

**The University of Western Ontario**  
**Political Science 3335E–Political Leadership in Canada**

**2011 - 2012**

Instructor: M. Westmacott  
Associate Professor

Class Time: Tuesday 9:30am - 11:30 am  
Class Location: Room 4255 SSC

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Office Hours: Monday and Wednesday: 9:30am - 10:30am  
Thursday : 1:30 pm - 2:30 pm  
Other times by chance or appointment

Calendar Description

This course focuses on the office and powers of the Prime Minister of Canada. The course will review the literature on political leadership in Canada, trace the evolution of the office, evaluate cabinet government, and examine styles of political leadership.

Prerequisite: Politics 2230E or Politics 2234E  
2 hour seminar

Antirequisite: Politics 485E King's University College 2006-2007

**Important Notice Re: Prerequisites/Antirequisites: Please note the following from the UWO Academic Calendar, 2011/2012 p 44.**

"Students are responsible for ensuring that their selection of courses is appropriate and accurately recorded, that all course prerequisites have been successfully completed, and that they are aware of any antirequisite courses(s) that they have taken. If the student does not have the requisites for a course, and does not have the written special permission from his or her Dean to enroll in the course, the University reserves the right to cancel the student's registration in the course. This decision may not be appealed. The normal financial and academic penalties will apply to a student who is dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites."

**NOTE: You are expected to read the course outline carefully and be familiar with the content.**

Detailed Description

The course will focus on the office and powers of the prime minister. There is an extensive range of literature that focuses on the central role of the prime minister in the decision-making processes of the federal government. Since 1960, the phrase "prime-ministerial government" has been a recurring theme in academic literature that describes and evaluates decision making within the executive branch of government.

The objectives of the course are 1) to review selected literature on the concept of political leadership and in particular on political leadership in Canada, 2) to trace the evolution of the office of prime minister and assess the literature that evaluates the nature of cabinet government in 2011 - 2012, and 3) to examine major political events/themes /issues in Canadian politics that demonstrate "leadership qualities" and "styles of leadership" of particular prime ministers and provincial premiers. Comparisons with other Westminster parliamentary systems (Australia, Great Britain) will be made where appropriate.

The course begins with a review of literature that focuses on the concept of political leadership and a discussion of issues related to leadership recruitment and accountability and the growing importance of a leader's image on voting patterns and electoral outcomes. Forming a government (selecting and organizing a cabinet) and exercising political leadership in a fragmented community are recurring challenges encountered by all prime ministers since 1867. Additional themes selected for discussion include an examination of relations between the prime minister and the cabinet, the parliamentary caucus and the prime minister's party, a review of the tensions between central coordinating agencies and line departments, and an assessment of the role of the PCO and the PMO as sources of policy advice. Intergovernmental interactions with the provincial premiers and the management of relations with interest groups and the media will demonstrate the constraints on the exercise of power by a prime minister. The challenges of leading a "minority government" provides an opportunity to assess the ability of a prime minister to advance a legislative agenda that will accommodate some of the policy priorities of both opposition leaders and provincial premiers. The course concludes with seven case studies that reveal the "leadership styles" of several prime ministers and provincial premiers.

#### Course Work:

Essay 20 pages (February 14 /2012)	35%
Essay proposal (November 22 / 2011)	
Seminar Presentations and Commentary Papers	30% (15% x 2)
Participation Grade	10% (5% x 2)
Final Exam (Scheduled during exam period in April 2012)	25%

Readings that relate to seminar topics will be assigned each week.  
The participation grade is based on attendance and contributions to seminar discussions.

**During the year, it is recommended that students consult a reputable newspaper on a regular basis. Many newspapers are available on the Internet and many newspapers will email major headline stories or the daily front page. Each seminar will begin with a brief discussion of current events that relate to the themes and issues discussed in the course.**

### **Required Texts:**

Joseph S. Nye Jr., *The Powers to Lead*, Oxford University Press, 2008

Graham White, *Cabinets and First Ministers*, University of British Columbia Press, 2005.

### **Supplementary (Optional) Texts Check**

Michael Bliss, *Right Honourable Men: The Descent of Canadian Politics From Macdonald to Chretien*. Harper Collins Publishers, Ltd., 2004.

