

Course Syllabus (please bring to each lecture)

Pol. 341 H 1 (F)

Fall 2009

CANADA AND THE GLOBAL CHALLENGE SINCE 9/11 - Part II
The WTO and the Political Economy of the Post-National State

Lectures: Tuesday, 10 a.m.- noon in Sidney Smith Hall 2108
Instructor: Professor **Stephen Clarkson**
Office: Sidney Smith Hall **TBA**
Office Hours: *by appointment*: Mondays, 4.30 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. or Tuesdays, 12.10 – 4 p.m.

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OBJECTIVES

In September, 2003 some ten thousand Mexican campesinos, hundreds of American environmentalists, and several dozen Canadians joined other activists from Europe and Asia to mount a dramatic protest against the World Trade Organization (WTO) which was holding its regular biennial ministerial meeting in the Mexican resort town, Cancún. Twenty-one Third-World governments banded together to block the meeting's agenda which they considered had been dominated by the US and the European Union.

The WTO's birth in 1995 had marked a historic turning point in the development of global governance and the integration of the world economy. In the eyes of its opponents and proponents alike, the new trade organization would transform the world's economy and its members' relations with each other. Critics in this country argued that the WTO would seriously undermine Canada's fragmented political system, its natural environment, and its already vulnerable culture. Advocates maintained not only that these dangers were negligible but that globalization was as irreversible as it was beneficial to humankind.

This course will tackle the theoretical issues and policy problems that animate the continuing debate on trade liberalization. In doing this, we will be looking at a specific case of a general phenomenon that is preoccupying policy-makers in all countries: the effects of the globalization of capital on national states and cultures. The discipline of political economy assumes that Canada's global dilemmas cannot be understood either as a question of politics or of economics but must be seen in both these perspectives as well as in their cultural and societal dimensions. Our intellectual challenge in studying Canada's "global challenge" is to develop analytical frameworks that can give us a balanced understanding of its multi-dimensional dynamics.

The material in this course is prone to highly ideological treatment, for it touches one of Canada's most sensitive nerves. Our objective will be, nevertheless, to deal fairly, factually, and rigorously with the assumptions, theories, and arguments used in the debate between nationalists (who believe that Canada suffers from and should resist its economic, political and cultural domination by US-driven globalization) and globalists (who believe that Canada should embrace with optimism the forces of international integration that are resisted in vain.)

Note: Students are strongly advised not to take this course and its companion, **Pol. 318H-F**, in the same term.

PEDAGOGICAL APPROACH

1. Lectures

Central to the course are the weekly lectures. They will discuss the basic theoretical issues raised by the literature about Canada's global position, give the historical background and analytical context, and examine the implications of globalization for Canada's economy, polity, and culture. Regular attendance is expected; an attendance record is kept. Computers are not allowed for note taking except for handicapped students.

Short readings are specified for each lecture. To get the most out of the lectures, these passages should be read beforehand. Students are to keep a log of these readings which, along with their lecture notes, may be brought to the Christmas exam for a possible bonus of up to 2 per cent (1 for the log and notes, 1 for perfect attendance).

Periodically, special guests will come to apply their expertise to the topic under discussion.

2. Tests

A final examination worth 25 per cent will be held in the University College's East Hall - 266. The questions will be distributed one week before at the last lecture.

3. Office Hours

I want to meet each member of the course during my office hours early in the term. Please drop by for a brief chat and bring a small photograph for me to attach to your file.

4. Essays

Because "we write to learn," essay writing is the principal focus for your individual work.

- In order to generate a common vocabulary for the course, every student will do a **book review** by Lecture 4.
- An **outline** for the major **essay** must then be submitted for approval by Lecture 6.

5. Learning Options

Three **options** offer you a range of learning experiences from which to choose.

