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Course Syllabus: Please bring hard copy to each lecture

Pol. 318 H 1 (F)

Fall Term, 2012

CANADA AND THE GLOBAL CHALLENGE SINCE 9/11 - Part I

..... **NAFTA and the Political Economy of the Post-National State**

Lectures: Monday, 10 a.m. - noon in Sidney Smith Hall 2108
Instructor: Professor **Stephen Clarkson**
Office: Monday and Tuesday: Sidney Smith Hall 3049
Office Hours: Mondays all term *by appointment* from 4.30 to 5.30 pm
 Tuesdays *by appointment* from 4.30 to 5.30 pm
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Teaching Assistant:

OBJECTIVES

The implementation of the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement (CUFTA) on January 1, 1989 marked a watershed in Canada's relationship with the United States. In the eyes of the Agreement's opponents and proponents alike, CUFTA would transform the Canadian economy. Critics believed that "free trade" (expanded in January 1994 to include Mexico via NAFTA) would seriously undermine Canada's fragmented political system and already vulnerable culture. Advocates maintained that these dangers were negligible and that there was in any case no alternative, given the regional integration happening with the European Union in Europe, ASEAN in South-East Asia, and Mercosur in South America. Besides, NAFTA's rules were consistent with the global obligations Canada had assumed by joining the World Trade Organization in 1995.

This course will apply to North America the theoretical issues and policy problems central to the worldwide debate on globalization's effects on previously sovereign states and cultures now commonly referred to as "post-national."

As "political economists," we will reject the conventional boundaries that hive off economics from political science. According to this perspective, Canada's position in the world cannot be understood as simply a question of politics or of economics. Our *intellectual* challenge in studying Canada's "*global challenge*" in North America is to develop analytical frameworks that give us a comprehensive understanding of the multi-dimensional dynamics of Canada's past development and present problems.

This subject matter is prone to highly ideological treatment, for it touches one of the most sensitive of Canadian nerves. Nevertheless, our objective will be 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 the United States) and continentalists (who believe that Canada should optimistically embrace the forces of integration that it had long opposed and in vain.)

Note: Students are strongly advised not to take the companion to this course, **Pol. 341 H-F**, in the same term.

LECTURE SCHEDULE and WEEKLY READINGS

Students must read the small amount of specified **weekly readings** as preparation for each lecture. Those readings that do not come out of the required texts and are not available on line or on Blackboard are compiled in a xeroxed compendium available from Alico's Copy Centre, 203-A College Street, 599-2342.

You are asked to keep a weekly work **log** (at the end of this syllabus) and hand in a **photocopy** of the first 7 weeks' readings (page 15) on L7, October 24.

L.1 Introduction: Continentalism 'n' Us

Sept. 10

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 conceptual ends and pedagogical means.

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

PART I -The DEBATE over CANADA'S ECONOMIC (MIS)DEVELOPMENT

L.2 The Battle of the Paradigms: (1) Innis's Political Economy and Its Critics

Sept. 17

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

In intellectual opposition to the long-dominant school of neo-classical economics, the 'political economy' interpretation of Canada's international position traces its roots back to the original, magisterial, and technology-focused work of Harold Innis. A later generation of political economists challenged Innis's determinism while still rejecting neo-classical economics' radical assumptions.

Read:

- **Daniel Drache**, "Introduction," in Harold A. Innis, *Staples, Markets, and Cultural Change* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 1995), xiii-liii.

- **Hart**, *A Trading Nation*, ch.1, 3, and 10.

11.50: The TA will discuss the essay-outline assignment

L.3 The Battle of the Paradigms: (2): Transnational Corporations

Sept. 24

10.10 a.m. The TA will collect the book reviews and discuss the essay outline assignment.

Political economy applied the microeconomic theory of the firm to the macroeconomic question of foreign investment producing significant breakthroughs in understanding the nature of foreign direct investment in Canada. The Watkins Report (1968), the Wahn Report (1970), and the Gray Report (1972) received a cool response from mainstream economists but resulted in such Canadian efforts to reduce the deemed negative effects of US transnational corporations as the CDC (Canada Development Corporation), FIRA (Foreign Investment Review Agency) and the NEP (National Energy Program). In Mexico, a parallel strategy of import-substitution industrialization had created a more autarchic economy.

