Queen’s Centre for International Relations

Annual Report

For

2004 - 2005

Director: Charles Pentland

Queen’s University
Kingston, ON
Table of Contents

SECTION 1 – MISSION STATEMENT ........................................................................................................1

SECTION 2 – PERFORMANCE INDICATORS ........................................................................................7

   ACADEMIC RESEARCH POPULATION .........................................................................................7

   RATES OF PUBLICATION ................................................................................................................8

   2.5 Anonymously Peer Reviewed Journals .......................................................................................8

   2.6 Peer Reviewed Journal ...............................................................................................................10

   2.7 Academic Press ........................................................................................................................10

   2.8 Private Press/Other .....................................................................................................................12

   PARTICIPATION OF CENTRE ASSOCIATES ............................................................................13

   2.9 Number of associates who participated in domestic conferences ...........................................13

   2.10 Number of associates who participated in international conferences ...................................29

   2.11 SDF International Conference Fund .......................................................................................36

   QUALITY AND ATTENDANCE OF TARGET AUDIENCE AT CENTRE/CHAIR SPONSORED FORUMS ............................................................37

   COURSE NAME ..............................................................................................................................41

   STUDENT RESEARCH ACTIVITIES ON SECURITY AND DEFENCE ISSUES .............................43

   MEDIA CONTACT ...........................................................................................................................44

   2.20 Number of media interviews (print, broadcast, etc) ...............................................................44

   2.21 Number of Op Ed articles published .........................................................................................51

   OUTREACH .....................................................................................................................................52

SECTION 3 – FINANCIAL INFORMATION .........................................................................................58

   3.1 Overall budget for the centre/chair ..........................................................................................58

   3.2 Number of research grants/awards .........................................................................................58

   3.3 Complete Financial Information ..............................................................................................58

APPENDIX A: COURSE OUTLINES .................................................................................................58

APPENDIX B: MEDIA RELEASES .......................................................................................................146
## Section 1 – Mission Statement

| 1.1 | What is the centre’s mission statement? | The Queen’s Centre for International Relations (QCIR) was established in 1975 as an interdisciplinary research institution at Queen’s University. Its mandate is to conduct and disseminate research in security studies and other aspects of international relations. To this end it supports and coordinates the activities of faculty, graduate students and other researchers, contributes to the teaching of national and international security studies, and engages in a variety of outreach activities in Kingston and in the wider community. |
| 1.2 | What is the relationship between the mission statement and the activities of the SDF centre? | The Centre’s research agenda for the five-year period 2001-6 focuses on two related themes: transatlantic security and North American security and defence. Both of these are rooted in the QCIR’s core research mission. The first of these themes has defined the Centre from its inception. The great majority of the research carried out by its personnel has been – and continues to be – focused on Canadian foreign and defence policy, European security, and the problems and prospects of the Atlantic alliance. This priority can be seen in the themes of the Centre’s conferences, and in the topics of the Martello Papers, Occasional Papers and other QCIR publications. It is also evident in topics of the regular cycle of workshops, round-table discussions |
Section 1 – Mission Statement

and fortnightly National Security Seminars. The second theme was on the Centre’s agenda even before the events of 11 September 2001. The Centre financed the English translation of Stéphane Roussel’s book on the North American “democratic peace”, which was published in 2004. Research on aspects of North American security done in the past three years by several of our Visiting Defence Fellows will be appearing in Martello Papers. In November 2004 we co-sponsored a major conference on Canadian Federalism and National Security. In March 2005 we launched our new series of one-day workshops with a session on North American security relations in the wake of the Canadian government’s decision on missile defence.

QCIR faculty contribute, through courses and graduate supervision, to the teaching of international relations and security studies at both Queen’s and the Royal Military College. All are engaged, to a greater or lesser extent, in outreach activities with media, campus groups and public affairs associations.

One of the unique features of the QCIR is that it is host every year to four Visiting Defence Fellows (VDFs), serving officers from the Canadian Forces, from the German forces, and from the US Army and the US Air Force. From 2002 to 2004, we also hosted a VDF from Australia. The VDFs are an
### Section 1 – Mission Statement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1.3</th>
<th>How do the activities you’ve undertaken in the current fiscal year match what you undertook to do in your funding proposal?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The Centre held two major conferences in 2004. The first was the conference designated for the third year of our five-year research plan. Held on September 30 – October 1, it explored the prospects for NATO following its admission of seven new members. Papers presented to this conference covered NATO and Europe, “out-of-area” missions, Eastern Europe, and US-NATO relations, with a keynote address by Professor Karl Kaiser. The second, held on November 19-20, and

invaluable asset to the Centre: they provide resident expertise on a wide range of military and defence issues; they conduct policy-related research on security and defence matters; they assist with teaching the undergraduate course on national security studies in the Department of Political Studies, providing fourth-year honours students with a real-world perspective on defence and security issues; and they conduct outreach to the Canadian military in the Kingston area, as well as to the local community.

All these activities are related to the two security themes set out above, which in turn flow from the Centre’s mission statement. While the Centre’s mandate from the university extends beyond national and international security to international relations generally, the QCIR has always given priority to security issues – more narrowly defined – in the North Atlantic and North American context.
Section 1 – Mission Statement

c-co-sponsored with the Queen’s Institute of Inter-governmental Relations (which does research on federalism) was on Canadian Federalism and National Security. It examined how the multiple levels of authority (municipal, provincial or state, and federal) in Canada and the US interact in relation to a range of threats to Canadian and North American security.

In addition, consistent with its objective of disseminating research and encouraging public debate on international issues in the university and beyond, the QCIR has sponsored or helped support a number of other events. These include research workshops, the National Security Seminars, and the monthly public Round Tables. The Round Tables, designed to reach a broader audience both within and beyond the confines of the university, covered Darfur, the impact of the US presidential election on global security, Turkey’s strategic position, tsunami relief, and new developments in the Middle East. The details of these and other events appear in later sections of this report.

The Centre has provided financial support for graduate students working on security and defence topics, for research or for conferences. It also supported the Queen’s International Affairs Association by helping to send undergraduate delegates to Carleton University’s Model NATO in March 2005.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>1.4</strong></th>
<th>What activities are planned for next year? How do they match what you undertook to do in your funding proposal?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>As noted in our funding proposal for the current five-year cycle, the sixtieth anniversary of the Yalta Conference and the end of World War II is an appropriate occasion for reflecting on power and order in the international system. The annual conference, planned for May 2005, will explore new understandings of power and its uses in international politics, set out the challenges to global security and governance posed by recent shifts in the nature and distribution of power, and debate the prospects for Canada in this environment. A few papers will focus on general themes; most will analyze specific issues such as nuclear proliferation, reform of the UN Security Council, the Asian security complex, and the EU’s foreign and defence policy.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The second in our series of research and policy workshops, to be held in mid-April, will focus on new developments on the Middle East, both in the governments of Israel and the Palestinian Authority, and in the broader region including the situation in Iraq, the nuclear negotiations with Iran, and the Syria-Lebanon nexus. Other workshops to be held in the coming year will look at the European Security and Defence Policy (especially the prospects for cooperation with Canada in peace operations) and the expansion of North American defence cooperation beyond NORAD’s traditional role.</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Section 1 – Mission Statement

The QCIR will continue the fortnightly National Security Seminars, as well as the monthly Round Tables. The former bring in military and civilian officials as well as academics to speak on issues of security and defence policy. The latter present the public with expert comment on international events currently in the news.

We have a full publication agenda as well for the coming year, with at least three Martello Papers - on NATO’s identity crisis, on North American defence and on Cyprus – as well as the revived Occasional Papers series and our financial support for two book-length studies on Canadian security and defence. One, nearing publication, is a historical comparison of the Canadian and Australian armed forces; the other, in preparation, is a history of NORAD.

The above agenda for 2005-6 pursues the objectives set out in the funding proposal, namely to focus on Canadian foreign and defence policy with emphasis on the North Atlantic region and North American security.

In addition to this template, please include a letter signed by the centre director containing:
- a summary of the year’s highlights,
- the coming year’s priorities, and
- NEW for 2004-05 a paragraph describing the funding impact of SDF dollars on activities: what would not happen if your SDF funding were unavailable?
### Section 2 – Performance Indicators

**Goal #1: Satisfactory capacity of Canadian academic community to contribute to the public policy debates and public education on defence and security issues**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic Research Population (i.e. core group affiliated with the centre/chair) focused on security and defence issues with SDF centres</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.1</strong> What is the number of faculty attached to the centre involved in research?</td>
<td>12 (including RMC fellows)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.2</strong> What is the number of centre staff involved in research?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.3</strong> What is the number of graduate students involved in research?</td>
<td>14 – 11 PhD, 3 MA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.4</strong> What is the number of research associates involved in research?</td>
<td>20 – 13 senior fellows, 4 VDFs, 1 junior fellow, 1 visiting fellow, and 1 exchange student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Publication</td>
<td>Title of Publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5 Anonymously Peer Reviewed Journals</td>
<td>Total: 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“From Fire Brigade to Tocsin: NATO’s ACE Mobile Force (Land),”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Publication</td>
<td>Title of Publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Defending the ‘Realm’: Canadian Strategic Culture Revisited”</td>
<td><em>International Journal</em>, vol. 59 (Summer 2004), pp 503-520.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
* Despite the 2003 publication date, this in fact appeared in the current reporting year of 2004. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Publication</th>
<th>Title of Publication</th>
<th>Name of Publisher/Publication and description (book, edited collection, refereed, etc.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.6 Peer Reviewed Journal</td>
<td>Total: 6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Don Macnamara</td>
<td>“Haiti – an opportunity for Canada to apply the ‘3-D’ concept”</td>
<td>Policy Options, (Feb 2005).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Updates: Will Turkey Have Any Say In The New Iraqi Constitution?”</td>
<td>Middle East Report, (September 2004).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7 Academic Press</td>
<td>Total: 9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Publication</td>
<td>Title of Publication</td>
<td>Name of Publisher/Publication and description (book, edited collection, refereed, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane Boulden</td>
<td>“Multilateralism Misses the Mark”</td>
<td>in Independence in an Age of Empire: Assessing Unilateralism and Multilateralism, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, (2004).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Publication</td>
<td>Name of Publisher/Publication and description (book, edited collection, refereed, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2.8 Private Press/Other</td>
<td>6 22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis A. Delvoie</td>
<td>“Turkey in NATO: An Ambivalent Ally”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Occasional Paper, edition #58, Centre for International Relations, Queen’s University, Kingston, (2005).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Don Macnamara, A.M. Fitzgerald</td>
<td>A National Security Framework for Canada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sean M. Maloney</td>
<td>“Force Structure or Forced Structure?”</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Are We Really Just Peacekeepers?”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Memo to Canada: The World Has Changed Again,”</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jean Lamarre, Roch Legault et Yves Tremblay (dir.)</td>
<td>“Histoire de l’enseignement militaire au Canada”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim Richard Nossal</td>
<td>“The Army as an Instrument of Canadian Foreign Policy: Implications for the Army of Tomorrow”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2.9</th>
<th>What is the number of associates who participated in domestic conferences?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a) 15 Professors/Associates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) 2 Students</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conference Participation by QCIR Members</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Lecture: PMPA Programme &quot;Global Governance&quot;, Queen’s School of Policy Studies, Kingston, September 18, 2004 (25 students)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Participant: German-Canadian Atlantik Brücke Conference, Banff Alberta, October 15-17, 2004.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Juror of student papers: CDAI Graduate Conference, RMC, Kingston, October 29-30, 2004. (3 Queen’s students)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)

<p>| | |</p>
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**Louis Delvoie**

1) Speaker: Presentation on the international relations of Afghanistan to the Global Organizations Seminar, School of Policy Studies, Queen’s University, February 2, 2004. (20 graduate students).

2) Speaker: Conference on the “Transformation of War in the 21st Century”, University of Manitoba, February 6-7, 2004 (150 students, academics and military personnel).

3) Lecturer and facilitator: Four lectures and case study on Canada’s foreign and international security policy for newly recruited Foreign Service Officers at Canadian Foreign Service Institute (DFA),
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa, August 30–September 1, 2004 (30 participants).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Lecturer and facilitator: Four lectures and case study on Canada’s foreign and international security policy for newly recruited officers of the Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa, September 20–22, 2004 (18 participants).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Lecturer and facilitator: Four lectures and case study on Canada’s foreign and international security policy for newly recruited Foreign Service Officers at Canadian Foreign Service Institute (DFA), Ottawa, September 27-29, 2004 (37 participants).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Speaker: QCIR annual conference on NATO Expansion, Kingston, September 30 – October 1, 2004 (53 participants).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Session chair: CDAI Graduate Student Symposium, Royal Military College, Kingston, October 29-30, 2004 (40 participants).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) <strong>Speaker</strong>: QCIR Round Table Panel Discussion on “Turkey: Between Iraq and a Hard Place”, Queen’s University, November 16, 2004 (50 participants).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) <strong>Speaker</strong>: Seminar presentation on “Canadian Foreign Policy: an Identity Crisis?” at Trinity College, University of Toronto, January 25, 2005 (12 undergraduate students)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**W. Don Macnamara**


2) **Participant**: CISS Conference on Unmanned Air vehicles and Surveillance Systems, Ottawa, June 10, 2004

### Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>Session Chair: RCMI/CISS/ACC Conference on Iraq, Toronto, September 22, 2004</td>
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<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td>Conference Chair and Facilitator: CDAI Graduate Symposium, Royal Military College, Kingston, October 30, 04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8)</td>
<td>Session Chair: Carleton University Foreign Policy Conference, Ottawa, November 5, 2004</td>
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<tr>
<td>9)</td>
<td>Participant: CISS Conference on Strategic Lift, Ottawa, December 2, 2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</td>
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</table>
| 11) **Conference Chair and Facilitator: CDA-CDAI Annual Seminar, Ottawa, March 2-5, 2005.**  

**Joel Sokolsky**  
1) **Panel Chair: Conference on North American Integration: Migration, Trade and Security,** organized by the Institute for Research on Public Policy in collaboration with the John Goodwin Center for Political Studies, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX, Ottawa, April 1-2, 2004.  