Peter Russell, *Two Cheers for Minority Government: The Evolution of Canadian Parliamentary Democracy*, Emond Montgomery Publications, 2008

Peter Aucoin, Mark D. Jarvis and Lori Turnbull, *Democratizing the Constitution: Reforming Responsible Government*, Emond Montgomery Publications, 2011

In addition, there are numerous journal articles as well as chapters from books that are on reserve in D.B. Weldon Library that will be assigned throughout the year. If you encounter difficulties in locating the assigned readings please consult the instructor.

### **Books and Articles on (2) Two Day Reserve**

#### **Note**

**A copy of the required readings for each seminar (excluding readings from required texts and journal articles that are available electronically) will be placed in the Political Science Resource Room (Room 4109 SSC)**

**Readings listed as optional are not placed on reserve**

**Journal Articles available electronically will not be placed on reserve**

Aberbach, Joel D. and Peterson, Mark A (eds.), *Institutions of American Democracy: The Executive Branch*, Oxford University Press, 2005,

Anderson, Cameron D. and Stevenson, Laura B. (eds), *Voting Behaviour in Canada*, UBC Press, 2010.

Aucoin, Peter, Jarvis, Mark D. , and Turnbull, Lori, *Democratizing the Constitution: Reforming Responsible Government*, Emond Montgomery Publications, 2011,

Bakvis, Herman *Regional Ministers: Power and Influence in the Canadian Cabinet*, University of Toronto Press, 1991

- Barber, James, David, *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*, 4 th ed., Prentice Hall, 1992.
- Berman, Larry (ed), *Essays in Honor of Fred Greenstein*, Rowman and Littlefield 2006.
- Bickerton, J and Gagnon, Alain-G.. (eds.), *Canadian Politics*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Broadview, 1999
- Bickerton, J.and Gagnon, Alain-G, (eds), *Canadian Politics*, Broadview 4 th ed., 2004.
- Blakeney, Allan and Borins, Sandford, *Political Management in Canada*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., University of Toronto Press, 1998
- Bliss, Michael, *Right Honourable Men: The Descent of Canadian Politics From Macdonald to Chretien*. Harper Perennial Canada, Harper Collins Publishers, Ltd., 2004.
- Bashevkin, Sylvia (ed), *Opening Doors Wider: Women's Political Engagement in Canada* , UBC Press, 2009
- Bryden, P. *Planners and Politicians : Liberal Politics and Social Policy, 1957 -1968*, McGill – Queen's University Press, 1997
- Campbell, SJ. Colin and Wyszomirski, Margaret Jane, (eds), *Executive Leadership in Anglo – American Systems*, University of Pittsburg Press,1991.
- Cameron, David and White Graham, *Cycling into Saigon: The Conservative Transition in Ontario*, UBC Press, 2000
- Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development The Robichaud Era, 1960 -70, in *Colloquium Proceedings*, Maritime Series, 2001
- Clancy, Peter, Bickerton, James, Haddow, Rodney, Stewart, Ian, *The Savage Years: The Perils of Reinventing Government in Nova Scotia*, Formac Publishing Company Limited, Halifax, 2000
- Cook, Ramsay and Belanger Real (under the direction of), *Canada's Prime Ministers, Macdonald to Trudeau: Portraits from the Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, University of Toronto Press, 2007. .
- Cohen, Andrew and Granatstein, J. L. (eds), *Trudeau's Shadow: The Life and Legacy of Pierre Elliott Trudeau*, Random House of Canada, 1998
- Courtney, John, *Do Leadership Conventions Matter? Choosing National Party Leaders in Canada*, Mc Gill –Queen's 1995
- Cross, William, *Political Parties*, University of British Columbia Press, 2004
- Docherty, David, *Legislatures*, University of British Columbia Press, 2005
- Donaghy, Greg, *Tolerant Allies: Canada and the United States 1963-1968*, Mc Gill -Queen's University Press, 2002
- English, John, *The Wordly Years: The Life of Lester Pearson*, Volume II: 1949 -1972, pp. 357 -380
- English , John, *Just Watch Me, The life and Times of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, 1968 -2000*, Alfred Knopf,2009
- Everitt, Joanna and O'Neil, Brenda, *Citizen Politics: Research and Theory in Canadian Political Behaviour*, 321 - 337,
- Flanagan, Thomas, *Harper's Team: Behind the Scenes in the Conservative Rise to Power*, Mc Gill – Queen's, 2 nd ed., 2009
- Gagnon, Alain – G. and Tanguay, Brian (eds), *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 3 rd ed, Broadview 2007
- Granatstein, J.L and Hillmer, N., *Prime Ministers: Ranking Canada's Leaders*, Toronto:Harper Collins,1999