Option A. All Written Work

This involves solo study. The book report, outline, and essay entirely determine the term mark:

book review	(1,500 words or 6 pages)	worth 15 percent
essay outline	(3 pages)	worth 20 percent
essay	(3,500 words or 14 pages)	worth 40 percent

Option B. Two Essays plus Weekly Discussion Group

In addition to the written work of Option A, this option involves participation in a weekly, student-run discussion group that allows time for debating the issues raised during the lectures, self-help in essay and test preparation, and getting to know half a dozen or so fellow students. Once this option is chosen (and approved by me), regular attendance at tutorials is mandatory. Weekly reports are submitted to me evaluating each session and alerting me to problems that may need resolving. Participation accounts for 10 per cent, with the book review and essay worth 5 per cent less than in Option A.

Option C. Morph Pol. 341 into a Research Opportunity Course, Pol. 396 H 1 (S)

This involves tailoring your course work (essay) for Pol. 318 as part of the research for a book I am writing on human cultural security. You are then eligible to continue your work in the winter term as a follow-up research course with me (Pol. 396H1 S).

Each student will work on a specific chapter within the manuscript I am writing. These students will meet regularly with me to discuss research problems. For the past seven years, some of these students have had the opportunity to spend one week with me at the end of the winter term in Washington with policy analysts and with officials in the Canadian and Mexican embassies and the US government to get feedback on the subject being researched. However, there is no guarantee that I will once again be successful in getting funding for this year.

Prerequisite: to apply for this option: you must have reached a very high A level in previous social science essays and a GPA of 3.8. To proceed with this option, you must achieve an A grade for the first assignment, the book review.

Summary of Marking Coefficients for Options A and B

<u>OPTION</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>
First term book review	15	10
outline	20	15
essay	40	40
discussion group		10
Term work	75	75
Christmas test	25	25
Second term		
Final mark	100	100

SCHEDULE, DEADLINES, and PENALTIES for TERM WORK and EXAMINATION

Options A and B:

Book review:	L3	September 29	returned with comments L4, October 6
Outline:**	L6	October 20	returned with comments L7, October 27
Essay:	L9	November 10	returned with comments L11, November 24
Final exam:	L12	November 24	Questions distributed
	L13	December 1	Test held in UC East Hall 10 to 11.55 a.m.

All assignments are due on the specified date by 10:10 a.m., that is, before the lecture begins, when the TA will pick them up. The penalty clock for lateness will start at that time.

LATE Assignments are to be handed in to Sidney Smith 3018 and stamped with the date/time.

*** Penalties for lateness:**

Book reviews: 5 percent per day; will not be accepted after one week

Outlines: 5 percent per day; will not be accepted after one week

Essays: 2 percent per day; will not be accepted after two weeks

Extensions may be granted for incapacitating medical problems notified before the deadline and documented subsequently by a doctor. Extensions are not granted for computer failure or other work commitments, including preparation for LSAT tests.

** See page 10 for what is required in an **outline**.

Plagiarism check: You are required to submit your course material to **Turnitin.com** for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site. Students who object to Turnitin on principle may hand in all rough work and include an annotated bibliography with the paper.

LECTURE SCHEDULE and WEEKLY READINGS

Those **readings for each lecture** that do not come out of *Uncle Sam and Us* and are not available on line are compiled in a xeroxed compendium available from Alico's Copy Centre, 203-A College Street, 599-2342.

You are asked to keep a brief **reading log** (at the end of this syllabus) and hand it in on L 7.

L.1 Introduction: Globalization 'n' Us

Sept. 15

A systematic explanation of my pedagogy -- options, essays, bibliographies, outlines, weightings, deadlines, penalties, tests and such other necessary evils as lecture topics and weekly readings -- will introduce you to the course's ends and means.

Read: Nothing required: it's your time for getting over any qualms before the storm.

L.2 Capitalism, Globalization, and Global Governance

Sept. 16

9 a.m., 12 and 1 p.m.: first discussion groups meet

If Canada has always been inserted in a capitalist world economy, what is so new about "globalization"? We need to understand the Keynesian system installed after World War II in order then to grasp the changes that have occurred as that regime broke down and transnational corporations pushed for greater economic rights around the world.

Read:

- **Clarkson**, *Uncle Sam and Us*, chs. 1, 2, and 3.

- Robert W. **Cox**, "Global Restructuring: Making Sense of the Changing International Political Economy," in Richard Stubbs and Geoffrey Underhill, eds., *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order*. (London: MacMillan, 1994), pp. 45-59.