3) **Speaker: CASIS Annual International Conference (Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies), Ottawa, October 14-16, 2004.** |
### Participation of Centre Associates (Faculty, Visiting Researchers, Students) at Relevant External Events (such as Conferences, Seminars, etc)

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<tr>
<td>Sean M. Maloney</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jane Boulten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Speaker: “Weapons of Mass Destruction and Their Means of Delivery”, to Civil Society Consultation on International</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</td>
<td>Security, Dept. Foreign Affairs, Ottawa, February 24-25, 2004.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Roch Legault</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) <strong>Conférence d’ouverture: “De l’époque des Lumières à celle des fondamentalismes: nos représentations de la guerre et de la bataille”, 10e Congrès de l’Association des professeures et des professeurs d’histoire des collèges du Québec, La représentation des guerres et des conflits dans nos cours d’histoire, Cégep de Saint-jean, Saint-Jean, juin 4-5, 2004.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) <strong>Participant: à une table ronde “10 ans d’histoire militaire au Québec”, Université du Québec à Montréal, novembre 11, 2004.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) <strong>Participant: Première conférence des Études militaire et stratégique: Marc Sageman, Understanding Terror Networks, Royal Military College, 7 février 2005.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Kim Richard Nossal</strong></td>
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<td>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>David G. Haglund</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5) <strong>Participant:</strong> Conference on “Foreign Policy: Charting a Course for Canada”, National Capital Branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Ottawa, September 10, 2004.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) <strong>Presenter/Session Chair:</strong> Conference paper on &quot;The Future of Transatlantic Relations” to QCIR annual conference on NATO Expansion, Kingston, September 30 – October 1, 2004.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) <strong>Presenter:</strong> Conference paper (with Christa M. Waters) on “De la théorie de la paix démocratique à la différence des perceptions de la menace, ou le ‘moment Clemenceau-Poincaré’ des États-unis et ce qu’il signifie pour les relations transatlantiques sur le plan de la sécurité à l’époque de la terreur”, to the conference on Terrorisme et relations transatlantiques: Perceptions, conséquences, politiques, 10th Annual Conference of l’Association franco-canadienne des études stratégiques, Montréal, Octobre 22-23, 2004.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</td>
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<tr>
<td>8) Presenter: Conference paper on “Searching for the ‘Anglosphere’: Culture and the Question of Interventionism” to the 2004 Canada-UK Colloquium on Transatlantic Identity and International Action, co-hosted by Queen’s School of Policy Studies, IRPP, and the Institut québécois des hautes études internationales, Université de Laval, Québec City, November 18-21, 2004.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Glenn Brown</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Session Chair: “NATO and Europe”, QCIR annual conference on NATO Expansion, Kingston, September 30 – October 1, 2004 (53 participants).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Christian Leuprecht</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2) <strong>Presenter:</strong> Conference paper “Demography Of Interethnic Violence: An Investigation Into Path Dependency”, IPSA RC14 Ethnicity and Politics annual meeting, University of Ottawa, September 30-October 2, 2004.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LCol John Anderson**  
*(Canadian Forces Visiting Defence Fellow)*

1) **Participant:** VDF Orientation at Department of Foreign Affairs, and DND, Ottawa, September 9-10, 2004.

2) **Participant:** QCIR annual conference on NATO Expansion, Kingston, September 30 – October 1, 2004.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **LCol David Miller**  
*US Air Force Visiting Defence Fellow* |
| **LCol Jeffrey Turner**  
*US Army Visiting Defence Fellow* |
### Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)

<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>Participant: Seminar on &quot;Realities of Terrorism in Colombia&quot;, Jorge Visbal, Ambassador of Colombia, Queen’s, Kingston, October 15, 2004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LCol Ulrich Scholz**  
*(German Air Force Visiting Defence Fellow)*

1) **Presenter:** “Can Foreign Policy Without The Military Be Influential?”, Concordia University, Montreal, September 15, 2004, (Audience of 40 students and faculty).
| Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc) | 2) Participant: QCIR annual conference on NATO Expansion, Kingston, September 30 – October 1, 2004.  
|---|---|
| 2.10 What is the number of associates who participated in international conferences? | a) 9 Professors/Associates  
b) 0 Students |
| | Charles Pentland  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2) <strong>Participant:</strong> Conference on “The New Neighbours of the Enlarged European Union”, Pembroke College, University of Cambridge, UK, June 21, 2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>W. Don Macnamara</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) <strong>Presenter:</strong> Paper on “Canada’s Security Interests” to St. Louis Committee on Foreign Relations, St. Louis, MO., June 14, 2004.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) <strong>Presenter:</strong> Paper on “Blame it on Canada – But Why?”, to Santa Barbara Committee on Foreign Relations, Santa Barbara, CA, February 18, 2005.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Joel Sokolsky</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) <strong>Presenter:</strong> Paper on “No Boundaries at Seam, New Boundaries at Sea: The Maritime Dimensions of United States”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) <strong>Participant:</strong> Conference on U.S.-Canada Relations, American Assembly, Columbia University, February 3-6, 2005.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane Boulden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) <strong>Speaker:</strong> &quot;Mexico and the Future of UN Peacekeeping&quot;, El Colegio de Mexico, December 13, 2004.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kim Richard Nossal**


2) **Paper presentation** (with Ann Capling, University of Melbourne): "The Rise and Fall of Chapter 11: Investor-State Dispute Mechanisms in the North American Free Trade Agreement and the Australia-United"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>States Free Trade Agreement,” Oceanic Conference on International Studies, Canberra, Australia, July 14-16, 2004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Christian Leuprecht**


2) Presenter: Presentation on “Demographic Change and Pluralism in Member-Countries of the Western Alliance: What Awaits the Bundeswehr?”, Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut der Bundeswehr (Social Science Institute of the German Armed Forces), Berlin, Germany, February 22, 2005.


4) Presenter: Paper on "Comparative Demography of Interethnic Violence: a
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plurimethodological Investigation into Path Dependency</strong>, International Studies Association Annual Convention, Honolulu, HA, March 1-5, 2005.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) <strong>Presenter: Paper on “The Role of Pluralism as a Means of Regulating Ethnic Conflict”, IPSA RC16 Annual Meeting, Lexington, VA, March 10-12, 2005.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) <strong>Presenter: Paper on “Demographic Change and Conflict Management”, George Mason University of Public Policy, Arlington, VA, March 14, 2005.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| LCol David Miller  
*(US Air Force Visiting Defence Fellow)* |
<p>| 1) <strong>Participant: Officer Orientation/Immersion Tour, German Ministry of Defence/European Union/NATO, Berlin and Brussels, October 1-11, 2004.</strong> |
| 2) <strong>Participant: Homeland Defence Symposium, Colorado Springs, CO, October 12-15, 2004.</strong> |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **LCol Jeffrey Turner**  
*US Army Visiting Defence Fellow* |
| **LCol Ulrich Scholz**  
*German Air Force Visiting Defence Fellow* |
| 2) **Presenter:** “The European Union: Common
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation of centre associates (faculty, visiting researchers, students) at relevant external events (such as conferences, seminars, etc)</th>
<th>Foreign and Security Policies”, to panel seminar of students and faculty, Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y., March 23-24, 2005.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.11 Please describe your use of the SDF International Conference Fund by providing conference title, centre participant and a brief description of their participation (name of presented paper, etc)</td>
<td>The QCIR did not draw upon the SDF International Conference Fund this past year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 1 – National Security Seminar Series – Visiting Speakers</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>September 21, 2004: Jamil Rashid, Mid East expert, “Muslim Consciousness and the World View”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 12, 2004: Gen (Ret) Jean Boyle, fmr Chief of Defence Staff, “The Future of Transatlantic NATO”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 26, 2004: Dr. Houchang Hassan-Yari, “Iran – The Current Crisis”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 9, 2004: Dr. Elia Zureik, “Arafat and the Palestinian Dilemma”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 23, 2004: Air Vice-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2.12 Please list event names below</th>
<th>2.13 The number of attendees at each event</th>
<th>2.14 Audience description: which segments of the security and defence community were present? (gov/students/private sector/NGO’s etc.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Event 1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>QCIR fellows, VDFs, Queen’s faculty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>QCIR Fellows. VDFs, Queen’s and RMC faculty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>QCIR Fellows. VDFs, Queen’s and RMC faculty, students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 1</td>
<td>5 (QCIR portion)</td>
<td>QCIR Fellows, VDFs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>QCIR Fellows, VDFs, Queen’s faculty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>QCIR Fellows, VDFs, Queen’s faculty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Quality and attendance of target audience at Centre/Chair sponsored forums (e.g., seminar, conference, workshop) on security and defence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 30, 2004:</td>
<td>David Pratt, Canadian Red Cross Advisor and</td>
<td>QCIR Fellows, VDFs, Queen’s and RMC faculty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ambassador, International Humanitarian Law,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“International Humanitarian Law and Small</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arms Control”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 11, 2005:</td>
<td>Dr. Oded Haklai, Department of Political</td>
<td>QCIR Fellows, VDFs, Queen’s faculty and staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Studies, “The Palestinian Election”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 25, 2005:</td>
<td>Dr. Sean Maloney, War Studies Programme RMC,</td>
<td>QCIR Fellows, VDFs, Queen’s and RMC faculty, students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Adventures in Afghanistan”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 15, 2005:</td>
<td>Brig. Gen. Simon Young, UK Defence Attaché,</td>
<td>QCIR Fellows, VDFs, Queen’s and RMC faculty, students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“European Security”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 8, 2005:</td>
<td>Charles Court, Deputy Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council, Canadian Delegation to NATO, “Whither Canada in NATO”</td>
<td>QCIR Fellows, VDFs, Queen’s and RMC Faculty, students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 14, 2005:</td>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>QCIR fellows, VDFs, Military officers, students, Queen’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Topic and Speakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 1</td>
<td>March 22, 2005</td>
<td>Bloodworth, Deputy Minister PSEPC, speaking on “Canada’s National Security”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 2</td>
<td>June 1, 2004</td>
<td>General Ray Henault, Chair of NATO Military Committee, speaking on “Canada, NATO and Trans-Atlantic Relations”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 3</td>
<td>September 30-October 1, 2004</td>
<td>DFA consultations on security, foreign affairs and defence policy issues, Royal Military College, Kingston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 4</td>
<td>October 29-30, 2004</td>
<td>QCIR Annual Conference: “NATO after Istanbul: Prospects and Implications of Expansion”, Queen’s University, Kingston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 5</td>
<td>November 12, 2004</td>
<td>co-sponsored with Chair of Defence Management visiting speaker Admiral McLean, Chief of Maritime Services, Queen’s University, Kingston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 6</td>
<td>November 19-20, 2004:</td>
<td>Canadian Federalism and National Security Conference, co-sponsored with Intergovernmental Relations, Queen’s University, Kingston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 7</td>
<td>February 7, 2005:</td>
<td>Al-Qaeda conference –Understanding Terror Networks co-sponsored with IRPP and the Royal Military College Military and Strategic Studies Dept.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 8</td>
<td>March 11, 2005:</td>
<td>Workshop on “North American Defence and Security”, Queen’s University, Kingston:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Goal #2: Healthy interest in security and defence-related issues among Canadian students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course Name</th>
<th>Instructor</th>
<th>Security and Defence content</th>
<th>Course enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em><em>2.15 Courses with significant</em> security and defence content</em>*</td>
<td><strong>2.16 Course Instructor Name</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.17 Provide the % of security &amp; defence content in the course</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.18 Enter number of students registered for course on accounting day (Nov.1, etc.)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLS 366 – The United Nations (Fall Term)</td>
<td>Charles Pentland</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPA 855 – Global Governance</td>
<td>Charles Pentland</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLS 462 – Studies in National Security (Fall 2004)</td>
<td>Joel Sokolsky</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLS 469 – Canadian Foreign Policy (Winter 2005)</td>
<td>Joel Sokolsky</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS 500 – Theories of War</td>
<td>Sean M. Maloney</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS 524 – Total Warfare</td>
<td>Sean M. Maloney</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIE 470 – History of Strategy</td>
<td>Sean M. Maloney</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS 589 – Issues of International and National Security in International Relations: Theories and Practice Since 1945 (Fall 2004)</td>
<td>Jane Boulden</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIF 400 – Military History of French Canada</td>
<td>Roch Legault</td>
<td>80%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Course Name</td>
<td>Instructor</td>
<td>Security and Defence content</td>
<td>Course enrolment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIF 470 – Strategy and Strategists</td>
<td>Roch Legault</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLS 369 – Canadian Foreign Policy</td>
<td>Kim Richard Nossal</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLS 367 – American Foreign Policy (Fall 2004)</td>
<td>David G. Haglund</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLS 367 – American Foreign Policy (Winter 2005)</td>
<td>David G. Haglund</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLS 862 – Topics in American Foreign Policy (Winter 2005)</td>
<td>David G. Haglund</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLS 961 – Topics in International Relations (Autumn 2004)</td>
<td>David G. Haglund</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLS 260 – Introduction to International Politics (Fall/Winter 2004/5)</td>
<td>Wayne Cox</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLS 860 – International Politics I (Fall 2004)</td>
<td>Wayne Cox</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLS 462 – Studies in National Security and Foreign Policy (Fall 2004)</td>
<td>LCol John Anderson (Seminar Leader)</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLS 462 – Studies in National Security and Foreign Policy (Fall 2004)</td>
<td>LCol David Miller (Seminar Leader)</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLS 462 – Studies in National Security and Foreign Policy (Fall 2004)</td>
<td>LCol Jeffrey Turner (Seminar Leader)</td>
<td>100%</td>
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</table>
### Course Name

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<tr>
<th>Course Name</th>
<th>Instructor</th>
<th>Security and Defence content</th>
<th>Course enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POLS 462 – Studies in National Security and Foreign Policy (Fall 2004)</td>
<td>LCol Ulrich Scholz (Seminar Leader)</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* “Significant” security and defence content will usually mean at least 50%; however, it is up to the centre to determine which courses it deems appropriate to include.

### 2.19 Student Research Activities on Security and Defence Issues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student Name</th>
<th>Type of Activity (Thesis/dissertation)</th>
<th>Activity Description/Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alhaji Bah</td>
<td>PhD Thesis</td>
<td>A Regional Security Architecture for West Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eric Grahn</td>
<td>PhD Thesis</td>
<td>The English School of International Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ross Strick</td>
<td>PhD Thesis</td>
<td>The OAS Human Rights Regime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ysbrant Marcelis</td>
<td>MA</td>
<td>European Identity and the ESDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Adinal</td>
<td>Dissertation</td>
<td>Information Warfare and Culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isacc Larson</td>
<td>Thesis</td>
<td>Tier II SOF Capability for the CF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruno Charbonneau</td>
<td>PhD Thesis</td>
<td>French military assistance to, and intervention in, African states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tudor Onea</td>
<td>PhD Thesis</td>
<td>Military intervention for humanitarian purposes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Todd Hataley</td>
<td>PhD Thesis</td>
<td>The Canadian-American border as a security issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrea Charron</td>
<td>PhD Thesis</td>
<td>United Nations, Responsibility to Protect and a Duty to Prevent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Rostek</td>
<td>PhD Thesis</td>
<td>A Cosmopolitan Military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michelle Kai</td>
<td>MA Thesis</td>
<td>Prisoners of War and International Law post-Iraq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew Williams</td>
<td>PhD Thesis</td>
<td>Defence Industries: Transatlantic Cooperation and Competition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Fragiskatos</td>
<td>MA Thesis</td>
<td>Ethnic Conflict and International Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Research Activities on Security and Defence Issues</td>
<td></td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LCol David Miller, USAF, Visiting Defence Fellow</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Graduate Research Paper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The Impact of Canada’s Strategic Culture on the Future of North American Security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LCol Jeffrey Turner, US Army Visiting Defence Fellow</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Graduate Thesis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear Terrorism and North American Security Relationships</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LCol John Anderson, CDN Forces Visiting Defence Fellow</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Graduate Research Paper</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Soft Power</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LCol Ulrich Scholz, German Air Force Visiting Defence Fellow</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Graduate Research Paper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The European Union: an International Actor? A Critical Review of the EU’s Foreign and Security Policy</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Goal #3: Adequate awareness of security and defence issues among general public**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media Contact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.20</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of media interviews (print, broadcast, etc).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111 +/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Media Contact**

- **Charles Pentland**
  1) Series of 8 telephone interviews on topics such as Turkey and the EU, The Ukraine Crisis, report of the High-Level Panel on the UN, and Iraq.