- Granatstein, J.L. and Neary, Peter, (ed.), *The Good Fight: Canadians and World War II*, Copp Clark, 1995
- Granatstein, J.L. *Canada's War: the Politics of the Mackenzie King Government*, Oxford 1975
- Greenstein, Fred I (2009) "The Leadership Style of Barack Obama: An Early Assessment," *The Forum*: 2009, Vol. 7 : Issue 1. Article 6. ( O )
- Hamelin, Marcel, (ed.), *The Political Ideas of the Prime Ministers of Canada*, University of Ottawa, 1969
- Harder, Lois, and Patten, Steve, (eds), *The Chrétien Legacy: Politics and Public Policy in Canada*, Mc Gill –Queen's University Press, 2006,
- Hazell, Robert and Paum, Akash (eds), with Mark Chalmers, Ben Young and Catherine Haddon, *Making Minority Government Work: Hung Parliaments and the Challenges for Westminster and Whitehall*, London, Institute for Government, the Constitution Unit, December 2009
- Hockin, T. ed. *Apex of Power*, 2<sup>nd</sup>, Prentice-Hall, 1977
- Hillmer, Norman (ed.), *Pearson: The Unlikely Gladiator*, McGill Queen's University Press, 1999
- Johnson, A.W, *Dream No Little Dreams: A Biography of the Douglas Government of Saskatchewan, 1944 -1961*, University of Toronto Press, 2004
- Jeffrey, Brooke, *Divided Loyalties*, University of Toronto Press, 2010,
- Kent, Tom, *A Public Purpose*, Mc Gill –Queen's University Press, 1988
- Kam, Christopher J *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 2009,
- Matheson, W.A., *The Prime Minister and the Cabinet*, Methuen, 1976
- Michelman, H. J, Storey, Donald C and Steeves, Jeffrey, *Political Leadership and Representation in Canada, Essays in Honor of John C. Courtney* University of Toronto Press, 2007,
- Michelman, Hans J. and De Clergy, Cristine (eds), *Continuity and Change in Canadian Politics: Essays in Honor of David E. Smith*, University of Toronto Press, 2006,
- Neatby, Blair, "Mackenzie King and French Canada" in *Journal of Canadian Studies*, February 1976, Volume XI, Number 1, pp. 3 - 13
- Newman, Peter, *Renegade in Power: The Diefenbaker Years*, McClelland and Stewart, 1973
- Nye Jr., Joseph S. *The Powers to Lead*, Oxford University Press, 20008
- Noel, S.J.R., "Dividing the Spoils: The Old and New Rules of Patronage in Canadian Politics" in *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol22, No2, Summer 1987, pp72-95
- Pal, Leslie A. and Taras, David, *Prime Ministers and Premiers: Political Leadership and Public Policy in Canada*, Prentice- Hall, 1988
- Perlin, George C., *The Tory Syndrome: Leadership Politics in the Progressive Conservative Party*, Mc Gill – Queen's University Press, 1980
- Punnett, R.M., *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, Macmillan, 1977
- Russell, Peter, *Two Cheers for Minority Government: The Evolution of Canadian Parliamentary Democracy*, Emond Montgomery Publications, 2008
- Russell, Peter H and Sossin, Lorne (eds.), *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis*, University of Toronto Press, 2009,
- Savoie, Donald J., *Governing from the Centre: The Concentration of Power in Canadian Politics*, University of Toronto Press, 1999
- Savoie, Donald, (ed), *Taking Power: Managing Government Transitions*, Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 1993