Read:

- **Clarkson**, *Uncle Sam and Us*, ch. 14.
- **Litvak and Maule**, in Fox, Hero, and Nye, eds., *Canada and the United States*, 119-39.

L.4 The Hegemon and the Client State: Conflicting Trajectories?

Oct. 1

10.10 a.m. Essay outlines due

The United States' historic strategy towards Canada. The tightening of US protectionism using non-tariff barriers was seen in the early 1980s as a severe threat to Canada's economic prospects, leading the country's economic and political elites to push for an agreement with Washington to achieve (i) "secure" and (ii) "enhanced" access to the US market.

Read:

- **Clarkson**, *Uncle Sam and Us*, ch. 3.
- **G. Stewart**, "A 'Special Contiguous Country Economic Regime': America's Canadian Policy," *Diplomatic History* (Fall, 1982), 339-57.

Week 5 Thanksgiving: No class Bon appétit!

Oct. 8

PART II The CANADIAN STATE under TRADE LIBERALIZATION

L.6 The Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Oct. 15

The 1987-8 debate over the virtues and vices of CUFTA was long and protracted. The signing of NAFTA in 1993 revived the controversy all over again. Mainstream economists, who looked for efficiency gains, had a completely different view from political economists, who worried about Canada's loss of national autonomy – that is, political control over public policy. We will analyze these muscular new trade agreements as post-national states' external constitutions.

Read:

- **Clarkson**, *Uncle Sam and Us*, ch. 4.
- Clarkson and Wood, "The Supraconstitution: A Framework for Analysis," in *A Perilous Imbalance: The Globalization of Canadian Law and Governance* (UBC Press, 2010), ch 3.

11.50 The TA will return the essay outlines and discuss any problems with them.

L.7 The Economic Impact of Trade Liberalization: Trade and Investment

Oct. 22

10.10 Submit a photocopy of your weekly work journal up to and including L.7

The two opposing positions on free trade have understandably generated opposing interpretations of the broad economic impact of commercial and investment liberalization on Canadian jobs and Canada's investment, productivity, and wage gaps with the United States.

Read:

- Clarkson, *Uncle Sam and Us*, ch.13.

- Ken Lewenza, "Unbalanced free trade deals costing us jobs," *London Free Press* (March 31, 2012). (on Blackboard)

- Daniel Schwanen, "Canada and Free Trade: 15 Years On," (Feb. 2004) *Policy Options*, Institute for Research on Public Policy, 65-70. (Blackboard)

- Jim Stanford, "the Troubling Truth about Free Trade," *Globe and Mail*, May 21, 2012.

<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/opinions/opinion/the-troubling-truth-about-free-trade/article2436309/>

L.8 How Energy Fuels North America

Oct. 29

Few Americans realize that Canada is their largest foreign supplier both of oil and natural gas and that, until recently, Mexico was their second largest foreign source of petroleum. This session will look at three different approaches to the governance issues involved in this complex, trilateral, and largely integrated sector.

Read:

- Stephen Clarkson and Matto Mildenberger, "Supporting US Energy Security," ch. 2 in *Dependent America? How Canada and Mexico Construct US Power*, (University of Toronto Press, 2011). (on Blackboard)

- Joseph M. Dukert, 'The Search for Best Practices and Models,' in Andrés Rozental and Alex Bugailiskis, eds., *Building Bridges: Canada among Nations*, (forthcoming). Blackboard

- Geoffrey E. Hale, "'In the Pipeline" or "Over a Barrel"?: Assessing Canadian Efforts to Manage US Canadian Energy Interdependence,' *Canadian-American Public Policy* 76 (February 2011), 36 pages. Blackboard

L.9 Industrial Policy under Trade Liberalization

Nov. 5

Essays due at 10.10

How has public policy affected the evolution of one of Canada's most successful industries, steel? What did "free trade" and granting "national treatment" mean for industrial policy-making capacity at the federal and provincial levels of government? Does the steel industry provide lessons for how other parts of the domestic economy should grow within North America under conditions of restructured and globalized markets?