- **Louis Delvoie**
  1) Background interview with Paul Knox of the “Globe and Mail” on Pakistan’s nuclear weapons
## Media Contact

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>Interview with the “Manitoban” on the politico-military situation in Iraq, February 5, 2004.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>Interview with Radio Station CJOB, Winnipeg on war and conflict in the 21st century, February 6, 2004.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>Two interviews with Radio Canada International (English and French) regarding the case brought before the International Court of Justice contesting the legality of the security wall being built by Israel to cut it off from the Palestinian West Bank, February 23, 2004.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9) Twelve interviews with CBC Radio stations across Canada on allegations that an Israeli Mossad agent had been apprehended travelling on a stolen Canadian passport, August 4, 2004.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Contact</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10) Seven interviews with CBC Radio stations across Canada on the death and funeral of Palestinian President Yasser Arafat, November 11, 2004.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11) Interview with Radio Canada International on the results of the Palestinian presidential election, January 10, 2005.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Joel Sokolsky

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2) MacLean’s Interview, December 6, 2004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) TVO televised interview on Ballistic Missile Defence, January 2005.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Contact</td>
<td>Sean M. Maloney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Answering questions from National Post, Time Magazine, and CBC on defence issue of the day: BMD, Afghanistan, Iraq, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roch Legault</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kim Richard Nossal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Asahi Shimbun on Canadian-American Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) National Post on Australian Defence Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) <strong>Radio interview with Anthony Germain on US Intelligence failures in Iraq, CBC Ottawa, February 2, 2004.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) <strong>Televised comments on homeland security, Fox 2 News, Detroit, April 1, 2004.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) <strong>Telephone interview with R.J. King, Detroit News, on border security, April 5, 2004.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) <strong>Radio interview with “The Media Line” news agency, for broadcast on US</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**David G. Haglund**

3) **National Public Radio (US) on Canadian-American Relations**

4) **TVO on ballistic missile defence**

5) **Winnipeg radio station on ballistic missile defence**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media Contact</th>
<th>stations, on Canada’s federal election campaign, June 24, 2004</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wayne Cox</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1) 20 Radio interviews – Media consultant for CBC Radio Canada and CBC Radio International as Middle East expert</td>
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<tr>
<td>2) 3 Television interviews as Middle East expert quoted as Professor of Political Studies and Senior Fellow of QCIR</td>
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### Media Contact

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<tr>
<th>2.21*</th>
<th>Number of Op-Ed articles published.</th>
<th>5</th>
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**Joel Sokolsky**


**Robert Wolfe**


3) 8 Print Media interviews as Middle East expert quoted as Professor of Political Studies and Senior Fellow of QCIR
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<th>Media Contact</th>
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*For questions 2.20 & 2.21 please send samples (e.g. op ed piece, newspaper clipping, interview transcript).

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<th>Outreach*</th>
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<tr>
<td>2.22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Description of community speaking engagements (high school visits, town halls) and/or parliamentary outreach (testifying at committee hearings, submitting expert testimony in response to a query), etc.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>QCIR</th>
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<tr>
<td>1) Round Table Forum “Darfur and the Responsibility to Protect”, September 21, 2004, Queen’s University, Kingston. Jane Boulden (QCIR), Robert Shenton (Queen’s – History), Kerim Ousman (QCIR). Audience of 25-30 members of the general public and Queen’s community.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4) **Public Forum:** Visiting speaker author Jennifer Welsh on “At Home in the World”, November 17, 2004. Queen’s University, Kingston. Audience of approx 40 members of the general public, and Queen’s and RMC communities.

5) **Round Table Forum:** “Asia’s Disaster - Canada’s Response”, January 18, 2005. Queen’s University, Kingston. W. Don Macnamara and Kim Richard Nossal (QCIR), Dorma Grant (Red Cross). Audience of approx 15-20 members of the general public and Queen’s community.

5) **Public Forum:** Visiting speaker Hon. Flora MacDonald on “NGOs in Action”, February 8, 2005. Queen’s University, Kingston. Audience of approx 20 members of the general public and Queen’s community.

6) **Round Table Forum:** “The Middle East: Shifting Tectonic Plates”, March 22, 2005. Queen’s University, Kingston. Oded Haklai (Queen’s – Politics), Louis Delvoie and Houchang Hassan-Yari (QCIR). Audience of 25 members of the general public and Queen’s community.

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**Charles Pentland**

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| 2) **Presentation:** “Ukraine’s Election in International Perspective”, Symposium on Ukrainian Election, Kingston, December 11, 2004.  

*Louis Delvoie*  
1) **Lecturer:** Five lectures on “Canada in the World” organized by Later Life Learning, Kingston, March/April, 2004 (Audience of 250-300 members of the general public for each lecture).  

2) **Speaker:** Seminar presentation on “Canadian foreign policy: an identity crisis?” at Trinity College, University of Toronto, January 25, 2005 (Twelve undergraduate students).  

3) **Speaker:** Lecture on Canadians and Americans: Clones or Cousins?” to Queen’s Institute of Lifelong Learning, January 30, 2005 (45 members of general public).  

4) **Speaker:** Luncheon speech to the Canadian Club on the topic “Canadian Foreign Policy: An Identity Crisis?” Kingston, October 14, 2004 (Attendance: approximately 90 members of the general public).  

5) **Participant:** Consultations on security policy with officials of the Dept. of Foreign Affairs jointly organized by QCIR and RMC, Kingston, June 1, 2004 (25 participants – officials, academics and military officers). |
<table>
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<th>Outreach*</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>W. Don Macnamara</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>4) Speaker: “Global Security and Canada’s Interests”, to Queen’s Public Executive Program, Kingston, January 18, 2005.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

| **Joel Sokolsky**                                                        |
| 1) Speaker: to high school classes and at local libraries in West Bridgewater and Norwell, CT, under a local “Futures Grant” program, April & May 2004. |
| 2) Guest: Rhode Island television program on teaching international relations from a Canadian perspective, May 2004. |
Outreach*


Roch Legault
1) Presenter: “La bataille de Québec: été 1759” conférence au 5e groupe de Soutien de Secteur, Québec, octobre 13, 2004

Kim Richard Nossal

David G. Haglund

Robert Wolfe
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<th>Outreach*</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2) Speaker to the Pizza and Power group, Kingston Collegiate and Vocational Institute, Kingston, January 21, 2005, (Audience of high school students).</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Outreach activities are efforts to engage those beyond the regular audience of the centre. As such, they usually do not take place on campus. Centres initiate outreach activities (not the media) although the media may be present to cover the event.
Appendix A: Course Outlines

ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE OF CANADA
WAR STUDIES PROGRAM

War Studies 591
Issues of International and National Security in International Relations:
Changing Conceptions of Security

Course Provider: Jane Boulden
Email: Jane.Boulden@rmc.ca
Office: Girouad 409
Phone: 6742
Office Hours: by appointment

Course Objectives

This course examines the concept of security in its various forms, with particular attention to changes that have occurred since the end of the Cold War. This pursuit acts as a basis for examining a range of developments and ideas as well as levels of analysis. In addition, on completion of the course, students should have developed a strong basis of understanding of the national security approaches of Canada, Britain and the United States.

Mark Breakdown

Class participation 25%
Book Review 25%
Research Paper 50%

Assignments

1. Book Review
Due Date: 18 February 2005

Students are required to write a 10-12 page double-space book review (maximum 3000 words). The review should include a summary of the major themes and findings of the book, and an analysis of them. Footnotes should be used as appropriate. While other sources may be used to supplement the student’s analysis of the author’s work, they are not a requirement. The purpose of the exercise is to demonstrate that you have read and understood the main arguments presented in the book, that you are able to engage in a critical analysis of it, and that you do so in a concise, articulate fashion.
Students may choose from the following books:


2. Research Essay

**Due date: 13 April 2005**

The research essay should not exceed 35 double-space pages (approximately 8,750 words). Students should choose one of the following questions to address.

1. Using two states, undertake a comparative analysis of their national security policy either before and after 11 September 2001, or before and after the end of the Cold War.


2. Choosing one issue area, argue for or against the idea that the concept of national security has or should be expanded beyond its previous, traditional definition. Issue areas include: environment, immigration, justice and human rights, technology.

3. Examine the concept of intervention as an expression of national and/or international security.

4. Choosing one region as a case study, examine the idea of regional security and discuss whether or not it provides a useful approach to analysis of security issues.
READINGS

Week 1, 12 January
Introduction to the Course

Week 2, 19 January
Security as a Concept


Week 3, 26 January
National Security

- Barry Buzan, People, States & Fear, chapters 1-3.
- [Department of Foreign Affairs, International Policy Review (if available).]
- Douglas Ross, Foreign Policy Challenges for Paul Martin,” International Journal, vol. 58, no. 4, Autumn 2003, pp. 533-569. If you get a chance it is also worth looking at the Denis Stairs and other articles in this volume.

Week 4, 2 February
National Security in the United States


**Week 5, 9 February**  
**International Security**


**Week 6, 16 February**  
**International Security**


**Week 7, 2 March**  
**Regional Security**


**Week 8, 9 March**
**Regional Security**


**Week 9, 16 March**
**Human Security**


• Prime Minister Tony Blair, Speech to the Economic Club of Chicago, 5 March 2004. (on Iraq) Available online in a variety of locations, including the BBC: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/3536131.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/3536131.stm) and at the Prime Minister’s Office: [http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/page5.asp](http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/page5.asp)


Week 10, 23 March,
Arms Control, Weapons of Mass Destruction


Week 11, 30 March,
Non-traditional security issues


Week 12, 6 April


Course Provider: Jane Boulden  
Email: Jane.Boulden@rmc.ca  
Office: Girouad 430  
Phone: 6742  
Office Hours: by appointment

Course Objectives

This course involves an examination of the primary theoretical approaches to explaining international relations, especially issues of war and peace between states. The theoretical discussion will be accompanied by study of the practical efforts that have been taken by states, such as the development of international organizations, laws, and norms, and the changes that have occurred in the nature of the state system during that same time. Students should come away from the course with a strong understanding of the major theoretical approaches to international relations, knowledge of the major events and changes in the international system that have prompted new thinking, and an appreciation of the relationship between the two.

ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment One: Book Review  
Due Date: 15 October 2004.

Students are required to write a book review of one of the following books. The review should be a 10-12 page double-spaced essay due by 5:00 on 8 October 2004.


All are available at most bookstores and online at amazon.ca and indigo.ca, and all are available in reasonably priced paperback editions.
Assignment Two: Research Essay
Topic Approval: by 1 October 2004
Due Date: 10 December 2004.

Students are required to complete a research essay, not to exceed 35 double-spaced pages. The essay should be on a topic relating to the theories and issues covered in the course. Students must provide a topic proposal to the instructor for approval by no later than 1 October 2004. In addition, each student will lead a class seminar on his or her research topic.

Mark Breakdown
Class participation 25%
Book Review 25%
Research Paper 50%

READINGS

Week 1:
International Relations as a Field of Study


Week 2:
Idealism and Realism


- Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, class handout.

- Thomas Hobbes, Of the Natural Condition of Mankind as Concerning their Felicity and Misery, class handout.

- Woodrow Wilson, Fourteen Points, online at [http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/1918/14points.html](http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/1918/14points.html).


Questions
i. What are the primary principles outlined by Bull and Morgenthau? How do they use these principles to explain international relations?

ii. How do each of these theories relate to assumptions about human nature?

iii. Which, if any, of these theories or ideas provides a useful explanation for the events surrounding the war against Iraq?

Further Reading

- Carr, E.H., *The Twenty Years’ Crisis*
- Waltz, Kenneth, *Man, the State and War*, 1959.
- Wright, Quincy, *The Study of International Relations*

Week 3:
**Neorealism**


Questions
1. What are the primary differences between realist and neorealist thinking?
2. How is balancing or the balance of power said to work?
3. How effective is Waltz’s defence of the realist approach in the wake of the Cold War?

Further Reading

Week 4:
The Concept and Role of Power


Questions
To what extent does the concept of “power” offer an explanation of state interaction at the international level?
Using power as a predictive value, what shifts or changes in relations between states might we see in the future?

Further Reading


Week 5:

**Explaining Cooperation**


Further Reading

Week 6;
Interdependence and the Role of the Economy


Questions

What are the main links between hegemony and stability?

To what extent is the interdependence argument made by Keohane and Nye an early explanation for globalization?

Do structural explanations and theories provide compelling explanations in international relations?

Further Reading


### Week 7: International Relations of the Developing World

#### Compulsory Reading


#### Questions

1. What changes (political, material, and ideological) in the international system contributed to the emergence of a new political entity called ‘the Third World’? What bodies/groupings were formed by the developing countries to represent their collective (‘Southern’) interests?

2. When, why and how did the Third World coalition pose a serious challenge to the status quo in the international system?

3. Is it still meaningful to refer to a ‘North-South’ divide in international relations?

#### Further Reading

Christopher Clapham, *Third World Politics* (Routledge, 1985) especially chapters 2 and 3 on the nature of the Third World state.


**Week 9:**

**Humanitarian Intervention**

Compulsory Reading


**Questions**

1. On what grounds does the UN Charter permit intervention? (define collective security, regional intervention and other provisions for intervention). Why is it limited in this way?

2. Since the end of the Cold War, has a new moral consensus emerged about international intervention beyond the limits of the Charter? What kinds of intervention have been undertaken? Were there any precedents for this in the period 1945-1990?

3. What is the future of humanitarian intervention? What should it be?
Further Reading

- Hedley Bull (ed.), *Intervention in World Politics*, (Oxford University Press, 1984), selected chapters, but especially 1-3 and 8-10.
- The rest of the ICISS report.

Week 10:  
**Democracy and Democratization**

Compulsory readings:

- Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History*

Questions

To what extent can it be argued that the promotion of democratization in developing countries can be equated with the promotion of Western values, culture and institutions?

Does the timing, method and context of democratization matter?

Was Fukuyama’s prediction premature? Or incorrect?
Further Reading


- Larry Diamond and Juan Linz, and Seymour Lipset (eds.) Democracy in Developing Countries, any or all volumes.


- Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation (Johns Hopkins, 1996), Chapter 1 and relevant country chapters.

- Georg Sorensen, Democracy and Democratization (Westview, 1993).


Week 11:

Terrorism

Compulsory Reading


Questions

What are the main problems and debates associated with defining the concept of terrorism?

Is the actor involved (state, non-state) critical?

What constitutes “new” terrorism? Is the distinction between old and “new” terrorism a valid one?

Further Reading


Week 12:
Iraq


This course is an exploration of the theory and practice of global governance, tracing the emergence of the concept in modern international relations, the academic and public-policy debates to which it has given rise, and its application in the design and work of selected international institutions.

The course sets the discourse and practice of global governance in the context of broader developments in international relations since World War II. It examines institutions and processes of governance in three broad fields of international policy – peace and security, the global economy and the environment. By preparing presentations and papers, each student will be expected to acquire knowledge in depth of one substantive policy issue in at least two of those fields.