- Eric **Helleiner**, "From Bretton Woods to Global Finance: A World Turned Upside Down," in Richard Stubbs and Geoffrey R.D. Underhill, eds., *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order* (London: MacMillan, 1994), 163-75.

11.50: Gordon Hawkins will discuss the book review assignment.

PART I - GLOBAL GOVERNANCE and CANADA'S EXTERNAL CONSTITUTION

L.3 The World Trade Organization

Sept. 29

10.10 a.m. Gordon Hawkins will collect the book review and discuss essay outline assignment.

The World Trade Organization has been hailed (and denounced) as a radically new kind of international institution. Will the WTO turn out to have been more empowering (or threatening) for Canada than the North American Free Trade Agreement?

Read:

- **Clarkson, *Uncle Sam and Us***, ch. 4.
- Michael **Hart**, *Fifty Years of Canadian Statecraft...*, chapters 10-11.
- Sylvia **Ostry**, *The Post-Cold War Trading System* (Chicago University Press, 1997), 175-200.

L.4 Investment Rules, and Dispute Settlement

Oct. 6

What is different about the global capital market and “government by Moody’s”? Why was such an uproar made by the Council of Canadians about the Multilateral Agreement on Investment? And has the WTO’s subsidy code given countries like Canada and Brazil a means to ensure the other competes fairly in international markets?

Read:

- **Clarkson, *Uncle Sam and Us***, ch. 12.
- Robert Howse, “Settling Trade Remedy Disputes: When the WTO Forum Is Better than the NAFTA,” *C.D. Howe Institute Commentary* 111 (June 1998). (available on-line: <http://www.cdhowe.org/pdf/Howse-2.pdf>)

11:50 Gordon Hawkins will return the book reviews and discuss any problems with them.

L.5 The WTO’s GATS and TRIPS: Their Implications for Education and Health

Oct. 13

The General Agreement on Trade in Services has been presented as an attempt by global education and health companies to privatize public services everywhere. The Agreement on Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights has also been seen as threatening public health by strengthening the global drug companies’ monopoly rights.

Read:

- **Clarkson, *Uncle Sam and Us***, ch. 15.
- Marjorie Cohen, “The World Trade Organization and Post-Secondary Education: Implications for the Public System,” *Hawke Institute Working Paper No. 1*, 11 pages ms. (available on-line: <http://www.esib.org/commodification/documents/TheWorldTradeOrganisatio.pdf>)
- Scott Sinclair, *How the World Trade Organization’s New “Services” Negotiations Threaten Democracy* (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2000), 17-118. (available at: <http://www.esib.org/commodification/documents/GATServicesDemocracy.pdf>)

PART II - GLOBAL GOVERNANCE FROM ABOVE and the CANADIAN STATE

L.6 Global Trade Norms versus the Environment

Oct. 20

10:10 a.m. Essay outlines due.

Hundreds of multilateral environmental agreements have been signed by the world community of nations. But when economic rules come into conflict with environmental values, the former generally prevail.

Read:

- **Clarkson, *Uncle Sam and Us***, ch. 17.
- Kathryn Harrison, “The Road not Taken: Climate Change Policy in Canada and the United States,” *Global Environmental Politics* 7:4 (November, 2007). Online journal

- Cass R. Sunstein, "Of Montreal and Kyoto: A Tale of Two Protocols," *The Harvard Environmental Law Review* 31: 1 (2007) Online journal.
- Sabrina Shaw and Risa Schwartz, "Trade and Environment in the WTO: State of Play," *Journal of World Trade*, 35(1): 2002. (available on-line: <http://www.library.utoronto.ca/resources/>)

L.7 National Integrity, Cultural Sovereignty, and Economic Integration

Oct. 27

10.10 please submit a photo copy of your reading logs up to L.7

If each nation state requires its own cultural identity and if government intervention has been necessary for Canada to create national cultural industries, is the country threatened by the WTO's trade liberalization?

Read:

- Graham Carr, "Trade Liberalization and the Political Economy of Culture: An International Perspective on the FTA," *Canadian-American Public Policy* 6 (June 1991).
- Gilbert Gagné, "North American integration and Canadian culture." In George Hoberg, ed., *Capacity for Choice: Canada in a New North America*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, (2002).