Read:

- Stephen Clarkson, "The Steel Industry," ch. 10 in *Does North America Exist? Governing the Continent after NAFTA and 9/11*. (on Blackboard)

- Peter Warrian, "The Tipping Point between Stelco & Dofasco." (on Blackboard)

- Peter Warrian, "*The Importance of Steel Manufacturing to Canada – a Research Report*, Munk Centre, 2010, Executive Summary. (on Blackboard)

Week 10 Autumn Reading Week Break

L.11 NAFTA and Mexico's Significance for Canada

Nov. 19

Besides *deepening* CUFTA by increasing its disciplines in several chapters, NAFTA *broadened* the agreement by including Third-World Mexico within its membership and apparently creating a new relationship for Canada within the

Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America and the North American Competitiveness Council (2005-2009). After supporting the development of a third North American bilateral relationship, Ottawa is now distancing itself from Mexico. What are its prospects of succeeding?

Read:

- Robert A. Pastor, "Should Canada, Mexico, and the United States Replace Two Dysfunctional Bilateral Relationships with a North American Community?" Paper for Conference on "North American Futures: Canadian and US Perspectives," March 12, 2010, 20 pages. (on Blackboard)
- Stephen Clarkson, "The Third Bilateral: The Mexico-Canada Relationship," ch. 18 in *Does North America Exist? Governing the Continent after NAFTA and 9/11* (Toronto and Washington: U of T and Woodrow Wilson Presses, 2008).

L.12 The Border as Trade Facilitator or Security Barrier?

Nov. 26

Washington's response to the Al Qaeda attack of September 1, 2001 superimposed a defensive security paradigm over neo-conservatism's expansive program for reducing nation-state barriers to trade and investment. The result has been a US border-thickening drive for anti-terrorist security that stopped the growth of economic integration but put Canada and Mexico in the same box when dealing with the US government.

Read:

- Stephen Clarkson, "Maneuvering within the Continental Constitution: Autonomy and Capacity within the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America," in Jean Daudelin and Daniel Schwanen, eds., *Canada among Nations 2007* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 248-67. (on Blackboard)
- Stephen Clarkson, "Border Security and the Continental Perimeter," ch. 16 in *Does North America Exist? Governing the Continent after NAFTA and 9/11* (Toronto and Washington: University of Toronto and Woodrow Wilson Presses, forthcoming). (on Blackboard)
- Emily Gilbert, "Borders and Security in North America," chapter in Jeffrey Ayres and Laura Macdonald, eds., *North America in Question* (Toronto: UTP, unpublished). (on Blackboard)

11.35 Exam questions distributed and discussed

11.45 Course evaluation

11.50 Essays returned by the TA with comments.

Final Examination

University College East Hall 10 – 11.55 a.m.

Dec. 3

ESSAY ASSIGNMENTS

This first assignment has been discontinued for 2012 due to 30% cut of TA's allocated time.

1. Book Review

4 pages (1,000 words)

In *A Trading Nation* Michael Hart states “Underlying most decisions to discriminate – whether domestically or internationally – is skepticism about the efficacy of markets and the price mechanism on the one hand, and faith in the beneficial effect of government regulation and controls on the other. Most of those decisions, however, are not based on economic concepts and analysis but on non-economic instincts and biases.” (p. 7)

Does Hart’s analysis of Canadian trade policy support this position? Take care to evaluate the logic, information, and structure of Hart’s argument, rather than just articulating how or why you agree or disagree with his conclusion.

As a minimum, base your analysis on chapters 1, 3, 10, 12, 13, 15, and 16.

These chapters are available in the course reader to be purchased from Alico’s Copy Shop.

2. Suggested Essay Topics

14 pages (3,500 words)

Students should feel free to amend the topics listed below in consultation with the TA or SC.