Discussion of substantive areas of international governance will be driven by questions about the nature and implications of globalization, the bases for international cooperation, the optimal design of institutions, the prospects for sovereignty and the state system, and the balance to be struck among concerns for effective management, democracy, distributive justice, and international order.

Requirements and Marking Scheme:
Each student will make a presentation (15-20 minutes) to the seminar in one of policy fields identified in the syllabus. The object is not to summarize the required readings, but to identify and comment on the significant issues raised in them, and in further readings on the topic selected in consultation with the instructor.

A paper, 10-12 pages in length, based on the presentation, on the ensuing discussion in class, and on further research and reflection, is due two weeks from the date of the presentation.

Students will also be required to prepare a review-essay of 10-12 pages, based on a book from a list that will be provided. The essay is due one week after the last class of the term.

Ten points are allotted for participation in class.
The final examination will consist of two essays, to be written in two hours. One essay will be a choice of three topics; the other will be compulsory.

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<td>Presentation paper</td>
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<td>(due two weeks after presentation)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Review essay</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>(due one week after last class)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Final examination</td>
<td>40</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
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**Readings:**
Readings are drawn from the following books, all available in the Reserve section of the Stauffer Library (3-hour loan), and from materials collected in the Course Package. Books marked with an asterisk are also for sale in the Campus Bookstore:

* Cooper, A., J. English and R. Thakur (eds), *Enhancing Global Governance: Towards a New Diplomacy*
* Crocker, C., F. Hampson and P. Aall (eds) *Turbulent Peace: the Challenge of Managing International Conflict*
* Held, D. and A. McGrew (eds), *Governing Globalization* (short form in syllabus: Governing)
* Krasner, S. (ed), *International Regimes*

**Weekly Topics:**

1. **The international system: anarchy and order**
   1. *The Westphalian state system*
      Cooper, R. The Breaking of Nations, 3-37
   2. *The development of international institutions*
      Cronin, B., “The Two Faces of the UN: the Tension between Intergovernmentalism and Transnationalism” GG Jan. – March 2002
      Haggard, S. and B. Simmons, “Theories of International Regimes” IO Summer 1987

2. **Governing a Globalizing World**
   1. *Globalization and its forms*
      Garrett, G., “Global Markets and National Politics: Collision Course or Virtuous Circle?” IO Autumn 1998
      Goldgeier, J. and M. McFaul, “A Tale of Two Worlds: Core and Periphery in the Post-Cold War World” IO Spring 1992
2. **Issues of governance**
   Keohane, R., “Governance in a Partially Globalized World” in Held and McGrew, Governing, ch. 16
   Nye, J., “Globalization’s Democratic Deficit” Foreign Affairs July-August 2001
   Scholte, J., “Civil Society and Democracy in Global Governance” GG July-Sept. 2002
   Woods, N. ‘Global Governance and the Role of Institutions”, in Held and McGrew, Governing, ch. 1

3. **Security regimes: managing international conflict**
   1. **Security regimes during the Cold War**
      Stein, J., “Detection and Defection…” IJ Autumn 1985
      Jervis, R., “Security Regimes”, in Krasner
   2. **Security and conflict management after the Cold War**
      In Crocker et al, Turbulent Peace 32
      Knight, A. “The Future of the UN SC”, in Cooper et al, ch. 2
      Makinda, S., “Global Governance and Terrorism” Global Change, Peace and Security February 2003

4. **Security regimes: arms control**
   1. **Classic arms control – the Cold War agenda**
      Smith, R., “Explaining the Non-Proliferation Regime” IO Spring 1987
      Cirincione, J., “The NPT and the Nuclear Balance” Current History May 1995
   2. **Post-Cold War arms control**
      Krause, K., “Multilateral Diplomacy, Norm-Building and UN Conferences: The Case of Small Arms and Light Weapons” GG April-June 2002
      Cameron, M., “Global Civil Society and the Ottawa Process…” in Cooper et al, ch. 5
5. Human security
   1. Human-rights regimes
      Donnelly, J., “Human Rights: a Regime Analysis” IO Summer 1986
      Forsythe, D., “The UN and Human Rights at Fifty: an Incremental but
      Incomplete Revolution” GG Sept.-Dec. 1995
      Edgar, A. “Peace, Justice and Politics: the ICC, the New Diplomacy and
      the UN System” in Cooper et al., ch. 8

   2. Humanitarian intervention
      Ayoob, M., “Humanitarian Intervention and International Society” GG July-
      Sept. 2001
      Welsh, J., C. Thielking and S. MacFarlane, “The Responsibility to
      Protect...” IJ Autumn 2002
      Evans, G., and M. Sahnoun, “The Responsibility to Protect” Foreign
      Affairs Nov.-Dec. 2002

6. Managing the global economy: trade
   1. The trade regime from the GATT to the WTO
      Winham, G., “GATT and the International Trade Regime” IJ Autumn 1990
      Ruggie, J., “International Regimes: Embedded Liberalism...” in Krasner
      Steinberg, R., “In the Shadow of Law or Power?: Consensus-Based
      Bargaining In the GATT/WTO” IO Spring 2002

   2. Current trade issues
      Drake, W. and K. Nicolaidis, “Ideas, Interests and Institutionalization:
      Trade in Services and the Uruguay Round” IO Winter 1992
      Das, D., “The Global Trading System from Seattle to Doha” IJ Autumn
      2002
      Esserman, S. and R. Howse, “The WTO on Trial” Foreign Affairs Jan.-
      Feb. 2003
      Sell, S., “Intellectual Property Rights”, in Held and McGrew, Governing,
      ch. 8
      Bhagwati, J., “Don’t Cry for Cancun”, Foreign Affairs Jan-Feb 2004

7. Managing the global economy: financial institutions
   1. The Bretton Woods system and after
      Cohen, B., “Balance-of-Payments Financing”, in Krasner
      IJ Spring 1992

   2. International financial institutions - current issues
      Feldstein, M., “Refocusing the IMF” Foreign Affairs March-April 1998
      Scholte, J. “Governing International Finance”, in Held and McGrew,
      Governing, ch. 9

8. Development
1. Multilateral development institutions
   UNDP, “Globalization with a Human Face”, in Held and McGrew, GTR chapter 32
   Therien, J., “Multilateral Institutions and the Poverty Debate” IJ Spring 2002

2. Issues of economic justice
   Busumtwi-Sam, J., “Development and Human Security” IJ Spring 2002
   Haufler, V., “Industry Regulation and Self-Regulation: the Case of Labour Standards” in Cooper et al, ch.10
   Fieldhouse, D., “The West and the Third World” in Held and McGrew, GTR

9. Managing the global environment
1. The global environmental regime: Stockholm to Rio
   Yearley, S., “Environmental Issues and the Compression of the Globe”, in Held and Mcgrew GTR ch. 37

2. Environment and development
   Biermann, F., “Institutions for Scientific Advice: Global Environmental Assessments and Their Influence in Developing Countries” GG April-June 2002

10. Environment: the oceans and the atmosphere
1. The law of the sea

2. **The atmosphere: ozone layer and global warming**
   Haas, P., “Banning CFCs: Epistemic Community Efforts to Protect Atmospheric Ozone” IO Winter 1992

11. **Environment, technology, culture**
   1. **The global health regime**
      Paarlberg, R., “The Global Food Fight” Foreign Affairs May-June 2000

2. **Communications and culture**
   Krasner, S., “Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier” World Politics April 1991
   Thompson, J., “The Globalization of Communication”, in Held and McGrew GTR ch. 18
   Herman, E. and R. McChesney, “The Global Media” ibid ch. 19
   Smith, A., “Towards a Global Culture?” ibid ch 21

12. **Global governance: models, scenarios, prospects**
   1. **Theoretical perspectives reconsidered**
      Gilpin, R., “A Realist Perspective on International Governance” in Held and McGrew Governing, ch. 11
      Held, D. “Cosmopolitanism: Ideas, Realities and Deficits” ibid ch.15

2. **Prospects**
   Thakur, R., “Security in the New Millennium” in Cooper et al, ch.15
   Woods, N., “Good Governance in International Organizations” GG Jan. – March 1999
Course Overview:

Political 260 is a basic introductory course in the study of International Relations (IR). This course is designed to give students the background and analytical skills required for more advanced studies in IR. As an introduction to the field of study, POIS 260 examines the various definitions of what the field is, what its central concerns should be, which analytical tools are best-suited to the job, what theories are used for, and why the field of study evolved the way it did. An emphasis will be made to relate this to 20th and 21st Century world events up to and including, the war in Iraq. An analysis of those events will be provided in the lectures (Le. a background in history is not required).

The first half of POLS 260 is designed to familiarize students with the issues and approaches essential to the study of IR - questions of war and peace, national security, the role of the 'state', foreign and defence policy, gender and international relations, and international institutions. Students will be introduced to the major conceptual debates in the field of IR, and relate these 'world descriptions' to world events. A special emphasis will be placed upon the role that the United States has played from the World Wars,
throughout the Cold War, into the post-Cold War, and its present position as the leader in the 'war against terrorism'.

The second half of POLS 260 will cover the International Political Economy (IPE). This half will be fully integrated with the first half, but will focus upon such themes as regionalism, globalization, alternative approaches, case-studies, and contemporary issues. The final few weeks of POLS 260 will tie the two terms together.

Requirements and grading:
In the Fall Term, each student will be required to complete a research assignment, will be given a grade for tutorial work, and write a mid-term examination. First term grading will be as follows:

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<tr>
<th>Requirement</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
<td>Tutorial Group</td>
<td>10%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research Assignment</td>
<td>30%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mid-Term Exam</td>
<td>60%</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total (first term)</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
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Essays and grading:
Students will have a choice of topics for their research assignment, but the overall format of the assignment will be extremely formalized. The assignments will be available in your tutorial groups after the second week of classes, and assignments are due in class on Tuesday November 2, 2004.

Very serious late penalties will be imposed upon all late assignments. Fairness of grades is extremely important in such a large class. All grading will be done by the teaching assistants, and each and every grade will be reviewed by the professor.

Lateness and penalties:
All late assignments will receive a penalty of 5% per day late, until the end of the third day when the assignment will be given a penalty of 30% (of 100%). If the assignment is still late, it will be docked a further 5% per day.

Late penalties begin immediately after (i.e. 1 second after), the end of the class in which the assignment is due.

Only the Lead TA can grant extensions, and extensions can only be granted in cases of a serious illness, serious accident, or a death in the family. Full documentation is required with a request for an extension, and the extension will only be granted once that documentation can be confirmed (i.e. only after the Lead TA or the professor has spoken personally to your doctor, etc.). In the unfortunate event of serious illness or tragedy, it is the student's responsibility to get the assignment to the professor directly. Electronic versions of assignments, essays slid under office doors, or delivered by taxi to the professor's home will NOT BE ACCEPTED.
Grade appeals:
PO'L.S 260 has a formal grade appeal process. The appeal process will be the following **IN ALL CASES.** If a student is unhappy with their grade, they must first discuss the essay and its grade with their teaching assistant. You cannot go and discuss your paper until at least three full days after the assignments are returned to you. The discussion with your TA is to ensure that the student is fully aware of the grade assigned, and the comments made by the grader. However, TA's cannot arbitrarily change grades because all essay grades have already be reviewed by the professor. If you are still unhappy with your grade, you must then take an unmarked (i.e. clean) copy of your paper, as well as the graded copy in a sealed envelope to the Lead TA. Should the Lead-TA's evaluation of the clean version of the paper be greater or less than 5% of the grade assigned, you must accept the revised grade (even if it is lower). The Lead TA will then bring the paper to the professor who will review it, and formally change the grade. **No student, in any circumstance, can appeal directly to the professor for a review or change of grade.** If a student is still unhappy with their grade at the end of the second term, then they may use the University's formal appeal process as described in the university calendar.

Discussion/Research Groups:
Discussion groups account for 10% of student's grades in POLS 260. As such, it is **strongly recommended that students attend groups regularly.** Questions for group discussions are provided in this course outline. The groups will relate current events to course material, will be opened to student questions about course material, and will review the course readings. Grades are not assigned for attendance alone. Grades will be assigned based upon the degree to which a student is prepared for the groups, knowledge of the course readings and lecture material, constructive contributions to the group discussions, and respect for your peers. Just showing up and talking off the top of your head will not assure you high grades. Furthermore, destructive participation like rudeness, dominating discussions, or lateness will lower your grades. If you miss a group, a grade of zero will be assigned for that week and make-ups will not be allowed. Keep this in mind because if you only show up half of the time and your performance in the group is OK (but not great), then your group mark will only be 30% at best.

Lectures and required reading:
The lectures and readings are designed to work together. The lectures will synthesize a great deal of material that you cannot get by doing the readings alone. It is best to have the readings completed **BEFORE** the lectures. Your discussion groups will review the reading material - **when time permits.** Should you experience difficulties with the readings, you are encouraged to ask your tutor, or use the professor's office hours to discuss these problems. As the year progresses, more of the lectures will be presented in a formal, argumentative format. This is designed to provoke thought on the part of the student, and become the basis for group discussions. None of this normative approach can be gained through the readings.
Required Texts:
There will be a single text for both terms, as well a course reader in the Winter Term. The readings are designed to be a compliment to the lectures, not a replacement for them. Missing a lecture does not mean that it can be made up by readings alone. At the same time, you will need the reading material in order to make full use of the lectures. Some of your examination questions will be based entirely on the reading material, and some of it entirely on the lecture material. The course reader is for use in the 2nd term, and will not be available until late in the Fall Term.

Texts:
- POLS 260 Course reader. Available at the campus bookstore later in the term (mostly for use during Winter Term).

Section One: Defining International Relations

Each week comes with a set of questions to consider while you read and prepare for the tutorial groups. These questions may also help while preparing for the mid-term examination.

Week 1 Introduction to POLS 260

Tuesday 14
Lecture: Introduction to POLS 260. What is International Relations?

Thursday Sept 16
Lecture: 20th Century History and the Evolution of a Field: A) 1900-1950

Readings:
- Stephen Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories", from Mingst and Snyder, pp. 4-10

Q. What the implications of using history as the basis of ‘fact’ when developing theories of world politics? Does history come with preferences of its own? If so, what are they?

Week 2 History and IR - The 'Real World'

Tuesday Sept 21
Thursday Sept 23
Lecture: IR as a History of War and Competition; or IR as a History of Peace and Cooperation

Readings:

Q. We often hear that the history of world events is one of great clashes and competitions between societies over the years. Does this imply that power politics (realpolitik) is the basis of international relations? What is left out when we make such assumption? Is it not possible that there has been at least as much cooperation as there has been conflict over the years? Why do we not focus upon the cooperation instead?

Section Two: The Multiple Lenses of IR

Week 3 Realism versus Idealism - a Debate?

Tuesday Sept 27
Lecture: Realism and Idealism

Thursday Sept 30
Lecture: Realism and the Cold War - The Elvis Analogy

Readings:
- Michael Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," from Mingst and Snyder, pp. 73-85.

Q. Was it correct to assume that states are the most important actors in global politics in 1918, or was it merely a reflection of the times? Does state power and conflict outcomes determine all that is important in world politics? Were idealists just 'dreaming' when they thought that a power higher than the sovereign state could actually bring peace to the world?

Week 4: Realist Domination and the Cold War - International Relations or Western Foreign Policy?