- Savoie, Donald, *Breaking the Bargain: Public Servants, Ministers, and Parliament*, University of Toronto Press, 2003.
- Simeon, Richard, *Federal-Provincial Diplomacy*, University of Toronto Press, 1972
- Simpson, Jeffrey, *The Friendly Dictatorship*, McClelland and Stewart, 2002
- Simpson, Jeffrey *Spoils of Power: The Politics of Patronage*, Collins Publishers, 1988
- Smith, Denis, *Bleeding Hearts, Bleeding Country: Canada and the Quebec Crisis*, M.G. Hurting, 1971
- Smith, Denis, *Rogue Tory: the Legend of John G. Diefenbaker*, Macfarlane, Walter and Ross, 1995
- Stanley, Della M.M, *Louis Robichaud: A Decade of Power*, Nimbus Publishing, 1984
- Storey, D.C. and Sheppard. Bruce, *The Diefenbaker Legacy: Canadian Politics, Law and Society Since 1957*, Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1998.
- Tanguay, A.B. and Gagnon, Alain-G (eds.), *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 2<sup>nd</sup> (ed.), Nelson, 1996
- .Taras, David, *The Newsmakers: The Media's Influence on Canadian Politics*, Nelson, 1990,
- Ward, Norman and Spafford, Duff, (eds), *Politics in Saskatchewan*, Longmans Canada, 1968,
- Weller, Patrick "Cabinet Government: An Elusive Ideal ?" in *Public Administration*, 2003, Vol 81, No 4, pp. 701 – 722
- Wells, Paul, *Right Side Up: the Fall of Paul Martin and the Rise of Stephen Harper's New Conservatism*, Mc Clelland and Stewart, 2006
- Whitaker, Reg, "Apprehended Insurrection? RCMP Intelligence and the October Crisis" in *Queen's Quarterly*, Summer 1993, pp.383 – 406
- White, Graham, *Cabinets and First Ministers*, University of British Columbia Press, 2005
- Whittington, Michael and Williams, Glen, *Canadian Politics in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed Nelson, 2008

**Journal Articles that are available electronically will not be placed on reserve but are available on line from the Weldon Library website. Readings listed as optional are not on reserve**

### **Class Organization:**

The class will meet for two hours a week. Each seminar will commence with a short introduction to the topic by the course instructor followed by student presentations and class discussion. Each student will be responsible for the required assigned readings for each seminar. **The examination at the conclusion of the course (April 2012) will be based on the readings assigned for the seminars (September 2011 – April 2012). Class participation is encouraged and a participation grade is a component of the final course grade.**

The course has been designated as an essay course and will involve total written assignments (essays) of at least 5,000 words.

### **Participation Grade:**

Note: Attendance will be recorded each week and the participation grade will be based on an assessment of each student's contribution to class discussion and attendance at seminars. Please

note that regular attendance with no significant contribution to class discussion will result in a participation grade of no more than 4/10. The first term participation grade will be assigned in December 2011 and the participation grade for the second term will be assigned in April 2012.

### **Seminar Presentation: Literature Review, Commentary Paper and Discussant Questions**

**Readings are assigned for each seminar to provide context for the issues under discussion. Appropriate case studies have been assigned as readings for many of the seminars.**

**Each student will be required to prepare two seminar presentations (one in each term). The seminar presentation will involve a review of literature assigned for the topic. The seminar objectives and discussion questions outlined for each class constitute the basis for the literature review. Students will select a specific theme / issue for the seminar presentation. Students must submit a written commentary (2500 words essay format) with direct quotations and other factual points documented one week after the seminar presentation. Deadlines will be enforced.**

**There will be seminar presentations each week. Seminar presentations should be no more than 25 minutes in length to ensure that there is adequate time for discussion and debate. The purpose of the presentation is to outline and assess the major themes, issues, and conclusions that emerge from the assigned literature. The presenter of the seminar should not attempt a detailed summary of the assigned literature. Students are encouraged to use power point presentations and video clips where appropriate. Seminars will be graded on the quality of the written paper and the effectiveness of the presentation.**

#### **NOTE:**

**Students presenting seminars must meet with the instructor prior to the seminar to discuss the presentation.**

### **Seminar Discussants**

**Each week at least two students will serve as seminar discussants. It will be the responsibility of the seminar discussants to comment on the presentations and to initiate discussion by posing a series of questions (two or three) that will encourage discussion.**

Seminar discussants will be assessed on the quality of their commentary and on the originality of the discussion questions. The grade assigned for this portion of the seminar will be a component of the participation grade. Students will be assigned the role of seminar discussant for at least two seminars during the course of the year.