11.50 Gordon Hawkins will return the essay outlines and discuss any problems with them.

L.8 Cultural Policy: Magazines and Global Rules

Nov. 3

The difficult history of indigenous publishing in a branch plant economy. What will happen to Canada's book and magazine industry under the combined impact of the WTO and NAFTA?

Read:

- Clarkson, *Uncle Sam and Us*, ch. 18.
- Ted Magder, "Franchising the Candy Store: Split-Run Magazines and a New International Regime for Trade in Culture," *Canadian-American Public Policy* 34 (April 1998).
- Peter Grant, *Blockbusters and Trade Wars* (2004), ch. 3.

PART III – GLOBALIZATION FROM BELOW and CITIZEN POWER

L.9 Human Security:

Nov. 10

10.10 Essays due

Read:

- TBA

L.10 The Global Struggle against AIDS

Nov. 17

Read:

- TBA

L.11 Conclusion: A Post-September 11 Military and Foreign Policy for Canada?

Nov. 24

When it comes to defence, does globalization for Canada really mean doing what the United States wants? what was the significance or Canada of the US "war on terror", the Iraq war, and Afghanistan?

Read:

- **Clarkson, *Uncle Sam and Us***, chs. 19 and 20.

- Privy Council Office. *Securing an Open Society: Canada's National Security Policy*. Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2004. (Canada's version of Bush's National Security Strategy. Just read the last tiny chapter, pp. 47-52 for the official spin language on Canada's international role).

http://www.pco.gc.ca/docs/information/Publications/natsec-secnat/natsec-secnat_e.pdf

- Elinor C. **Sloan**, *Security and Defence in the Terrorist Era: Canada and North America*. Montreal, QC and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005, ch. 8.

- Patrick Lennox and Brian Bow, eds. Introduction and Conclusion to *An Independent Foreign Policy for Canada* (2008). Available on Blackboard.

11.35 Exam questions distributed and discussed

11.45 Course evaluation

11.50 Essays returned with comments.

Final Examination University College East Hall 10 -11.55 a.m.

Dec. 1

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REQUIRED BOOKS

Stephen Clarkson, *Uncle Sam and Us: Globalization, Neoconservatism, and the Canadian State* (University of Toronto Press and Woodrow Wilson Press, 2002).

David Held and Anthony McGrew. 2002. *Globalization/Anti-Globalization*, Cambridge: Polity Press [JZ 1318 .H45 2002]

ESSAYS and OUTLINES

Your book review and essay will be read carefully. Comments on language and logic will be noted in the margins. More general responses to the overall strengths and weaknesses of each essay will be written on a separate page, a copy of which will be kept as part of your file to help in the writing of references if needed in the future.

Essays will be judged by the following criteria:

1. Argument 25%

The originality and the power of the analysis you present; the extent that a theory from the political economy literature is tested or some interesting hypothesis of your own is proven; the coherence of the logic with which you develop your case.

Students' most common problem comes from not finding a clear question to address and so not developing an effective thesis.

2. Information 25%

The mastery of the factual material that you present from your research in the literature, its relevance to your argument, its effectiveness in making your case, its accuracy and completeness.

Students' most common problem comes from not knowing what material to consult and so not marshalling information that is relevant to demonstrating the thesis.

3. Structure 25%

The coherence of your paper's organization and its utility in helping develop your argument.

Students' most common problem comes from not developing an organization of this material that serves the argument's development.

4. Writing and Editing 25%

The clarity with which you express your ideas and communicate your thinking, correct usage of English (or French) syntax and language, integrity of paragraphs, narrative continuity.

Editing includes the care with which you present the essay: correct spelling, proper presentation of (preferably) footnotes and bibliography.

Students' most common problem comes from not writing a first draft early enough so that unclear points can be clarified, the introduction and conclusion reformulated, the argument perfected, and the text carefully edited for annoying typographical errors.

Everyone suffers from insufficient time to plan, research, think and write well. **Remedy:** start early.