- 1. Assess the capacity of Harold Innis’ staples theory to explain how Canada came to trade liberalization.**
- 2. How does Canada's relatively minor political, economic, and cultural position in North America compare with that of any of the smaller European states (Ireland, Holland, Greece) in the European Community?**
- 3. Can Canada’s political sovereignty be reconciled with the economic integration that NAFTA was designed to encourage?**
- 4. What effect did trade and investment liberalization have on the alignment of nationalist versus continentalist forces in Canada over the past quarter century? Develop your analysis with reference to at least one of such groups as labour unions, women's groups, the voluntary sector, business organizations, and political parties.**
- 5. Having once been the instruments for entrenching the Americanization of Canadian labour, why did trade unions become vehicles for resisting Americanization in the past quarter century?**
- 6. In what ways does NAFTA compare with the European Union as a continental trade bloc?**
- 7. Compare the arguments put forward by proponents and opponents in Canada either for a "Big Idea" for further North American integration or the proposals for fixing North American governance that were published in the wake of Sept. 11, 2001. These were made primarily by the C.D. Howe Research Institute: <http://www.cdhowe.org> or the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America signed by the three governments’ leaders in March, 2005.**
- 8. How has NAFTA affected the historic Canadian debate about foreign direct investment?**
- 9. How has the working of neoconservative globalization affected Canadian-owned capital?**
- 10. Did free trade protect Canada from US protectionism?**

- 11. Have CUFTA and NAFTA transformed the Canadian-American relationship?**
- 12. Compare Mexico's with Canada's rationale for negotiating continental integration.**
- 13. Is the "sustainable development" that is meant to result from NAFTA's environment commission contradicted by the policy implications of Chapter 11's investor-state dispute process?**
- 14. Evaluate the impact of NAFTA and its dispute settlement processes on Canada's political economy (including the impact on the federal and/or provincial governments' economic policy-making ability) in one of the following sectors:**
 - (a) banking**
 - (b) energy**
 - (c) automobile and auto parts**
 - (d) telecommunications**
 - (e) steel or**
 - (f) another area -- subject to our approval.**
- 15. Did the dispute settlement mechanism in CUFTA and NAFTA achieve Canada's goal of 'secure access' to the American market?**
- 16. Assess how the new relationship between trade and security should change our assessment of NAFTA after September 11, 2001.**
- 18. Another topic of *your* choice subject to *our* approval.**

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 position in North America, give the historical background and analytical context, and examine the implications of continental integration for Canada's economy and polity. Regular attendance is expected; an attendance record is kept. Computers are not allowed for note taking except for students with special needs.

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 work journal to keep track 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; no excuses for absences will be considered).

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 - UC266. The questions will be distributed one week before, at lecture 12.

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 3**.
- An **outline** for the major **essay** must then be submitted for approval by **Lecture 6**.

5. Learning Options

Two **options** offer you a choice for how you operationalize your learning experience.

Option A. All Written Work

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

| | | |
|---------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| essay outline | (3 pages) | worth 25 per cent |
| essay | (3,500 words or 14 pages) | worth 50 per cent |

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 and readings, self-help in essay and test preparation, and getting to know 8 to 10 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 essay worth 10 per cent less than in Option A.

Option C. Incorporate Pol. 318 in my research project

Available as a full-year project for students who are already operating at the A/A+ level, this option involves doing the book review, attending the lectures, and writing the Christmas exam but participating directly in a research project I am launching on economic and political inter-regionalism in the Atlantic Triangle (North America-South America-Europe).

In the first term, you would review the secondary literature and pose the questions you would

be addressing when doing your primary research in the second term. With the other students in this project, you would meet periodically with me to discuss research problems.

If all goes well in the first term (an A/A+ performance), you would proceed in the winter term to doing original work by enrolling in POL477, "Topics in International Political Economy." Assuming I obtain the requisite funding, we will spend Reading Week in Brasilia being briefed by officials in the Brazilian government and the relevant foreign embassies to obtain first-hand information on each of our projects.

Prerequisite: To qualify, students electing this option must have reached an A/A+ level in their previous essays and a GPA of 3.9. To proceed with this option, you must achieve an A grade for the first assignment, the book review.

Option D. Incorporate Pol. 318 in my research project plus Weekly Discussion Group

See below for the marks breakdown for Options C and D.