**NOTE: Seminars begin on September 27 /2011**

## **Deadlines for the Submission of Seminar Commentary Paper, Seminar Discussion Questions, Essay Assignment**

Please note policies regarding the application of late penalties. Academic accommodation citing medical and compassionate grounds will be granted in accordance with the provisions of the *Policy on Accommodation for Medical Illness- Undergraduate Students* approved by the Senate of the University of Western Ontario effective September 1, 2008.

*Student participation grades* (5% per term) will be assigned in December 2011 and April 2012. Because participation grades will be based in part on class attendance, students will be required to provide medical documentation for extended absences from class that could affect the participation grade assigned by the instructor in each term.

### **1. Seminar Commentary Paper and Discussant Questions:**

The Seminar Commentary paper must be submitted to the course instructor *one week* after the date of the seminar presentation. A copy of the Discussion Questions must be submitted to the instructor *at the conclusion of the class*. Students must retain a copy of all assignments (essays, seminar commentary papers and seminar discussion questions). Copies of the seminar questions will be retained by the instructor.

Failure to present the seminar on the assigned date will result in a grade of 0 % unless there are compelling documented medical or compassionate grounds. **A late penalty of 5% per day including holidays and weekends will be assigned to Seminar Commentary Papers submitted after the deadline.**

**Failure to present discussion questions at the assigned seminar will be recorded and will affect the participation grade assigned for the course.**

### **2. Late Penalties For Essays:**

**A late penalty of 3% per day including weekends and statutory holidays will be assigned. Therefore an essay that was due on a Friday and which is submitted on a Monday will be assigned a 6% penalty.** The late penalty will be deducted from the grade assigned to the essay. An assigned grade of 80% with a late penalty of 6% would result in a grade of 74%. Papers submitted 10 days after the due date documentation will not normally be accepted unless appropriate documentation is provided. **Essays can not be submitted via email without the permission of the instructor.**

**3. Essay Proposal: An essay proposal must be submitted on or before Nov 22/2011. Details regarding the format will be discussed in the seminar on September 13/2011. Failure to submit a proposal will result in a 5% reduction in the grade assigned to the essay.** For example a grade of



75% will be reduced to 70% if an essay proposal is not submitted on **Nov 22/2011**. Essay proposals will be reviewed with each student before the end of Term I .

### **Course Structure: An Overview**

Part I - Political Leadership: Recurring Themes and Approaches (Sept 13/2011 - October 11/2011)

Part II - Prime Ministerial Leadership: Challenges and Strategies (Oct 18 /2011 – Jan 31 / 2012).

Part III - Evaluating Political Leadership: A series of case studies that assess and compare "leadership styles" and the capacity of prime ministers and provincial premiers to manage conflict. (Feb 7 /2012 – April 10/2012).

### **Seminar Schedule and Readings**

*Note: Readings marked (R) are required  
Readings marked (O) are supplementary*

**Part I Political Leadership: Recurring Themes and Approaches** (Sept 13/2011 - October 11/2011)

**Sept. 13/2011 Overview of course**

Course Outlines

Course objectives

Assignments (seminars, essays) participation grade, essay commentary papers and final exam

Allocation of seminar topics and assignment of seminar discussants

Guidelines for seminar presentations and the documentation of sources for assignments

Essay Topics: Discussion

Essay Proposal: Discussion

Assignment of readings for seminar on Sept 20/2011

**Sept. 20/2011 Political Leadership: Literature Review: Application to Canada  
Political Leadership: Charismatic, Transactional and  
Transformational Leadership**

**Seminar Objectives:**

To identify common themes in definitions of "leadership"

To review approaches to the study of leadership

To outline and assess the concepts of "hard power" (p. 40), "soft power" (p.40) and "smart power" (p.43) outlined by Joseph Nye. Joseph S. Nye Jr, *The Powers to Lead*, Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 40 and 43.