OUTLINE

To help you address these problems more efficiently in the limited time you have available, you are asked to

produce a **three-page outline** of your major paper at an early stage of its development. You should spend a couple of weeks doing some general research -- reading your own texts and looking through the books and articles from the course bibliography that appear most relevant to the subject that interests you. You should then produce an outline using the following format.

Page 1. A few paragraphs explaining what question you want to answer, what theory you hope to explore, and the general argument you want to develop.

Page 2. Your proposed point-form structure for the essay in the form of a mini-table of contents.

Page 3. A bibliography of the dozen or so main sources you expect to consult.

ASSIGNMENTS

1. Book Review

6 pages (1,500 words)

David Held and Anthony McGrew. 2002. *Globalization/Anti-Globalization*, Cambridge: Polity Press [JZ 1318 .H45 2002]

Critically evaluate the 'globalist' and 'sceptic' arguments in Held and McGrew's book, *Globalization/Anti-Globalization*. Which camp makes the most compelling case? Why?

2. Essay: Suggested Topics

14 pages (3,500 words)

Students should feel free to suggest alternative essay topics or amend the ones listed below in consultation with Gordon Hawkins or myself.

1. If Canada has always been inserted in a capitalist world economy, what is different (if anything) about globalization?

2. Assess the impact of the WTO on the Canadian state's capacity to resist or facilitate Americanization in one area of cultural activity (film, broadcasting, publishing, music, etc.)

3. Evaluate the short- and long-term implications for Canada's political economy (including the impact on the federal and provincial governments' economic policy-making) of the provisions in the WTO and its dispute settlement decisions dealing with one of:

(a) services

(b) education

(c) health care

(d) the environment

4. Examine the implications for Canadian sovereignty and autonomy of the TRIPS agreement.

5. Has the 'Doha Declaration' increased Canada's capacity to assist developing countries in garnering access to pharmaceuticals?

6. Compare and contrast the impact on Canadian sovereignty of the NAFTA and WTO agreements.

7. Now that the WTO has been created, does Canada need NAFTA? Did Canada gain in the WTO what

it had failed to achieve in CUFTA and NAFTA?

8. Analyze and assess the similarities between the arguments for and against the OECD's proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment and the arguments about the investment effects of CUFTA or NAFTA .

9. Examine the role of a Canadian NGOs or ENGOs such as the Council of Canadians or Greenpeace in helping construct a global civil society.

10. Do WTO trade rules hinder Canadian environmental policies? What are the challenges and opportunities facing Canadian environmental policy in the current era of globalization under the WTO?

11. Was Canada's success in promoting a human security agenda on issues such as the landmines treaty or the international criminal court the result of the role played by one man, Lloyd Axworthy, or has Canada a systemic comparative advantage in exercising such "soft power"?

12. Under conditions of globalization, has Canada's capacity for choice increased or decreased in the area of its foreign policy? What opportunities and challenges does globalization present to Canadian Foreign Policy?

13. Did Canada's refusal to support the United States in its war on Iraq prove that national autonomy is compatible with continental integration?

14. Identify the critical junctures in Canadian energy policy and develop an argument regarding the key driving forces – whether global, continental, domestic or a combination thereof.

15. What are the implications of globalization for Canadian cities?

16. The failure of the WTO's most recent free trade talks could generate a number of essay topics such as: what factors best explain the collapse of negotiations? What are the implications of this failure for Canada? What are the implications for the WTO and "globalization" more generally?

17. Another subject of *your* choice subject to *our* approval.

BOOKS FOR BACKGROUND

The following older volumes have many useful chapters on specific problems which should prove of some help as background in your essay research. Consult their table of contents.