If you are qualified for and interested in Option C or D contact me before the end of Week 1.

Options E and F.

Students who have already achieved a 3.8 GPA and wish to undertake a one-term independent research project are eligible to do so following a discussion with me and achieving an A on their first assignment. The marking coefficients for Options C and D would apply.

Summary of Marking Coefficients for Options A, B, C, and D

| <u>OPTION</u> | <u>A</u> | <u>B</u> | <u>C</u> | <u>D</u> |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Term work | | | | |
| outline | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 |
| essay | 50 | 40 | 30 | 25 |
| discussion group | 10 | | 10 | |
| | | | 45 | 40 |
| Term work | 75 | 75 | | |
| Christmas test | 25 | 25 | | |
| Final mark | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Accessibility Needs: The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodation for a disability please consult me immediately. Alternatively, contact Accessibility Services about any other related concerns at: <mailto:disability.services@utoronto.ca> or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>

SCHEDULE, DEADLINES, and PENALTIES for TERM WORK and EXAMINATION

| | | | | |
|--------------------|-----|--------------------|--|------------------|
| Outline: ** | L4 | October 1 | returned with comments | L6, October 15 |
| Essay: | L9 | November 5 | returned with comments | L12, November 26 |
| Final exam: | L12 | November 26 | exam questions distributed and discussed | |
| | L13 | Monday, December 3 | Test held in UC East Hall, Room 266, | 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 taken to Sidney Smith, Room 3018, stamped with the date and time, and handed to the receptionist.

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 that require careful time management – including preparation for LSAT tests.

** See page 11 for what is required in an **outline**.

Working material: Be sure to keep all rough and draft work and hard copies of your book report, essay outline, and essay until the marked assignments have been returned.

Plagiarism: Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and is nowadays dealt with very severely. For the University of Toronto's policy on plagiarism, consult: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>.

You are required to submit your course material to **Turnitin.com** for a review of textual similarity. In doing so, students 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. If you object to Turnitin on principle, you may hand in all rough work and include an annotated bibliography with the paper.

Class ID: 4389012

Password: Harold

Appeals procedures

1. **Either:** Have a discussion with the TA about the mark, the comments, and your writing.
2. **Or:** After a one-week cooling down period,
 - (a) request the TA to reread the text.
 - (b) If still dissatisfied, ask SC to read the assignment.
 - (c) If still unhappy, appeal to the Prime Minister. (This is not entirely a joke: I did have a student who appealed my mark to the then-ruling prime minister, Pierre Trudeau.)Of the two possible, but mutually exclusive, routes, we strongly recommend the first.
Beware! Reconsideration by either the TA or SC may cause the mark to go up -- but may make it go down.

REQUIRED BOOK

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

ESSAY 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 your initial library search that appear most relevant to the subject that interests you. You should then produce an outline using the following format.

Page 1. Abstract. 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. Mini-table of contents. Your proposed point-form structure for the essay.

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

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 footnotes (not endnotes) 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.

BOOKS FOR BACKGROUND

The following older volumes have many useful chapters on specific problems which should prove of some help as deep background in your essay research. Consult their table of contents. [Library call numbers in square brackets]

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 Trinational 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]

Formating and style guide for written work

Text: Times Roman 11 point, left justified, with 1.5 spaces between lines.

Header (**not** footer) in *Times Roman 10 point*:

left: your first and LAST NAME;

centre: brief subject in italics such as *NAFTA and Foreign direct investment*

right: page number

Spacing at beginning of new subsection:

two line spaces before a new section head; one between section head and first paragraph.

Misc.