To review and assess the concepts of "Charismatic Leadership" (Joseph S. Nye Jr, *The Powers to Lead*, Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 53), "Transformational and Transactional Leadership" as developed by Burns and outlined by Joseph Nye Jr. (Joseph S. Nye Jr, *The Powers to Lead*, Oxford University Press, 2008, p 61.)

To apply the concepts of "transactional" and "transformational" leadership in the Canadian context.

### **Readings:**

Joseph S. Nye Jr., *The Powers to Lead*, Oxford University Press, 2008, Preface ,pp. ix – xiii, pp. 1 – 108 (R).

Cristine de Clercy, "Leadership and Uncertainty in Fiscal Restructuring: Ralph Klein and Roy Romanow, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol 38, No1, March 2005, pp. 175 – 202. (R)

### **Optional Readings**

Robert Elgie, "Leadership: Political", in *International Encyclopaedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 2001 (0)

Robert Elgie, *Political Leadership in Liberal Democracies*, 1995, pp.1-24 (0)

Leon Dion, "The Concept of Political Leadership: An Analysis", *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, March 1968, pp. 2-17(0)

James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox*, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. New York, pp. 481-7 (0).

James Mac Gregor Burns, *Leadership*, Harper and Rowe, 1978, pp.1-5, 9-28 (0)

Michael Foley, *the British Presidency*, Manchester University Press, 2000, Chpt. 2 (0)

### **Questions:**

1. Note the themes in the definitions of political leadership and the approaches to the study of leadership outlined by Joseph Nye Jr.
2. Discuss and assess the concepts of "hard power"( p. 40), "soft power"(p.40) and "smart power"(p.43) outlined by Joseph Nye Jr.( Joseph S. Nye Jr, *The Powers to Lead*, Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 40 and 43.)
3. What are the defining features of the concepts of "Charismatic Leadership", (p.53) "Transformational and Transactional Leadership"(p.61) (Joseph S. Nye Jr, *The Powers to Lead*, Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 53 and 61.)
4. Outline and assess the "leadership styles" as well as the tactics and strategies associated with "transactional" and "transformational" leadership. To what extent can these concepts be applied to the study of political leadership in Canada?

5. Define the term “Emotional Intelligence” (p. 69) and “Contextual Intelligence” (p.85). (Joseph S. Nye Jr , *The Powers to Lead*, Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 69 and 85. Assess the importance of these concepts in the exercise of political leadership.

6. Discuss the political skills and leadership strategies required for effective “crisis management”.

7. What insights and conclusions emerge from C. de Clercy's case study that evaluates and compares how two provincial premiers (Klein and Romanow) utilized different leadership styles and strategies to deal with the fiscal challenges (significant budget deficits) in Alberta and Saskatchewan during the 1990's.

## **Sept.27/2011                      Evaluating Political Leadership**

### **Seminar Objectives**

To define the benchmarks/ criteria developed by Joseph Nye to evaluate the performance of political leaders and to assess how he identifies “good and bad leaders” Joseph S. Nye Jr, *The Powers to Lead*, Oxford University Press, 2008, p.111.

To assess the proposition “that soft power is increasingly more effective in modern democratic societies and organizations”. Joseph S. Nye Jr, *The Powers to Lead*, Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 140.

**Readings:** Joseph S. Nye Jr , *The Powers to Lead*, Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 109 – 145

### Questions

1. How should the performance of political leaders be evaluated? What benchmarks should be employed to evaluate the performance of political leaders? Outline and assess the benchmarks/criteria developed by Joseph Nye Jr.
2. Assess the proposition “..... that soft power is increasingly more effective in modern democratic societies and organizations”. Joseph S. Nye Jr, *The Powers to Lead*, Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 140.