Cameron, Duncan, ed. *The Free Trade Deal*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1988. [HF 1766 F73 1988 ROBA/VIC]

Cameron, Duncan and Mel Watkins, eds. *Canada Under Free Trade*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1993. [F 5047 C2939 1993 ROBA]

Clement, Wallace, ed. *Understanding Canada: Building on the New Canadian Political Economy*. Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1997. [HC 115 U52 1997 ROBA]

Crispo, John, ed. *Free Trade: The Real Story*. Canada: Gage Educational Publishing Co., 1988. [HF 1766 F74 1988 ROBA/TRIN]

- Drache, Daniel and Meric S. Gertler, eds. *The New Era of Global Competition: State Policy and Market Power*. Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1991. [HC 115 N393 1991 ROBA]
- Gilpin, Robert. 2001. *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*, Princeton University Press. [HF 1359 .G5516 2001X ROBA]
- Globerman, Steven, and Michael Walker, eds., *Assessing NAFTA: A Trilateral Analysis*. Vancouver: Fraser, 1993. [HF 1766 A85 1993 ROBA]
- Gold, Marc and David Leyton-Brown, eds. *Trade-Offs on Free Trade*. Toronto: Carswell, 1988. [HF 1766 T73 1988 TRIN/LAW]
- Grinspun, Ricardo and Maxwell A. Cameron, eds. *The Political Economy of North American Free Trade*. New York: St. Martins Press, 1993. [HF 1746 P65 1993 ROBA]
- Held, David et. al, 1999. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics, Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press. [JZ 1308 .G59 1999]
- Ito, Takatoshi and Krueger, Anne, eds. *Regionalism versus Multilateral Trade Arrangements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Krueger, Anne O. ed., 2000. *The WTO as an International Organization*. [HF 1385 .W78 1998X ROBA]
- OECD. *Regionalism and It's Place in the Multilateral Trading System*. Paris: OECD, 1996. [ZZ...ED...20B-1996 R26 NONCIRC ROBA]
- Randall, Stephen J., Herman Konrad and Sheldon Silverman, eds. *North America Without Borders?* Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1992. [HF 1766 N67 1992 UC/SIGS]
- Randall, Stephen J. and Herman W. Konrad, eds. *NAFTA in Transition*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1995. [HF 1746 N345 1995 ROBA/SIGS]
- Sampson, Gary P. 2001. *The Role of the WTO in Global Governance*.
- Schott, Jeffrey J. ed. 2000. *The WTO After Seattle*. [HF 1385 .W778 2000X ROBA]
- Stubbs, R. and Geoffrey R. D. Underhill, eds. *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order*. London: Macmillan, 1994. [HF 1411 P591154 1994 ROBA] and 2nd edition, 2000.
- Winham, Gilbert 1986. *International Trade and the Tokyo Round Negotiation*, Princeton University Press. [HF 1412 .W45 1986 ROBA]

Reading Log

Your name:.....

Reading	Read (b)efore/(a)fter Lecture	Time Spent	1 Sentence Summary of Thesis	Usefulness
<i>L2 Sept. 22</i> Clarkson, Chs.1, 2, 3				1 2 3 4 5
Cox, 45-59				1 2 3 4 5
Helleiner, 163-175				1 2 3 4 5
<i>L3 Sept. 29</i> Clarkson, c.4				1 2 3 4 5
Hart, c.10-11				1 2 3 4 5
Ostry, 175-200				1 2 3 4 5
<i>L4 Oct. 6</i> Clarkson, c.12				1 2 3 4 5
Howse				1 2 3 4 5
<i>L5 Oct. 13</i> Clarkson, c. 15				1 2 3 4 5
Cohen				1 2 3 4 5

Sinclair				1 2 3 4 5
L6 Oct. 20 Clarkson, c. 17				1 2 3 4 5
Harrison				1 2 3 4 5
Sunstein				1 2 3 4 5
Shaw & Schwarz				1 2 3 4 5
L7 Oct. 27 Carr				1 2 3 4 5
Gagné				1 2 3 4 5
L8 Nov. 3 Clarkson, c.18				1 2 3 4 5
Magder				1 2 3 4 5
Grant				1 2 3 4 5
L9 Nov. 10 TBA				1 2 3 4 5
L10 Nov.17 TBA				1 2 3 4 5
L11 Nov. 24 Clarkson, c.19				1 2 3 4 5

PCO				1 2 3 4 5
Sloan				1 2 3 4 5
Clarkson, c.20				1 2 3 4 5
Lennox & Bow				1 2 3 4 5
				1 2 3 4 5
				1 2 3 4 5