- US and not U.S. **US** should only be used as an adjective; as a noun, write United States
- % should be spelled out as 'per cent' except in tables.
- When possible, paragraphs should not exceed 12 lines.
- All numbers under 100 are spelled out. Those larger than 99 are not spelled out unless they come at the beginning of a sentence.
- **Italicize** words in other languages that are not commonly used in English such as *maquiladoras* but not in the case of titles or organization such as Congreso de Trabajo or words that have been assimilated into English such as de facto. When in doubt, check the Oxford Canadian dictionary.
- Oxford Canadian **spelling**: program *not* programme, sceptical *not* skeptical, labour *not* labor, defence *not* defense, cigarette *not* cigaret, practise as a verb, practice as a noun, globalization *not* globalisation.
- Bilateral, binational, transborder, and neoconservative; not bi-lateral, bi-national, trans-border, or neo-conservative
- Anti-globalization not antiglobalization
- Dollar/currency: **US\$** or **CD\$** preceding the amount of money when it is not the currency of the country in question

Footnotes and Bibliography

The example below follows the Note-Bibliography system set out in the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th edition, and its student version, Turabian's *Manual for Writers*, 7th edition. Our examples use superscript note numbers rather than regular-font numbers for the notes; either is acceptable. For display on this webpage, we use endnotes, and put them under the heading "Notes." (Footnotes would appear at the bottom of each page after a short dashed line.) Here are some further remarks on particularities of this system:

- When you refer to a source the **second time**, you can shorten the note by using only the author's last name and the page number (e.g., Smith, 435). That's easier for both author and reader than learning the old-fashioned system of Latin abbreviations (formerly italicized) such as "Op. cit." ("in the same work") and "Ibid." ("in the same place"); these are rarely used now. If you are using **two books by the same author**, include a shortened form of the book title to clarify which you mean.
- Notes are **indented** like paragraphs in the essay (indent the first line, not the subsequent ones). Notes should be **single-spaced**, but with a blank line between notes. Bibliography entries are

given in hanging-indent form (first line flush with the left margin, subsequent lines indented) and are also single-spaced with a blank line between entries.

- In listing a Web page as a source, include the **date you read the page** as well as the URL. That information lets your reader judge whether he or she is seeing the same version of the Web page that you did. See also the section below on Electronic Sources.
- In this system, you still use **parentheses** within your prose to give page or line numbers for texts you refer to repeatedly (e.g. historical documents or works of literature). Use a note for the first such reference so the reader knows which edition you're using, and state that all subsequent references will be to this edition.

For more detailed advice on formatting in this style, consult the Notes-Bibliography chapters of the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th edition (Z253 C45 2003); this authoritative reference work on all matters related to editing is now available online in full to U of T students and faculty. The University of California at Berkeley provides a useful summary of this system of referencing. See also the Chicago style section of the University of Auckland's interactive guide on formatting.

Example:

When Hamlet protests to his mother, "Leave wringing of your hands" (3.4.34),¹ he is naming a universally recognizable gesture. As Smith says, similar broad physical movements are "still the most direct way of indicating inner turmoil."² Zygmundi confirms their continuing usefulness in contemporary productions of other sixteenth-century plays.³ Renaissance audiences would have recognized hand-wringing as a signal for inner distress,⁴ specifically for a condition that the Elizabethan author Reynolds named "ague of the spirits."⁵ Poor sight lines in Elizabethan theatres also required highly visible body movements.⁶ In her new book, Brown attempts to show that such gestures are related to stylized movements from religious ceremonies.⁷ She argues that acting methods responded to both the physical conditions of the theatres and the audience's cultural expectations.⁸

NOTES

¹ William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, in *The Norton Introduction to Literature*, 8th ed., ed. Alison Booth, J. Paul Hunter, Kelly J. Mays, and Jerome Beaty (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001), 996. Subsequent parenthetical references will refer to this edition.

² Jasmine Smith, "Renovating *Hamlet* for Contemporary Audiences," *UTQ* 76 (Summer 2007): 960.

³ David Zygmundi, "Acting Out the Moralities for Today's Audiences," *Termagant Society Online*, <http://www.nouniv.ca/soc/termagant/moral.html>; accessed 22 August 2006.

⁴ Joan Brown, *The Renaissance Stage* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 111.

⁵ Peter Reynolds, *The Player's Chapbooke*, 1587; quoted in Aline Mahieu, *Acting Shakespeare* (Toronto: Gibson, 2004), 69.

⁶ Smith, 964.

⁷ Joan Brown, *Ritual and Drama in the Elizabethan Age* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2008), 90.

⁸ Brown, *Ritual*, 14.

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