Tuesday October 5
Lecture: Realist Hegemony in the 1950s to Those wacky 1960s - Elvis rules, to Elvis is no longer 'The King'
Thursday October 7
Lecture: What were the Alternatives to Power Politics during the Cold War?

Readings:
- John Mearsheimer, 11 Anarchy and the Struggle for Power", Mingst and Snyder, pp. 54-72.
- Headly Bull, "Does Order Exist in World Politics?", from Mingst and Snyder, pp. 120-123.

Q. Given what you now know about the way many saw world politics at the height of the Cold War in the 1950's, has this type of 'world view' really gone away, or does it still exist In theoretical terms (realist or idealist) how would label the current 'War Against Terrorism' and the way the US conducts itself today?

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Week 5: Into the 19708 and 1980s - The development of multiple lenses for IR

Tuesday October 12
Lecture: The Development of a Global Hegemonic Order under US Leadership - some say Elvis is dead while others claim he is alive

Wednesday October 14
Lecture: Other Axes of Conflict: Decolonization, Underdevelopment and the Pluralist Challenge

Readings:
- Keep reading John Mearsheimer, 11 Anarchy and the Struggle for Power", from Mingst and Snyder, pp. 5+-72.
- Andre Gunder Frank, liThe Development of Underdevelopment," from Mingst and Snyder, pp. 86--93.

Q. Is IR better off as a single paradigm, or does it offer better insights into global politics with a series of contending perspectives? Do the alternatives to realism effectively address the limitations that the classical approach had in the fist place? If so, how? Could it be argued that the newer approaches to IR are simply addressing what was left out of the field back in 1918?

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Week 6: Pluralism Expanded - Is IR really only about War and Peace?

Tuesday October 19
Lecture: A Liberal perspective of the interrelationship between economics and peace - who are the central actors?

Thursday October 21
Lecture: Power, Interdependence, and Integration: Non-State Actors in Global Politics
Readings:
- Michael Doyle, "liberalism and World Politics", from Mingst and Snyder, pp. 73-85.
- Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics: Introduction" and "Human Rights Advocacy Networks in Latin America," from Mingst and Snyder, pp. 335-346.

Q. Is human cooperation at the global level a 'learned behaviour'? If so, can we trust states to teach us how to cooperate when they spend a good deal of their time preparing for war? If we can't expect states to teach us how to cooperate, then who/what can we expect to do this? Is the claim of the states' to have the legitimate use of force and spend portions of our national wealth on militaries really needed, or is it just a mechanism that empowers certain elites in our societies? Have non-state actors like social movements and economic marketplaces done a better job of promoting global cooperation that states have? If so, why do we need states anyway?

Week 7: The 19808, the 'New Cold War', the end of the Cold War, and what it all means for IR.

Tuesday October 26
Lecture: Reagan, Thatcher, and Neorealism

Thursday October 28
Lecture: The origins of Neoliberalism and Globalization

Readings:

Q. Was the rebirth of the Cold War in the 19808 really about power-politics, or was it more about only the interests of a few powerful people and groups (some Republicans in the US, the Soviet Politbureau, the British Conservative Party, the McDonnel Douglas Corp.)? Is the world a more stable place under the leadership and domination of one (or two) great powers? If so, what gives them the right to lead?

Week 8: National Security in a Globalizing World - Post-Sept. 11

Assignments are Due in Class
Tuesday November 2, 2004
Tuesday November 2 (don’t forget to vote US citizens)
   Lecture: Globalization and Terror

Thursday November 4
   Lecture: A Clash of Civilizations, or a Clash of Ignorance?

Readings:

Q. How are we living in an increasingly state-less world, what implications does this have for issues of peace and security? What implications does this have in terms of conflicts and wars? If states attempted to regain the power and influence they have lost to the process of globalization (clearly defined borders, less dependence upon other states and societies, more national and less international economic activity, etc.), would this be a safer world? Is the 'War on Terror' a real war, or is it a symptom of the negative consequences of the globalized world that we have created for ourselves?

Section Three: Topics in IR

Week 9: Gender and IR - 1.) The Security Dimension

Tuesday November 9
   Lecture: Gender and Guy-R's focus upon security

Thursday November 11
   Lecture: Women and War into the 21st C: and you thought war was about the 'boys with their toys’?

Readings:
- Cynthia Enloe, "The Personal is International", from Mingst and Snyder, pp. 202-207.
- J. Ann Tickner, "Man, the State and War: Gendered Perspectives on National Security", from Mingst and Snyder, pp. 94-101.

Q. Some have argued that the study of international relations is a 'gender neutral' field of study. What is implied in such a claim, and what impact does it have upon the way we analyze world events. If war effects women's lives differently from the way it effects men's lives, then what sort of agents (or units of analysis) are required in order to bring
this difference more sharply into focus? Why has the concept of ‘power politics’ been deemed by so many to be masculine (hence the label Guy-R)? If IR does have male-centered assumptions and preferences, then what would a non-male centered perspective of world politics look like?

**Week 10: Security in the Post-9/11 World**

**Tuesday November 16**
Lecture: *Terrorism and 9/11 in a Global and Historical Perspective*

**Thursday November 18**
Lecture: *The war in Iraq - Hegemonic (in) Stability?*

**Readings:**
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism", in Mingst and Snyder, pp. 367-381.

Q. Some scholars and pundits in the post-9/11 world have tried to portray the attack against the US and the new American emphasis upon anti-terrorism as a clash between Eastern and Western civilizations. In this argument, there are at least two cultural and political worlds that adhere to radically different sets of values and objectives. September 11 is merely a reflection of what can happen when these values conflict. Others have suggested that such an argument is at best ethnocentric, and at worst, racist. For some at least, the idea that this is a clash of civilizations implies that all terrorists are non-western, that terrorists are representative of the non-western world, and that there is somehow widespread support of acts like 9/11 throughout the non-western world. Others still have suggested that 9/11 is at least in part a by-product of aggressive role the US has played as a hegemon in world politics for the past 50 years, and at least in part a result of the globalization process which has been supported largely by the US government and American led western capitalism. Which of these explanations is more feasible, and why?

**Week 11: Canada as an Actor in World Politics**

**Tuesday November 23**
Lecture: *Canada’s ‘power as an actor, and a foreign policy of multilateralism?*

**Thursday November 25**
Lecture: *Canada-US Relations in the Post 9/11 World*

**Readings:**
Q. Is there something about Canada’s size and position in world politics that compels us to put great faith in institutions like the UN and participate in peacekeeping/enforcing roles? Or are we just very nice people? Is Canada's image as a 'Dudley-Do-right' justified, or is it (at least in part) a part of myth imposed upon us by policymakers who are more interested using Canada's international role to foster national unity at home?

Week 12: The Term in Review - What is IR?

**Monday Nov 24**
Lecture: IR as a Whole - A Field of Study, or just Current Events and half-baked Concepts?

**Wednesday Nov 26**
Lecture: Study for Mid-Term Examination

**Readings:**
No readings this week. Time to study.

Q. Are there any common themes or topics throughout this term that tie the study of IR together? In your opinion, what are the ten most important concepts/definitions to IR? Some hints: the state, power, realism, idealism, neorealism, balance of power, integration, interdependence, foreign policy, underdevelopment, decolonization, plur-alliances, the Cold War, hegemony, hegemonic stability, regionalism, globalization, international institutions, anarchy, sovereignty, the nation-state, the multinational state, the military-industrial complex, the security dilemma, neomarxism, Thatcherism, Reaganism, the 'New World Order', transnationalism, non-state actors, the UN, NATO, NORAD, OAS, Warsaw Pact, among others..
Queen's University
Department of Political Studies

POLS 260
Introduction to International relations - International Political Economy
Winter Term 2005

Instructor: Wayne S. Cox
Office: MC-C304
Office Hours: Tuesdays 10:30-Noon, Wednesdays 11:30-1:00
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Course Overview:

The objectives of this half of the course are to familiarize students with the issues and approaches of the International Political Economy - integration, regionalism, globalization, and issues of underdevelopment. Students will be confronted with some of the key questions found in this field of study - themes such as: does the recent trend towards regional economic blocs come at a cost for the world's poor (or will it eventually help them), does the seeming integration of regional and world markets wither away the traditional roles of states in world politics (or does it make them stronger), why does this 'so called' integrated global village have so many national and regional groups who persist in the violent struggle towards state-hood (or are they just more obvious in the absence of the Cold War), and, what tools are most appropriate for students of international relations that will allow them to grasp fully the interrelationship between politics and economics at a global level (or do the traditional tools still work)? In order to effectively address these questions in reference to the 'real world', the course will conclude with a series of lectures that examine these issues through case-studies. These lectures will provide arguments that show how a type of analysis will force the observer to see events in a certain way, to give preference to some issues while underplaying others, and to display the various ways in which scholars and students of international relations create their own world view.

Texts and Readings:

We will continue to use the Mingst and Snyder text, Essential Readings in World Politics: 200 Edition (2004) this term.

A reading package of various articles and chapters is required. This package entitled POLS260 Reader is available in the campus bookstore.
Course Requirements and Evaluation:

Students will be required to write one 10-12 page, typed, double-spaced research paper this term. Grades will be given for discussion group attendance and participation. The remainder of your grade will come from the final examination. The breakdown for your term grade will be as follows:

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<tr>
<th>Component</th>
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<tr>
<td>Discussion Group</td>
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<td>Research Essay</td>
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<td>Final Exam</td>
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Total + 2 = second term 50%
Total 50%, plus first term grade for your final grade

Essays and grading:

Essay topics can be the same as the topic of your First Term research assignment. If that is the case, you do not need approval to proceed. Students may also propose a new topic based upon the issues covered in the 2nd term of POLS 260, but this topic must be approved by your professor (not by your TA). Should the same essay be handed in by two or more students, BOTH (or all) WILL BE GIVEN A GRADE OF ZERO.

PLAGIARISM

All TAs, the Head TA and the professor will search through all essays to look for instances of PLAGIARISM. Essay writing services will be checked, essay topics in related courses will be checked, professors in other courses will be contacted if duplications are suspected, and parts of texts will be entered into web-based electronic search drivers to ensure that no plagiarized essays are graded. Please see the undergraduate calendar if you are unsure as to what constitutes plagiarism. Several students have been caught plagiarizing in each of the last five years in POLS 260 because we check so carefully. We will continue to search thoroughly and enforce penalties to their full extent.

POLS260 does have an appeal process for those students who are unhappy with their grades. The appeal process will be the same as in the first term. Fairness of grades, and grading consistency is extremely important to POLS260, and as a result, these
Lectures and Required Reading:

The readings are intended to provide students with the background material needed to get the most out of the lectures. As such, the lectures will not be simply a duplication of the readings. This means that students who do not attend the lectures will not be able to make this up through the readings alone. Likewise, those who attend the lectures without having done the readings may experience difficulties. It is strongly advised that students complete the readings before the lectures, and the discussion groups will generally discuss the readings the week after the lectures.

SECTION A: WHAT IS IPE?

January 10, Week One:
What is IPE and how does it relate to the study of International Relations?

Q. What are the implications of thinking of IPE as just IR with a focus on economic issues? Does this “add economics and stir” definition come with limitations? If so, what are they? Is it possible to think of world politics without discussing states (or countries) at all? If so, what does that vision of the world look like?

Lecture: Introductory Session

Lecture: The historical evolution of IPE in relation to world politics in the 20th Century

Readings:


January 17, Week Two:
One Great Big Huge World - IPE as an Economic System

Q. What gets overlooked when we only think of world politics in state terms? Is it possible that states are not always sovereign, rational, independent actors and are just as often merely products of a much bigger and more powerful system? If so, how do we know when to view things from the perspective of state-based politics, and how do we know when to view things as part of a larger system (for example, world capitalism)? What are good examples of the limits imposed upon states by larger political and economic systems?
Lecture: *World Capitalism: Bretton Woods and the Post-War Developed World*

Lecture: *World Capitalism: Colonialism, post-colonialism and the Developing World*

Readings:
- S. Strange, "States, Firms, and Diplomacy", from Frieden and Lake, in your course reader, pp. 60-69.

January 24, Week Three:

**Two, no three, no four**

**Great Big Huge Worlds**

Q. We often hear that the world is getting smaller, more integrated, and more and more interdependent. At the same time, we hear that the gap between the rich and poor countries is getting larger, the gap between rich and poor within countries is getting larger, and economic development and a booming global economy is only for the benefit of some. Can both of these things be happening at the same time? If so, are the two related?

Lecture: *Advanced Stages of Capitalism and the Fordist Crisis of Declinism*

Lecture: *Regionalism and economic blocs - why, and in who's interest?*

Readings:
- Wallerstein, "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System:”, in Mingst and Snyder, pp. 130-137.

January 31, Week Four:

**Hegemony and IPE - what's in a label?**

Q. If world politics is dominated by a single great power (the United States) in the postCold War era, does the US always get its way internationally? Some have argued that US hegemony has been declining steadily since the 1950s. Others have argued that while US military and economic power has diminished, there are other forms of power that keep the US dominant. If this is true, what are those other forms of power?

Lecture: *State Hegemony-"Big countries beat up little countries and take all their stuff..."*

Lecture: *Ideological Hegemony - U A few powerful people in big countries convince a few powerful people in little countries that it is best if most people in little countries give away their stuff, and soon everyone just figures that this is normal so nobody really ever*
thinks much about it anymore"

Readings:
- B. Eichengreen, "Hegemonic Stability Theories of the International Monetary System", in your course reader, 221-244.

February 7, Week Five:

**Globalization**

Q. If economic globalization has accelerated the impoverishment of many, then why are so many states and non-state actors so interested in expanding the globalization project? If economic globalization has increased global wealth and prosperity, then why are so many opposed to the neoliberal emphasis upon downsizing, rightsizing, increased trade, balanced budgets, government cutbacks, and the internationalization of production and consumption?

Lecture: *Globalization in its historical context - from nation-states to world markets*


Readings:
- D. Held and A. McGrew, "Globalization", from Mingst and Snyder, pp. 462-470

February 14, Week six

**Your Essays**

Q. In the few years since 9/11, we have been told over and over again how security is the key issue facing the US and its allies in 21st Century world politics. All of the talk in the 19908 about globalization, economic competitiveness, downsizing, just in time production, etc., has been replaced by colour-coded alert levels, freedom fries, racial profiling, homeland security, the War in Iraq, etc. However, in political-economic terms, did anything really change after 9/11? Has the Canada/US border and the US/Mexico border really changed? If it has, for whom/what? Was Edward Luttwack correct when he asserted that in issues of world politics, security always trumps trade?
Lecture: About those 2nd Term Research Papers.

Lecture: Security versus Economics - Has 9/11 Changed Anything? The Case of North America

Readings:
- T. Friedman, "The Backlash" from Mingst and Snyder, pp. 471-476.

February 21, READING WEEK
NO CLASSES

SECTION B: SAMPLE CASE STUDIES IN IPE

February 28, Week Seven:

*** ESSAYS DUE IN CLASS THURSDAY MARCH 3, 2005 ***

The Globalization versus the Regionalization of Production

Q. We tend to think of globalization as something very recent (a post Cold-War phenomena). Is it possible that the evolution toward a truly global political economy is something that has been going on since the industrial revolution (mid. 19th C.)? What are the consequences of thinking of globalization in very 'long-cycle' terms? Both in definitional terms, and in rhetorical terms, globalization and regionalism appear to be contending processes. Is it possible that they are different facets of the same process? If so, how?

