risking Rights: An Assessment of Canadian Border Security Policies” *PNA*
- Staples, “Fortress North America: The Drive towards Military and Security Integration and its Impact on Canadian Democratic Sovereignty” *WC*

Discussion: According to these authors, what are the implications of security harmonization in North America? Would you agree/disagree?

XI. March 26: Culture and Political Communities

- Neil, “Free Trade and Deep Integration in North America: Saving Canadian Culture” *WC*
- White and Nevitte, “Economic Integration and North American Political Cultures” *PNA*
- Brodie, “Performing North America as Community” *PNA*
- Hristoulas and Roussel, “North American Security and Foreign Policy: Does a Trilateral Community Exist?” *PNA*

Discussion: Based on the readings, can we identify different approaches to understanding the impact of North American integration on culture? Would you say we are moving more closely to a shared political culture or towards more divergent political identities?

XII. April 2: Civil Society and Contestations

- Ayres, “Civil Society: Organizing Under Continental Integration: The Promise and Limits of Community-Building “From Below”” *PNA*
- Dobbin, “Challenging the Forces of Deep Integration” *WC*
- Campbell, “Managing Canada-US Relations: An Alternative to Deep Integration” *WC*
- Pastor, “Beyond NAFTA: The Emergence and Future of North America” *PNA*

Discussion: How do the authors see the prospects for democracy in North America? What would you argue is needed for democracy to be strengthened?

Attachment # 1
PSCI 4607A Syllabus - Winter Term 2008
Key Elements of the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America

I. SPP Tri-national Government Working Groups include (August 30th 2007):

Prosperity:

E-commerce and ICT
 Energy
 Environment
 Financial Services
 Food and Agriculture Regulatory Systems
 Health
 Manufactured Goods and Sectoral and Regional Competitiveness
 Movement of Goods
 Transportation

Security:

Traveller Security
 Cargo Security
 Border Facilitation
 Aviation Security
 Maritime Security
 Law Enforcement
 Intelligence Cooperation
 Bio-Protection
 Emergency Management
 Science and Technology

II. North American Competitiveness Council

In 2006 the leaders confirmed the initiative and added to the tri-national working group process, an advisory group of CEOs from each country. Ten CEOs from each country became the members of the North American Competitiveness Council. Their 51 recommendations to the Leaders became published in February 2007. The Leaders announced their response to the NACC in August 2007 at the Montebello Summit.

III. Agreements confirmed @ Montebello Leaders's Summit:

North American Plan for Avian and Pandemic Influenza
 Regulatory Cooperation Framework
 Intellectual Property Action Strategy
 Agreement for Cooperation in Energy Science and Technology
 Canada and Mexico Working Group on Labour Mobility

IV. Some Engaged Civil Society Organisations:

Canadian Council of Chief Executives; Canada West Foundation; United States Chamber of Commerce; North America Forum
 Council of Canadians; Polaris Institute; Canadian Labour Congress;
 Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives; North-South Institute; Rideau Institute;
 International Civil Liberties Monitoring Group; Common Frontiers; Mexican Action Network on Free Trade (RMALC)

Attachment # 2
PSCI 4607A Syllabus - Winter Term 2008
Academic Accommodations

For Students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre (PMC) for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first in-class test or CUTV midterm exam**. This will allow for sufficient time to process your request. Please note the following deadline for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **March 14th, 2008** for April examinations.

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at: <http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or

email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Course Requirements: Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.