

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 2110
Instructor: Professor **Stephen Clarkson**
Office: Monday and Tuesday: Sidney Smith Hall 3049
Office Hours: Mondays all term *by appointment* from 4.30 to 6.30 pm
Tuesdays *by appointment* from 4.30 to 6.30 pm
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Teaching Assistant: Joelle Dumouchel

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 served not their interests but those of the rich United States 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 and investment organization would transform the world's economy as well as its members' abilities to govern themselves. 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 economic 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 "post-national" states. As "political economists," we will assume 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 comprehensive 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 should resist its economic, political and cultural determination by externally-driven globalization) and globalists (who believe that Canada should embrace with optimism the forces of international integration that it resists in vain.)

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

LECTURE SCHEDULE and WEEKLY READINGS

Students should 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 16) on L7, October 25.

L.1 Introduction: Globalization 'n' Us

Sept. 11

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 - GLOBAL GOVERNANCE and CANADA'S EXTERNAL CONSTITUTION

L.2 Capitalism, Globalization, and Global Governance

Sept. 18

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

If Canada has been inserted in a capitalist world economy since European sailors discovered the Newfoundland fishery, what is so new about "globalization"? We need to understand the Keynesian political economy installed after World War II in order then to grasp the changes that have occurred as that system broke down and transnational corporations pushed for greater economic rights and freedoms 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), 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: The TA will discuss the essay-outline assignment

L.3 The World Trade Organization

Sept. 25

10.10 a.m. The TA will collect the book reviews and discuss the 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 by imposing a strong external constitution into its legal order?

Read:

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

PART II - GLOBAL GOVERNANCE FROM ABOVE and the CANADIAN STATE

In this section we look at how Canadian governments interact with global governance both as rule takers and rule makers.

L.4 Cultural Policy: Magazines and Global Rules

Oct. 2

10:10 a.m. Essay outlines due.

Given the challenge of indigenous publishing in a branch-plant economy experiencing globalization, this session explores how the WTO and NAFTA shook Canada's magazine industry and how the Canadian government responded to domestic interests by leading global negotiations at UNESCO to offset the WTO with a convention establishing guidelines on how nation-states could legally – in the eyes of international law -- protect and promote their cultural diversity.

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.
- Christopher Graber, "The New UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity: A Counterbalance to the WTO?" *Journal of International Economic Law* 9, no.3 (August 2006), 553-74, (on Blackboard).or
Permalink: http://resolver.scholarsportal.info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/resolve/13693034/v09i0003/553_tnuocodacttw

L.5 National Integrity, Cultural Sovereignty, and Economic Integration

Oct. 9

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

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

L.6 Propagating, Resisting, and Amending the Supra-Constitution

Oct. 16

At the same time as Canada played a central role in developing other "liberal" norms concerning human security and creating the International Criminal Court in the face of bitter resistance from the White House and the Pentagon, it has responded to the interests of transnational Canadian mining corporations by broadening and entrenching the neoconservative norms and rules contained in NAFTA through negotiating its own trade and investment agreements with other countries (Colombia, India) and other world regions (European Union). Greater rights for TNCs has become highly controversial, particularly since foreign investors have achieved their own globalized judicial governance that can discipline governments.

Read:

- Stephen Clarkson, *Dependent America? How Canada and Mexico Construct US Power* (2011), chapter on the International Criminal Court. (on Blackboard).
- David Schneiderman, "The Investment Rules Regime," *Constitutionalizing Economic Globalization: Investment Rules and Democracy's Promise*, Ch. 1, (on Blackboard).
- Law professors' manifesto on investment treaties, (on Blackboard).

L.7 Global Trade Norms versus the Environment

Oct. 23

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

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 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.
- Stephen Clarkson and Stepan Wood, *A Perilous Imbalance: The Globalization of Canadian Law and Governance* (UBC Press, 2010), , chs. 4 and 5 on the global supraconstitution and weak environmental governance, pp. XX – YY TBA.

PART III – GLOBALIZATION FROM BELOW and CITIZEN POWER

We now turn to how Canadian civil society in general and Canadian citizens individually, often acting through non-governmental organizations, interact with global governance.

L.8 GATS, TRIPS, and the Governance Problems Involved in the Struggle against AIDS Oct. 30

The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) has been presented as an attempt by global health companies to privatize public services everywhere. The Agreement on Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) has also been seen as threatening public health by strengthening the global drug companies' monopoly rights. We will look specifically at how TRIPs blocks such NGOs as Médecins sans Frontières from getting very cheap, generic retro-viral drugs to help cope with Africa's AIDS pandemic.

Read:

- Clarkson, *Uncle Sam and Us*, ch. 15.

- Médecins Sans Frontières, “Neither Expeditious, Nor a Solution: The WTO August 30th Decision is Unworkable – An illustration through Canada’s *Jean Chrétien Pledge to Africa*”, Briefing paper for XVI International AIDS Conference, Toronto, August 2006, online:
<http://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/publications/article.cfm?id=3729&cat=special-report>
- Government of Canada, “Report on the Statutory Review of Sections 21.01 to 21.19 of the *Patent Act*” (Ottawa: Industry Canada, 2007), online via <http://www.camr.gc.ca>
- Richard Elliott, “Delivery past due: global precedent set under Canada’s Access to Medicines Regime”, *HIV/AIDS Policy & Law Review* 2008; 13(1): pages 1, 5-12, online via <http://www.aidslaw.ca/publications/publicationsdocEN.php?ref=862> (follow link to first feature article).
- Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network, “Fixing Canada’s Access to Medicines Regime: What you need to know about Bill C-393,” 5 pages (on Blackboard)

PART IV: WHAT IT ALL MEANS FOR CANADA AND CANADIANS

How does all this translate into traditional government concerns like military and foreign policy? And where does it leave Canadian business?