Lecture: Multinationals, trade regimes, integration and interdependence - an argument suggesting the end of a world order of states

Lecture: The emergence of the 'local' and the limits of multinationalism - is regionalism a state-based project?

Readings:
March 7, Week Eight

Turkey: East meets West, Developed meets Developing

Q. What is the significance of Turkey's debate over its 'Eastern' and 'Western' orientation? If 20th Century Turkey views the establishment of 'modern' Turkey along the lines of the western democratic developed model, and it emphasizes economic development and Western integration as requirements for its success, then what does this tell us about 'Western Hegemony'? If economic development and Turkish nationalism are linked, then is globalization necessarily as much political as it is economic?

Lecture: The development of Turkey through the 20th Century - From Great Empire, to a marginal state, to European integration.

Lecture: Economic development as part of a state-based nationalist project - the politics of political economies of scale

Readings:
- Ozay Mehmet, Chapter 6, "Turkish etatism: Creation of a non-competitive economy", from, Islamic Identity and Development: Studies of the Islamic Periphery, 1990, in your course reader, pp. 126-149.
- Ozay Hehmet, Chapter 10, "Privatizing the Turkish Economy", in your course reader, pp. 203-218.

March 14, Week Nine:

Aircraft Production - Globalization or Regionalization?

Q. What role (if any) should the state play in the marketplace when that marketplace is global? Has the evolution of aircraft production become the America versus Europe battleground that could represent a significant aspect of global relations in the 21st Century? Has the evolution of regional aircraft production become the North versus South American battleground that could also represent a significant aspect of global politics in the 21st Century? What roles should states play in this industry?

Lecture: Production consolidation in the America, consortium building in Europe - Boeing versus Airbus, Lockheed versus the European cooperatives

Lecture: The role of the state in the regional aircraft market - Bombardier, EMBRAER, and others.

Readings:
SECTION C: SOME MAJOR ISSUES IN IPE

March 21, Week Ten:  
Gender and the International Division of Labour

Q. Generally, women have a shared experience of playing a subordinate role in the politics and economies of most states in the world. Some have argued that development programs have often led to a worsening of the economic conditions for women globally - especially in developing countries. As such, is IPE ripe for a variety of new perspectives than can bring these issues more sharply into focus? Is IPE (with its emphasis upon the links between economic and global political relations) the place to begin to think of a world not merely of state relations, but a world of gendered relations?

Lecture: Gender and IPE - a window for a critical discourse, or the appropriation of radical politics in the (de)politicizing interests of the mainstream?

Lecture: Women in the developed and developing economies - can shared experiences lead to an alternative world view?

Readings:
- Marianne Marchand, "Gendered Representations of the 'global': Reading/Writing Globalization", in your course reader, pp. 218-230.

March 28, Week Eleven:
The Political Economy of War and Peace

Q. Even with the absence of a Cold War, a huge proportion of government spending in both developed and developing societies continues to be spent on militaries and weapons production. Is it fair to think of military spending only in state terms, or should we be looking at this issue in a larger (global) sense? Should we also consider the impact that states play in both their domestic and the global economy through military spending? What are the advantages/ disadvantages of
taking a model designed to examine IPE and applying that model to the traditional IR realist concerns of war and peace? Is this good for both IR and IPE?

Lecture: The business of Cold War politics and war production - Realpolitik as the consequence of the military-industrial complexes

Lecture: Turkey's Kurdish War through the lenses of a radical political economist

Readings:
- M. Gunter, Chapter 7, "Transnational Influences", in your course reader, pp. 123-128.

April 14: Week Twelve
IPE/IR revisited

Q. So far, IPE has remained a sub-field of the larger study of international relations. As we have seen, there are a variety of ways of defining IPE, as well as a variety of perspectives within. What are the limits of 'parceling up' the subject matter of international relations into global state relations (IR), and global economic relations (IPE)? Can the two be integrated, or is the field better off divided?

Lecture: Putting Humpty Dumpty back together again – IR/IPE as a 'whole'

No Lecture on Wednesday. I will come to discuss the final exam, outline its structure and what is expected, and answer questions.

Readings: None, you should be studying for the final exam.
Students are advised that incomplete standing will be granted only with the permission of the chair of undergraduate or graduate studies (as appropriate) and only where there is a clear demonstration of need. Applications for "Incomplete" standing must be made in the first instance to the instructor on the form available in the General Office. The simple fact of nonsubmission of work does not constitute an application and will result in a grade of zero for that assignment.

Students who feel that there are reasons to have their grades reviewed should follow the steps set out in the Faculty of Arts and Science’s Regulation 13, “Review and Appeal of Grades.”

Assignments and Marks:
Research Proposal 10% - due October 26
Term Essay 40% - due November 23
Final Exam 50%
100%

N.B.: Late essays will be subject to a penalty of two percent per day.

Sources of Readings:
Boulden, J., Peace Enforcement: the UN Experience in Congo, Somalia and Bosnia
Claude, I., Swords into Plowshares (4th ed.)
Damrosch, L. (ed.), Enforcing Restraint
Stubbs, R. and G. Underhill (eds.), Political Economy and the Changing Global Order
(2nd ed.)
These books, as well as photocopies, are on 3-hour loan in the Reserve Section. Photocopied articles are also on reserve at the Publishing and Copy Centre in the JDUC. The Ziring, Riggs and Plano text (abbreviated as ZRP in the outline below) is available in the Campus Bookstore.

Course Outline

A. INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND TO THE UNITED NATIONS

1. The Prehistory of International Organization
   ZRP, ch. 1 (pp. 1-13)
   Claude, ch. 2

2. The League of Nations
   ZRP, chs. 1 (pp. 13-23), 5 (173-4) and 7 (325-7)
   Claude, ch. 3 and Appendix (League Covenant)

3. Origins of the UN
   RP, ch. 1 (pp. 23-8)
   Claude, ch. 4

B. THE UN AND THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

4. The Charter and its Development
   Charter of the UN (Appendix to Claude or ZRP), preamble and chs. 1, 3, 16 & 18
   ZRP, ch. 2 (pp. 31-8)
   Claude, ch. 9
   Annan, K., "The Quiet Revolution", Global Governance, April-July 1998 (photocopy)

5. The UN's Financial Resources and Problems
   ZRP, ch. 2 (pp. 65-72)

6. Membership Issues
   Charter of the UN, ch. 2
   ZRP, ch. 3 (pp. 74-90)
   Claude, ch. 5
C. THE EVOLUTION AND FUNCTIONING OF THE UN’S INSTITUTIONS

7. The General Assembly
   Charter of the UN, ch. 4
   Claude, ch. 7
   ZRP, chs. 2 (pp. 38-55), 3 (pp. 90-6, 101-8, 123-5) and 6 (pp. 272-3)

8. The Security Council
   Charter of the UN, ch. 5
   ZRP, chs. 2 (pp. 55-9), 3 (pp. 96-101, 108-23) and 6 (pp. 269-72)
   Claude, ch. 8

9. The Secretariat and the Secretary-General
   Charter of the UN, ch. 15
   ZRP, ch. 2 (p. 64) and 4
   Claude, ch. 10

10. The International Court of Justice
    Charter of the UN, ch. 14
    ZRP, chs. 2 (pp. 63-4) and 6 (pp. 275-83)
    Statute of the International Court of Justice (photocopy)

D. MAINTAINING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

11. Pacific settlement of disputes
    Charter of the UN, ch. 6
    ZRP, ch. 6 (pp. 264-9, 282-321)
    Claude, ch. 11

12. Collective Security and the Case of Korea
    Charter of the UN, ch. 7
    ZRP, ch. 5 (pp. 167-81, 202-12)
    Claude, ch. 12

13. Classic Peacekeeping: Suez and UNEF
    ZRP, ch. 5 (pp. 213-21, 227-30)
    Claude, ch. 14
14. **Domestic Peacekeeping: ONUC and the Congo Crisis**
   - ZRP, ch. 5 (pp. 221-4)
   - Boulden, ch. 3

15. **The Gulf War: Collective Security Revived?**
   - ZRP, ch. 5 (pp. 181-202)

16. **Peacekeeping after the Cold War: Asia**
   - ZRP, ch. 5 (pp. 235-6, 238-9, 252-6) and 6 (307-8)
   - Ratner, S., “The UN in Cambodia” (Damrosch, ch. 6)
   - Traub, J. "Inventing East Timor", Foreign Affairs July-August 2000 (photocopy)

17. **Peacekeeping after the Cold War: Africa**
   - ZRP, ch. 5 (pp. 232-5, 236, 238, 243-5, 246-8, 250-1
   - Boulden, ch. 4

18. **Peacekeeping after the Cold War: Europe**
   - ZRP, ch. 5 (pp. 239-43, 251-2)
   - Weiss, T. “UN Responses in the Former Yugoslavia: Moral and Operational Choices” Ethics and International Affairs, 1994 (photocopy)
   - Steinberg, J. “International Involvement in the Yugoslavia Conflict” (Damrosch, ch. 1)
   - Boulden, ch. 5

E. **GLOBAL MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT**

19. **Decolonization and Human Rights**
   - Charter of the UN, chs. 11-13
   - ZRP, chs. 2 (p. 62), 8 & 9 (pp. 404-24)
   - Forsythe, D., "The UN and Human Rights: an Incremental but Incomplete Revolution"
   - Global Governance Sept.-Dec. 1995 (photocopy)
20. Economic Development and North-South Issues
   ZRP, ch. 10
   Clapp, J., “The Global Economy and Environmental Change in Africa”
   (Stubbs and Underhill, 16)

21. Global Economic Management: Trade and Money
   Winham, G., "The Uruguay Round and the World Economy" (Stubbs
   and Underhill, 12)
   Pauly, L., “Capital Mobility and the New Global Order” (Stubbs and
   Underhill, 8)

22. The Specialized Agencies: Functionalism in Action
   ZRP, chs. 2 (pp. 59-61) and 9 (pp. 397-404, 424-36, 444-69)
   Claude, ch. 17
   O'Brien, R. "The Agency of Labour in the Changing Global Order"
   (Stubbs and Underhill, 2)

23. UN Conference Diplomacy and Global issues
   ZRP, ch. 7 (pp. 327-36, 345-51, 355-6) and 9 (436-44)
   Fomerand, J., "UN Conferences: Media Events or Genuine
   Diplomacy?" Global Governance May-August 1996 (photocopy)
   Haas, P., UN Conferences and Constructivist Governance of the
   Environment" Global Governance January-March 2002 (photocopy)

24. The UN and the Global System: Summary and Review
   ZRP, ch. 11
   Cronin, B., “The Two Faces of the UN: the Tension Between
   Intergovernmentalism and Transnationalism” Global Governance
   January-March 2002 (photocopy)
   Boulden, J. and T. Weiss, “Tactical Multilateralism: Coaxing America
   Back to the UN”, Survival Autumn 2004
Instructor: David G. Haglund
Office: M-C C329
Hours: Monday 10:00-11:30
       Wednesday 8:30-10:00
Office Hours: Monday and Wednesday 2:00-3:30

Students are advised that incomplete standing will be granted only with
the permission of the chair of undergraduate studies or graduate studies
(as appropriate) and only where there is a clear demonstration of need.
Applications for incomplete standing must be made in the first instance to
the instructor on the form available in the General Office. The simple fact
of nonsubmission of work does not constitute an application and will result
in a grade of zero for that assignment.

This course is intended as an introduction to current issues and controversies in
American foreign policy, with emphasis placed upon varying accounts of how and why
that policy has evolved. As we head off in pursuit of understanding of the doctrinal and
structural underpinnings of American foreign policy, we will from time to time avail
ourselves of "theory." This is not, per se, a theory course, but I have never quite figured
out how to make much headway in the quest for understanding foreign policy (whether it
be of the United States, Canada, or any other country) without at least some minimal
reliance upon theory. In our case, this means both international relations theory and
those conceptual and analytical forays into what some label "foreign policy" theory. I
promise not to overdo things, for as with everything else in life, so it is with theory: you
can have too much of a good thing.

There will be two major assignments. One is the final exam. The other is an essay of a
dozen or so pages that will take the form of a comparative review of the course’s three
required books.

The grade will be determined on the following basis:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Assignment</th>
<th>Weight</th>
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<tr>
<td>Review Essay</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Exam</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Many of you will never have written a review essay, and will be puzzled as to the best way of approaching the task. I will try my best to dispel whatever sense of befuddlement lurks as you contemplate what, really, promises to be a fairly uncomplicated and perhaps even pleasant assignment. Basically, I want you to make an argument that demonstrates two things: 1) that you have read and understood the three books, and 2) that you can identify what you take to be the most useful of the authors' ideas, and play them off against each other in a synthetic and creative fashion. More on this later.

This being a rather large class, there will be limited opportunity for anything resembling proper "seminar-type" discussion. However, I do encourage you to participate in in-class debates. There will be two chief ways of doing this. First, you are cordially invited to intervene at moments during the lectures when such intervention seems opportune -- for instance, I might pose a direct question to the class, or you might be moved to comment upon something I have just said. Secondly, I will try to set aside some time for us to discuss the three books you are required to read.

The required readings are available for purchase from the Queen's bookstore; they will also be available in the Stauffer Library reserve room. In the order in which we will be discussing them, those three books are:


POLS 369*
CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY
Winter 2005

Mondays, 10:00-11:30 a.m.
Wednesdays, 8:30-10:00 a.m.
Macdonald 004

Instructor: Kim Nossal
Office: MC-C318
Office hours: by appointment (call Barb Murphy at 533-6251)
Phonemail: (613) 533-6234
Email: [nossa1k@post.queensu.ca]

http://post.queensu.ca/~nossa1k/pols369/

Students are advised that incomplete standing will be granted only with the permission of the chair of undergraduate or graduate studies (as appropriate) and only where there is a clear demonstration of need. Applications for "Incomplete" standing must be made in the first instance to the instructor on the form available in the General Office. The simple fact of nonsubmission of work does not constitute an application and will result in a grade of zero for that assignment.
Course overview

This introduction to Canadian foreign policy has a number of different, although related, purposes. First, the lectures are designed to provide you with a broad historical knowledge of the evolution of Canadian foreign policy over a number of periods in Canadian history—the Imperial era (down to 1914); the interwar period (1919-1939), the Cold War (1945-1991) and post-Cold War (1991-2001) eras; and the contemporary post-9/11 period—and to expose you to a discussion of some of the enduring issues that Canadians and their government face in global politics. Second, the course is intended to acquaint you with some of the literature in the field of Canadian foreign policy. The written assignments will provide you with an opportunity to hone your research and writing skills and to engage in policy analysis.

Readings

One book on Canadian foreign policy has been ordered for this course:


Please note that while particular chapters from this book have been selected to illuminate some of the lectures and discussions, you should read this book in its entirety at your leisure over the course of the term.

Additional readings have been posted on the POLS-369 website.

I hope that you will find the time to expand your readings on Canadian foreign policy beyond these readings. Over the next 12 weeks, I hope you are able to sample some of the following:

The best histories of Canadian foreign policy are C.P. Stacey’s two-volume set, *Canada and the Age of Conflict*, and John W. Holmes’s two-volume work *The Shaping of Peace: Canada and the Search for World Order, 1943-1957*.

The *Canada Among Nations* series, an annual collection of essays edited by scholars at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University that provides a useful perspective on the year in review. The series was begun in 1984, and thus provides an excellent contemporary historical survey.
The foreign policy process in Canada is covered in Kim Richard Nossal, *The Politics of Canadian Foreign Policy*, 3rd ed. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1997); in addition, see the suggestions for further reading in the Note to Students (pp. xii-xx).

Articles on Canadian foreign policy may be found in *International Journal, Canadian Foreign Policy, Etudes internationales*, and *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, all of which are available at Stauffer library.

**Course Requirements**

Your grade for this course will be based on essay work and a two-hour final examination.

- The essay component of the course will comprise 70 per cent of your final grade. By the last day of class, you will be responsible for having submitted written work totalling 4000-5000 words (15-20 pages at approximately 250 words per page). This may be in the form of one, two, or three essays on appropriate topics in Canadian foreign policy that you will choose in consultation with me. The essay component of your final grade will be allocated on a prorated basis (approximately 3.5 points for each page of text submitted).

- The final exam will be written during the final exam period in April, and will be worth 30 per cent of your final grade. This exam will consist of two parts. The first part, based on the lectures and the readings, is a short-answer section intended to test your general knowledge of Canadian foreign policy. The second part will provide you with an opportunity to engage in foreign policy analysis that explores the trade-offs, constraints, and opportunities that face foreign policy decision-makers. On the last day of class (6 April 2005), I will hand out a list of five quasi-fictional foreign policy scenarios. On the final exam you will be asked to provide your considered policy advice to the Canadian government on one of the scenarios.

**Ground-Rules for POLS-369* Essays**

- There will be three submission points: 16 February, 16 March, and 6 April. Essays submitted on 16 February and 16 March will receive comments and will be returned to you as soon as possible; all essays submitted on 6 April will be evaluated without comments and returned by mail at the end of the academic year to those students who provide a mailing address.
Essays submitted for the 16 February and 16 March deadlines must be submitted in hard copy and also emailed to me at nossalk@post.queensu.ca as a Word file. Essays submitted for the 6 April deadline should be in hard copy only.

Deadlines: papers must be submitted by noon on 16 February and 16 March. Papers received after these deadlines will be deemed to have been submitted by the next deadline. In the interests of equity, a late penalty will be imposed on all papers submitted after noon on 6 April. Late papers received after that deadline without my prior consent will be assessed a late penalty of 5 per cent per day or part thereof (including weekends) until noon on Wednesday, 13 April, after which they will not be accepted at all and a mark of 0 for the assignment will be recorded.

All papers should use the “POLS-369 House Style,” a copy of which is posted on the POLS-369* website, or a recognized academic referencing system.

Plagiarism and other types of academic dishonesty normally carry severe penalties, and ignorance of the rules is not considered exculpatory. Please familiarize yourself with the Senate’s Policy on Academic Dishonesty (available on the Web at www.queensu.ca/secretariat/senate/policies/acaddish.html).

Office hours

Please call Barb Murphy at 533-6251 to make an appointment.

Students with disabilities

Arrangements can readily be made to accommodate students with disabilities. However, you must first register with Disability Services. Go to their website: http://www.queensu-hcds.org/disability.html or call: Michele Chittenden, Co-ordinator for Special Readers’ Services, (613) 533-2833; Steve Cutway, Information Access Specialist (Non-Visual Technologies), (613) 533-6354; Barbara Roberts, Disability Services Advisor, (613) 533-6467 or (613) 533-6000 ext. 77150
TOPIC OUTLINE, 2005

Please note that there is no calendar for the presentation of the lectures; the numbering below does not correspond to the weeks of each term. I begin at the beginning on the first day of class and work towards the end; members of the class are responsible for monitoring the progress of the lectures. Articles indicated below may be found on the POLS-369 website.

1. Introduction - Interests, Goals, Power, and Canadian Statecraft
An outline of the purposes of the course, and a preliminary discussion on the analysis of Canadian foreign policy. This segment of the course examines the purposes of foreign policy, the objectives sought by Canadian governments, and the power they can muster to carry out their objectives. Adam Chapnick, "The Middle Power," Canadian Foreign Policy 7 (Winter 1999), 73-82

2 Creating Order: Canada and International Institutions
Since the Second World War, Canadian governments have always sought to project and protect Canadian interests through multilateral institutions. However, being a smaller country in multilateral coalitions involves particular trade-offs in foreign policy. On the one hand, coalitions provide small states with benefits, such as increased security or the prestige of being 'at the table.' On the other hand, coalition membership severely constrains policy choices. Keating, chaps. 1,2; Don Munton, "Whither internationalism?" International Journal, 58:1 (Winter 2002-2003), 155-80

3. Defending the Realm
Canadian defence policy has always been shaped by the very impossibility of the task. As a result, Canada has sought to rely on great and powerful friends, which has inexorably drawn governments in Ottawa into alliance politics. In the post-Cold War era, defence policy has been complicated by the disappearance of an 'enemy' during the first decade of that era and the emergence of 'terrorism' in the era after September 11, 2001. These lectures survey Canadian defence policy over the last century. Keating, chaps. 3, 6, 9

4. Promoting Peace
If there is one abiding self-image that Canadians have of themselves in international politics, it is that of peacekeeper. It is a comforting, but quite mythological image. We will examine the mythologies of Canada-as-peacekeeper, and examine the numerous occasions in the last century that Canada has gone to war or used force in pursuit of Canadian interests. Keating, chap. 4, 9; Lenard J. Cohen and Alexander Moens, "Learning the Lessons of UNPROFOR: Canadian Peacekeeping in the Former Yugoslavia," Canadian Foreign Policy 6:2 (Winter 1999), 85-102.
5. Searching for Economic Security
One of the most durable of foreign policy concerns of any Canadian government are trade relations with the United States. Canada and the US have the highest cross-border trade flow of all countries in the world, and so it should not be surprising that much of Canada's foreign policy energies have been, and continue to be, directed to managing the trade relationship. This segment looks at the issue of free trade from the earliest days of Confederation to the post-9/11 era. *Keating, chaps. 2, 5.*

6. Protecting Sovereignty
One of the cornerstones of contemporary world politics is the notion of sovereignty, and one of the primary goals of governments is to protect the sovereignty of the political community against the predations of others in the international system. This segment explores the idea of sovereignty and examines the cases of Arctic sovereignty and cultural sovereignty. *Keith Acheson and Christopher Maule, "Canada's Cultural Policies-You Can't Have It Both Ways," Canadian Foreign Policy 4:3 (Winter 1997), 65-81*

7. Protecting the Environment
All countries try to ensure that their environment is secure from threats from others. This segment looks at two cases, acid rain and the Kyoto Accord, as lessons in the difficulty of protecting the environment. *Don Munton, "Add rain and transboundary air quality in Canadian-American relations," American Review of Canadian Studies 27:3 (Fall, 1997), 327-58.*

8. Global Justice- The Case of Human Rights
While Canadians have always been interested in pressing other governments to treat their citizens 'justly,' it has only been in the last 25 years that human rights have come to the fore as a major foreign policy concern. Looking at a number of different cases, from *apartheid* in South Africa to genocide in Rwanda, this segment examines the evolution of Canada's human rights policies, and looks at some of the difficulties with pursuing a consistent and effective human rights policy in contemporary world politics. *Readings TBA*

9. Global Justice- The Case of Development Assistance
Since 1950 Canada, like many other OECD countries, has maintained a commitment to the transfer of wealth from the wealthy to the poor states. This segment examines that policy, its genesis-and what sustains it after fifty years. *Keating, chap. 5.*

10. National Unity-Federalism and Foreign Policy
Canada is unlike all other federal states: the constitution is silent on the rights of the provinces to engage in international activities. In this section we will look at the role of the provinces in international affairs. *Readings TBA*
Instructor: Prof. Joel J. Sokolsky  
Classes: Wednesday 7:00-8:30 P.M. (Lecture)  
Room: Dunning 10  
Thursday 8.30-10.00 Seminars MCB503 or Jeffrey 116  
Office: Room 420 - School of Policy Studies Bldg.  
Telephone: 545-2381 (Queen's Centre for International Relations)  
541-6000 Ex. 6426/6319 (RMC)  
384-4116 (Home)  
Email: sokolsky-j@rmc.ca  
Office Hours: Wednesday 5:30-6:30 (Or by appointment).

### Visiting Defence Fellows

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Officer</th>
<th>Rank/Service</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>External Tel</th>
<th>Internal Tel</th>
<th>Email</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lt Col. David A Miller</td>
<td>US Air Force</td>
<td>Rm 418</td>
<td>533-6621</td>
<td>36621</td>
<td><a href="mailto:millerd@post.queensu.ca">millerd@post.queensu.ca</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lt Col Jeffrey Turner</td>
<td>US Army</td>
<td>Rm 405</td>
<td>533-2385</td>
<td>32385</td>
<td><a href="mailto:turner@post.queensu.ca">turner@post.queensu.ca</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lt Col John Anderson</td>
<td>Canadian Forces</td>
<td>Rm 404</td>
<td>533-2384</td>
<td>32384</td>
<td><a href="mailto:anderj@post.queensu.ca">anderj@post.queensu.ca</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lt Col Ulrich Scholz</td>
<td>German Air Force</td>
<td>Rm 416</td>
<td>533-2386</td>
<td>32386</td>
<td><a href="mailto:scholz@post.queensu.ca">scholz@post.queensu.ca</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Description
This course will examine contemporary American defense policy from a strategic, political, economic and bureaucratic perspective. It begins with a discussion of various concepts and ideas about U.S. defense policy, looks at the post-Cold War era and the War on Terrorism and moves on to consideration of the institutions and processes associated with the making and implementation of defense policy in the United States. Given the current emphasis upon “homeland security,” the course also looks at issues relating to, homeland defence, the strategic defense of North America and security cooperation with Canada on matters such as aerospace and Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD), as well as maritime security issues.

Texts
The following book has been ordered for the bookstore. All other readings) will be on reserve (R) at the Stauffer Library or handed out in class.


Requirements
40% Essay 15-20 pages, due Thursday 18 November.
20% Seminar presentation and participation
40% Final Exam

Students will be assigned one reading during the term to be summarized in one to two pages and presented orally to the seminar.

Students are advised that incomplete standing will be granted only with the permission of the chair of undergraduate or graduate studies (as appropriate) and only where there is a clear demonstration of need. Applications for "Incomplete" standing must be made in the first instance to the instructor on the form available in the General Office. The simple fact of nonsubmission of work does not constitute an application and will result in a grade of zero for that assignment.
Outline

Each Section will cover two weeks of classes except where noted. All Students should do the *asterisk readings in each section. The final exam will be based on these readings and class lectures. Other readings will be assigned for student summaries and seminar presentations and can be used for as initial bibliographies for the essays. All readings are held on reserve at Stauffer Library. The class will meet for lecture on Wednesday evening and seminars led by the Visiting Defence Fellows on Thursday.

I. Perspectives on American and Canadian Defense Policy (Two weeks)
*Hays et. al., Chapters 1-3


II. The Post Cold War Era
*Hays et. al., Chapters 12-15, 19.


* Mandelbaum, Michael, "The Bush Foreign Policy" *Foreign Affairs* 70 (Winter 1990-91).


*Morton, Understanding Canadian Defence, Chapter 5.


III. The Bush Doctrine and the War on Terrorism (Two Weeks)


*Jeffrey Record, Bounding the Global War on Terrorism, (Carlisle, Penn.: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Instituted, 2004).


**IV. The U.S. Defense Policy Bureaucracy and Process**

*Hays et. al. Parts, II -III.*


*Donald H. Rumsfeld, “Transforming The Military,” *Foreign Affairs* 81 (May/June 2002).*


V. The Revolution in Military Affairs


VI. Civil-Military Relations

*Hays et. al., Chapter 17


-Don Snider, “America’s Postmodern Military,” in Hastedt, American Foreign Policy, 8th Edition.

-Thomas G. Mahnken and James R. FitzSimonds “Revolutionary Ambivalence: Understanding Officer Attitudes toward Transformation.” International Security 28 (Fall 2003), R.

VII. Issues in Homeland Security

http://www.psepc-sppcc.gc.ca/national_security/publications_e.asp

*Steven Flynn, “America the Vulnerable,” Foreign Affairs 81 (January/February 2002).


http://www.homelanddefense.org/journal/articles/displayArticle.asp?article=53
VIII. North American Security Issues


QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL STUDIES  

Politics 469  
Canadian Foreign Policy  
Winter 2005

Instructor: Prof. Joel J. Sokolsky  
Classes: Wednesday 7:00-10:00 PM  
Room: Ontario Hall, Room 209  
Office: Room 420 - School of Policy Studies Bldg.  
Telephone: 533-2381 (Queen's Centre for International Relations)  
541-6000 Ex. 6426/6319 (RMC)  
384-4116 (Home)  
Email: sokolsky-j@rmc.ca  
Office Hours: Wednesday 5:30-6:30 (Or by appointment).

Description

This course examines contemporary themes and issues in Canadian Foreign Policy, with an emphasis on Canadian-American relations from a political, economic and strategic perspective.

Texts


Requirements

40% Essay 15-20 pages on a post-1989 topic, due Wednesday 16 March 2005  
20% Article Summary (3-4 pages) and presentation  
30% Final Exam  
10% Seminar Participation.

Students are advised that incomplete standing will be granted only with the permission of the chair of undergraduate or graduate studies (as appropriate) and only where there is a clear demonstration of need. Applications for "Incomplete" standing must be made in the first instance to the instructor on the form available in the General Office. The simple fact of nonsubmission of work does not constitute an application and will result in a grade of zero for that assignment.
Students who feel that there are reasons to have their grades reviewed should follow the steps set out in the Faculty of Arts and Science’s Regulation 13, “Review and Appeal of Grades.”

Outline

All items listed below (books and articles) on held on reserve at Stauffer Library. Students should do the * asterisk readings in preparation for seminar discussion. Other readings will be assigned for student summary and presentation.

I. Approaches to Canadian Foreign Policy: Historical and Analytical Perspectives. (Two weeks)

*Hogg, William, “Plus ca change: Continuity, change and culture in foreign affairs white papers,” International Journal 59 (Summer 2004).


-Gotlieb, Alan, Romanticism and Realism in Canada’s Foreign Policy, Benefactors Lecture, 2004, (Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute, 3 November 2004).


II. Canada U.S.-Relations I: Canadian Perspectives (Two weeks)
*Privy Council 1951, “A Survey of Relations Between Canada and the United States,”


III. Canada-U.S. Relations II: The Views From the South (One week)


IV.  North America Integration? (One week)


*Segal, Hugh, “North American Community: A Prospect To Excite Inspire,” Inroads 13 (Summer/Fall 2003).


-de Boer, “Canadian Provinces, US States and North American Integration: Bench Warmers or Key Players?” Choices 8 (November 2002)


V.  The Defence Debate (Two weeks)


*Carment et. al., Canada Among Nations 2004, Chapter 5.