L.9 A Post-September 11 Military Policy for Canada?

Nov. 6

Essays due at 10.10

When it comes to defence, does globalization still come down to Canada doing what the United States wants? What was the significance for Canada's defence policy of its participation in the US “war on terror”, the Iraq war, and Afghanistan?

Read:

- Clarkson, *Uncle Sam and Us*, ch. 19.
- 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-bcp.gc.ca/index.asp?doc=natsec-secnat/natsec-secnat_e.htm&lang=eng&page=information&sub=publications
- 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.

Week 10 Autumn Reading Week Break

L.11 A Post-September 11 Foreign Policy for Canada?

Nov. 20

When it comes to diplomacy, does globalization give Canada more room for maneuver or less?

Read:

- Clarkson, *Uncle Sam and Us*, ch. 20.
- Patrick Lennox and Brian Bow, eds., “Introduction” and “Conclusion” to *An Independent Foreign Policy for Canada* (2008). (on Blackboard).

- Neil Burron, "Canadian Democracy Promotion: Convergence with the US Approach?" *International Journal* (Summer, 2011), 392-417. (on Blackboard).

L.12 Globalization beyond the State: Canadians, Civil Society, and Business

Nov. 27

Where does all this leave Canadians? Are the apparently irreconcilable differences between civil society and business actually reconcilable? If so, on whose terms? Can these questions be addressed within Canada or are the solutions only conceivable beyond the boundaries of a single state?

Read:

Stephen Clarkson and Stepan Wood, *A Perilous Imbalance: The Globalization of Canadian Law and Governance*, (UBC Press, 2010), chs. 7 and 8 (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. 4

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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)

Critical Review of Lui Hebron and John F. Stack, Jr., *Globalization: Debunking the Myths*. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, 2009).

Hebron and Stack contend that: “the globalization process is not a new phenomenon... not a unilinear, unstoppable process... [and] as a multidimensional process may stitch new economic networks together in unexpected ways, while energizing cultural, ethnic, and religious conflicts.” (p. 4).

Do you agree with this statement? Support your position through the critical analysis of chapters 1, 2, and 9 as applied to **one** of

- chs 3 & 4: *economic* aspects of globalization’s challenges and potential correctives
- chs 5 & 6: *political* aspects of globalization’s challenges and potential correctives
- ch 7: *cultural* aspects of globalization’s challenges and potential correctives
- ch 8: *environmental* aspects of globalization’s challenges and potential correctives

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

2. Assess the impact of the WTO on Canadians’ capacity to develop their means of cultural expression in one area of cultural activity (film, broadcasting, publishing, music, etc.)

3. Evaluate the impact of the WTO and its dispute settlement processes on Canada's political economy (including the impact on the federal and/or provincial governments’ economic policy-making) in one of the following sectors:

- (a) services
- (b) education
- (c) health care
- (d) the environment
- (e) cultural industries
- (f) another area -- subject to our approval.

4. Examine the implications for Canada’s capacity abroad and internal political autonomy of the TRIPS agreement.

5. Has the ‘Doha Declaration’ increased Canada’s capacity to assist developing countries get access to generic versions of brand-name pharmaceuticals?

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

7. Once the WTO was created in 1995, did Canada need NAFTA? (Did it gain in the WTO what it had failed to achieve in CUFTA and NAFTA?)

8. Examine the role of a Canadian NGOs or ENGOs such as the Council of Canadians or Greenpeace in constructing a global civil society.
9. What are the challenges and opportunities facing Canadian environmental policy in the current era of globalization under the WTO?
10. 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 leadership role played by one man, Lloyd Axworthy, or does Canada have a systemic comparative advantage in exercising such "soft power"?
11. Under conditions of globalization, has Canada's margin of manoeuvre in its foreign policy increased or decreased?
12. Did Canada's refusal to support the United States in its war on Iraq prove that national autonomy is compatible with continental integration?
13. Does its dispute settlement mechanism make the WTO the world's most effective multilateral organization? This question can be approached by examining one or more of the *Sports Illustrated*, Embraer-Bombardier, shrimp-turtle, or tuna-dolphin cases. It could also be done by comparing the WTO's with NAFTA's dispute settlement mechanisms. Or a mix of these.
14. What are the key forces driving Canadian energy policy: global, continental, federal, provincial, corporate or a combination thereof?
15. What are the implications of globalization for Canadian cities?
16. The failure of the WTO's most recent Doha Round of liberalization 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 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 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 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. 341 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, not writing the 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. 341 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	outline	25	25
essay	50	40	essay's 1 st draft	30	25
discussion group	10		essay's 2 nd draft	10	40
				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: disability.services@utoronto.ca or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>

SCHEDULE, DEADLINES, and PENALTIES for TERM WORK and EXAMINATION

Outline: **	L4	October 2	returned with comments L6, October 9
Essay:	L9	November 6	returned with comments L12, November 27
Final exam:	L12	November 27	exam questions distributed and discussed
	L13	December 4	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 12 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: TBA
Password: TBA

Complaint and 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 prime minister, Pierre Trudeau but, in vain...)

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 it 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). [FC635 .C59 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 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]

Formatting and style guide for written work

Text: Times Roman 12 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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