*Bland, and Maloney, Campaigns for International Security, Chapters, 1, 4-5


-Dewitt, David, “National defence vs, foreign affairs: Culture Clash in Canada’s international security policy?” International Journal 59 (Summer 2004).


VI. Canada and the War on Terrorism (One week)


VII. The Wider World and Non-Traditional Issues (Two weeks)

*Carment, David, Hampson, Fen O., Hillmer, Norman, Canada Among Nations 2003: Coping with the American Colossus (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2003) Chapters 3-6, 15

*Carment et. al., Canada Among Nations 2004, Chapters 12-16.


-Daudlien, Jean, “Foreign policy at the fringe: Canada and Latin America,” International Journal 58 (Fall 2003).

-Woo, Yuen Pau, “The emergence of the re-emergence of Asia and its implication for Canada-Asia relations,” International Journal 58 (Fall 2003).


VIII. Perspectives on the Policy Process (One week).


-“Visions of Canadian Foreign Policy,” (Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute, 4 November 2004).


-Parkin, Andrew and Mendelson, Mathew, “What Do Canadian’s Think?” Ideas That Matter 2 (4).
Professor: Wayne S. Cox
Office: MC-C304
Phone: 533-6247 or the main Politics office at 533-6230
Office Hours: After class on Mondays
Note: In a pinch graduate students can try me during my
undergraduate office hours, although the lineups can take hours.
Those hours are Tuesdays 10:30-noon and Thursdays 11:30-1:00
Email: Coxw@post.queensu.ca
Seminars: Mondays 8:30-11:30am

Students are advised that incomplete standing will be granted only with the permission
of the chair of Graduate Studies and only where there is a clear demonstration of need.
Applications for incomplete standing must be made in the first instance to the instructor
on the form available in the general office. The simple fact of non-submission of work
does not constitute an application and will result in a grade of zero for that assignment.

Course content and description:

POLS 860 is the Department of Political Studies’ core graduate seminar on International
Relations (IR) Theory. As a core seminar, this class will operate at a high level in terms
of the literature it covers and the analytical requirements of its students. In the past, IR
Theory and the International Political Economy (IPE) have been treated separately at
the graduate level at Queen’s. This has both advantages and disadvantages. The major
advantage is that it allows for more seminar time to read and discuss a wide range of
literature. Some of the disadvantages are that the links between IR and IPE are never
adequately discussed, the evolution of IPE as a sub-field of IR is difficult to locate, and
there is some repetition in the literature covered. This year POLS 860 will deal with IR
and IPE in an integrated way. This course is designed to compliment and enhance other
offerings in our department, coordinate with the field requirements for Ph.D. candidates,
and reflect the theoretical and research interests of the professor. The research
interests of the students is also an important aspect of Politics 860. Students are
encouraged to evaluate the course content throughout the term, and make regular
suggestions in terms of content and direction. At our first session, I will ask for research
interests of the students in order to incorporate these into the final course outline.
In order to fully cover theories of IR and integrate sub-fields, this course will proceed using a historical developmental model of the 'great debates' in IR from the inception of the discipline to the present. A solid background in undergraduate or graduate-level IR studies and grasp of the key political events of 20th Century history will greatly help in this regard. If a student does not feel well-versed in either of these, your professor can suggest extra background reading material. Although this is a seminar, there will be some lecture cells at the start of this course to provide all students with a common base to begin our readings. All Ph.D. candidates who will be writing a qualifying examination in International Relations are required to complete POLS 860, and as such, the course requirements should be considered a part of their qualifying examination preparation. The success of POLS 860 depends heavily upon class participation. IR theory is constantly changing field of study with a very wide variety of theoretical and methodological perspectives. I take a rather critical approach to all of the literature in IR/IPE, but also firmly believe that criticism for the sake of criticism is of little value. The background reading that each student brings to each seminar will therefore be extremely important. It does not matter what political or ideological perspective a student gravitates towards, so long as your posturing is based upon a firm grasp of both the literature that you like, and the literature that you dislike. If you don't know something (even if everyone else seems to assume that it is obvious), then ask about it. There is a good chance that you are not alone, and after 90 years of IR theory there is just way too much literature and way too many 'debates' for anyone to know about all of them. There are no stupid questions in POLS 860, few considerations that are irrelevant, and few avenues of exploration that should not be explored. The success of our seminar discussions will be greatly enhanced by as wide a variety of approaches as possible.

Assignments, Participation, and Grading

The assignments for Politics 864 are designed to prepare graduate students for further research in the field, and for Ph.D. candidates, for qualifying exams. Students will be required to write two 5-7 page essays, and complete a larger research paper. In the first short essay, the student will critically evaluate (deconstruct) a single article. Each article selected must be from the course outline, and the student is required to get approval from the professor first (i.e. not all articles are appropriate for deconstruction). The objective is to help both Ph.D. and Master's candidates develop the analytical skills required for literature reviews for either a MRP, Master's thesis, or Ph.D. dissertation. These papers are due on Monday October 18th.

The second short essay, each student must write an essay that will be evaluated based upon its ability to make a novel contribution to the filed of IR/IPE. Students can select a single article from the course outline, or use a weekly theme, as their starting point. Again, article selection requires approval. This short essay must push forward the debate in some new way (i.e. the argument needs to be your own, well structured and argued, and creative). A grade of zero will be given to any short paper that is less than 5 pages, or longer than 7 pages in length (and yes, I know all of the tricks about 1.97 line
Students will be required to write a term paper of between 15-20 pages. These papers will require students to select one of the larger theoretical models of IR to evaluate some key process or event from 20th or 21st Century history. Although some research is required, this assignment is more about how you integrate the theoretical assumptions, normative assertions, units of analysis, etc., of a perspective into the telling of a story (for example, use realism to assess the Cold War, neomarxism to assess European integration post-modernism to assess the War on Terror, or liberal/neo-idealism to assess WWII). These essays must make a very clear argument; they must use a theoretical framework of some type, and must integrate that framework into the case research. These papers will be due on the final day of classes, and NO EXTENSIONS WILL BE GRANTED UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES.

About one third of your grade (30%) will be based upon your performance in the seminar. Half of this will be for general contributions to the class discussions, and the other half for the presentation of weekly readings. Each student will briefly present a required reading (for about 10 minutes or so). Depending upon how many students we have in this seminar, students will probably present readings 3-4 times during the term. No formal grades will be given for this, and your seminar participation grade will be a total for the presentations, and the seminar discussions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assignment</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deconstruction paper</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contribution paper</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research essay</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Readings:**

I will make copies available of selected texts and photocopies of articles for you to borrow and photocopy. They will be in the POLS 860 box in the departmental photocopy room.

**Related IRI/ IPE Texts and some 'classics'.**

Note: All Ph.D. Candidates who will write a qualifying examination in International Relations (IR), must consult with the professor prior to writing the examination to ensure that their reading selections for this course are sufficient as examination preparation.

Richard K. Ashley, *The Political Economy of War and Peace*, (Pinter, 1980)

M. Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air*, (Penguin, 1988)


E.H. Carr, *The Twenty Years Crisis* (MacMillan, 1939)


J. Galtung, *A Structural Theory of Revolutions* (Rotterdam UP, 1974)


A. Gunder Frank, *Capitalism and Development in Latin America*.


R. Keohane and Joseph Nye, Jr., Power and Interdependence, 2nd ed.


C. Kindleberger, Power and Money


V.I Lenin, Imperialism: The Highest form of Capitalism.

A. Lipietz, Towards a New Economic Order.


K. Marx, The German Ideology, or

K. Marx, Capital: V 01 I

Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations (various editions).


K. Polani, The Great Transformation


S. Rosow, Stages of Economic Growth.


E. Said, Culture and Imperialism


A. Smith, The Wealth of Nations

S. Strange, Paths to International Political Economy.

C. Tilly, The Formation of National States in Western Europe, (Princeton, 1975)


I. Wallerstein, Historical Capitalism, (Verso 1983).

I. Wallerstein, The Capitalist World Economy.
K. Waltz, *Man, the State and War*, (Columbia, 1959)  
K. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (Addison-Wesley, 1979)  
A. Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, (Cambridge, 1999)  

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**SECTION I**  
**INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

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Week 1 September 13:  
**What is IR, What is Theory?**

No Reading Required


- M. Neufeld, "Reflexivity and International Relations Theory," from *Beyond Positivism*, pp. 11-36, on the POLS 860 bookshelf.

- Martin Hollis and Steve Smith, "Introduction: Two Traditions", from M. Hollis and S Smith, *Explaining and Understanding International Relations*, on the POLS 860 reading shelf.

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Week 2 September 20:  
**The 'First Debate' in IR Realism / Idealism**


- K. Holsti, Chapter 3, "A City Common to All: Theories of Global Society", from *The Dividing Discipline*, on the POLS 860 bookshelf.
Week 3: September 27:
The dominance of Realism during WWII and the Cold War Era - or was it?


Week 4: October 4:
The not-so dominance of Liberal ideas of cooperation during WWII and the Cold War Era, and where were the so-called 'radicals'?


- Immanuel Kant, "To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch" reprint from I. Kant, Perpetual Peace, and Other Essays on Politics, History and Morals, in the POLS 860 reading files.


Week 5: October 11:
(no classes - class to be rescheduled)

Alternatives out of 'left field' - Decolonization, Dependency, World Systems and the 'Second Debate' in IJ


- Mark Laffey and Jutta Weldes, "Beyond Belief: Ideas and Symbolic Technologies in the Study of International Relations", from European Journal of International Relations, V 01. 3(2), 1997.

- Martin Hollis and Steve Smith, Chapter 2, "The Growth of a Discipline", from M. Hollis and S. Smith, Explaining and Understanding International Relations, from the POLS 860 reading shelf.

- Martin Hollis and Steve Smith, Chapter 3, "Explaining", from M. Hollis and S. Smith Explaining and Understanding International Relations, on the POLS 860 reading shelf.


Week 6: October 18:

Pluralism and the 1970s - the Inter-Paradigm Debates


As background, please read, Tim Dunne, Chapter 8 "Liberalism" From J. Baylis and S Smith (eds.), The Globalization of World Politics, on the POLS 860 reading shelf.

Week 7: October 25:
The 1980s: Reagan, Thatcher, the New Cold War and Neorealism


Joseph Nye, "Neorealism and Neoliberalism", reprint from World Politics, 1988, in the POLS 860 reading files.
Week 8: November 1:
The Origins of the New IPE - The Critical 'left wing' of IR and its Critics?


- Craig Murphy and Roger Tooze, "Getting Beyond the 'Common Sense' of the IPE Orthodoxy, reprint from IPE yearbook Theoretical Foundations of a New IPE, Murphyand Tooze (eds.), in the POLS 860 reading files.


- Martin Hollis and Steve Smith, Chapter 4, "Understanding", from M. Hollis and S. Smith, Explaining and Understanding International Relations, on the POLS 860 reading shelf


Week 9: November 8:
Into the 1990s: Neoliberalism, more Neorealism, Neogramscianism - is this the 'Third Debate'?


- David Baldwin, "Neorealism, Neoliberalism, and World Politics", reprint in the POLS 860 reading file.

- M. Neufeld, Chapter 2, "Reflexivity and International Relations Theory", from C. Sjolander and W. Cox (eds.), Beyond Positivism, on the POLS 860 bookshelf

- Tony Porter, Chapter 6, "Postmodern Political Realism and International Relations Theory's Third Debate", again from Beyond Positivism, on the POLS 860 bookshelf
Week 10: November 22:
Globalization and Social Constructivism - What's up with that?


- Nicholas Onuf: Chapter 1, "A Constructivist Manifesto" from K. Burch (et.al.eds.), Constitution International Political Economy, on the POLS 860 bookshelf

- Stefano Guzzini, "A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations" from European Journal of International Relations, Vol. 6(2), 2000, in the POLS 860 reading files.


- N. Onuf, Chapter 6, "Hegemony's Hegemony in IPE", from K. Burch (et. al.ed.), Constituting IPE, on the POLS 860 bookshelf


Week 11: November 29:
Gender and IR/IPE

- Robert Keohane, "International Relations Theory: Contributions of a Feminist Standpoint, reprint from Millennium in the POLS 860 reading files.


- Sandra Whitworth, "Gender and the Inter-Paradigm Debate', reprint in the POLS 860 reading Files.

This is a generic "topics" course in American foreign policy, one whose specific title this semester should really be "US Foreign policy and the 'Zone of Peace': Threat, Identity, and strategic Culture."

As that specific title and subtitle indicate, our time this semester will be spent examining the interplay between the three identified categories (threat, identity, strategic culture) and the mooted Western zone of peace, otherwise known as the transatlantic security community. As such, we will concern ourselves both with concepts/theories and with what might be deemed the contemporary "realities" of transatlantic relations.

Ultimately, our aim will be to assess the current state and future prospects of the Western zone of peace in the aftermath of the strains introduced by the Iraq war of 2003 in particular, but also more generally by the advent of the Bush administration and the postulated change(s) in American strategic culture and identity.

Students will be tasked with one major writing assignment, which will also constitute the basis of their presentation made in weeks ten through twelve. That written assignment will consist in a 25- to 30-page research paper on a topic to be chosen by the student after consultation with me.
The best seminars are those with active participation on everyone's part. It follows that I encourage and anticipate such participation, which will take two forms: 1) the aforementioned individual presentations, to be made in weeks ten through twelve; and 2) "unscripted" class discussions of the reading(s) in weeks two through nine.

The grade will be determined on the following basis:

- Seminar Participation: 35%
- Paper: 65%

(Note that the "seminar participation" category includes the in-class presentation as well as your contributions to the regular weekly discussions.)

The three required books are (or at least, should be) available for purchase from the Queen's Bookstore; they will also be available in the Stauffer Library reserve room. Assigned articles have been assembled in a bound volume of "Custom Courseware," available on reserve as well as for purchase at the Bookstore (likely listed under POLS 493*).

* In former years, this course had been taught as a cross-listed offering with undergraduate and graduate students together (under the number 496*/862*). This term constitutes a departure from that practice, for a variety of reasons that I will explain in class. As a result of the need to split the course into two separate entities, I have had to reduce the class time for each from the nominal three hours (two-and-half, in truth, with the "break" factored in) to two hours (and no break).

Readings by Week and Topic

1. 11 January:
   **Introduction to the Seminar**

   No reading assigned.

2. 18 January:
   **Structural Realism and US-European Relations**
3. 25 January:
The Roots of Strategic Culture: Identity, National Character, Nationalism

- Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity',' Theory and Society 29 (February 2000): 1-47.


4. 1 February:
Culture, Strategy, and the Question of American Exceptionalism


5. 8 February:
History Matters, But How Exactly?


6. 15 February:
American National Identity Today

7. 1 March:

Collective Identity and the Zone of Peace


- Zeev Maoz, "The Controversy over the Democratic Peace: Rearguard Action or Cracks in the Wall?" International security 22 (Summer 1997): 162-98.


8. 8 March:

Culture, the "Anglosphere," and the Democratic Alliance


9. 15 March:

The Bush Doctrine


10. 22 March:

Student Presentations

- Two to three per session

11. 29 March:

Student Presentations

- As above.
12. 5 April:
Student Presentations

- Ditto.
Appendix B: Media Releases

As attached.