## **Oct 4/2011                      Leadership Style: Personality and Political Leadership**

### **Seminar Objectives:**

To define and assess the notion of "leadership styles"

To assess the impact of "personality" on the exercise of political leadership

To review frameworks for evaluating and comparing political leadership styles

To discuss the themes and conclusions that emerge from the three case studies

(Thatcher, Obama and Mulroney) that assess the impact of personality and leadership style on the exercise of political leadership.

**Readings:**

F.I Greenstein, "The Person of the President" in Joel D. Aberbach and Mark A. Peterson, (eds.), *Institutions of American Democracy: The Executive Branch*, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 218 – 240 (R).

James David Barber, *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*, 4 th ed., Prentice Hall, 1992. pp. 1 -11 (R)

### Case Study:

Anthony King, "The Outsider as Political Leader: The Case of Margaret Thatcher" in Larry Berman, (ed), *Essays in Honor of Fred Greenstein*, Rowman and Littlefield 2006, pp. 236 – 258 ( R)

Jonathan Malloy, "Mulroney's Shadows: The Many Images of Canada's Eighteenth Prime Minister" in *Canadian Political Science Review*, 4 (1) March 2010, pp.12 – 23 ( R )

Stephen J. Wayne, " Presidential Character and Judgement: Obama's Afghanistan and Health Care Decisions" in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 41, No2., pp.291 – 306 ( R )

### Optional Reading:

Fred I. Greenstein, (2009) "The Leadership Style of Barack Obama: An Early Assessment," *The Forum*: 2009, Vol. 7 : Issue 1. Article 6. ( O )

Fred I. Greenstein, "Plumbing the Presidential Psyche: Building on Neustadt and Barber" in Larry Berman, (ed), *Essays in Honor of Fred Greenstein*, Rowman and Littlefield 2006, pp.17 - 26 ( 0 )

Meena Bose, "What Makes for a Great President? An Analysis of Leadership Qualities in Fred Greenstein's *The Presidential Difference*" in Larry Berman, (ed), *Essays in Honor of Fred Greenstein*, Rowman and Littlefield 2006, pp. 27 – 44( 0 )

John C. Courtney, "Prime Ministerial Character: An Examination of Mackenzie King's Political Leadership", *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vole 9, No1, March 1976, pp.77 - 100 ( 0 ).

John C. Courtney, " An Alternate View" of Mackenzie King: A Rejoinder", *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol 9, No 2, June 1976, pp.308 – 309 ( R )

J.E. Esbrey, "Prime Ministerial Character: An Alternate View", *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol 9, No1, March 1976, pp. 101 - 106. ( R )

### Questions:

1. Discuss and evaluate the "Four Types of Presidential Character" (Barber, p. 8) developed by Barber. To what extent can an analysis of a leader's personality provide a basis for predicting and assessing a leader's performance in office?

2. Define the term "leadership style"? What factors influence "leadership styles" of presidents and prime ministers? Note observations of Greenstein regarding the variables that can be used to compare presidential "leadership styles" .

3. Discuss the themes and conclusions that emerge from the three case studies (Thatcher, Obama and Mulroney) that assess the impact of personality and leadership style on the exercise of political leadership.

**Oct 11/2011                      Gender and Political Leadership: Canada**

**Seminar Objectives:**

To review literature that explores the issue of political leadership and gender  
To assess the role of women in electoral politics in Canada with particular attention to representation in legislatures and in the executive.

**Readings:**

Sylvia Bashevkin, “ “Stage “ v “Actor” Barriers to Women’s Federal Party Leadership” in Sylvia Bashevkin (ed), *Opening Doors Wider: Women’s Political Engagement in Canada* , UBC Press, 2009, pp. 108 -126 ( R )

**Case Study**

Elizabeth Gidengil, Joanna Everitt and Susan Banducci, “ Do Voters Stereotype Female Party Leaders? Evidence from Canada and New Zealand” in Sylvia Bashevkin (ed), *Opening Doors Wider: Women’s Political Engagement in Canada* , UBC Press, 2009, pp. 167 -193( R )

**Optional Reading**

Jaquetta Newman and Linda White, *Women, Politics and Public Policy: The Political Struggles of Canadian Women*, Oxford University Press, 2006, Chapter 5 (0)

Jacquetta Newman, “Small –p Politics: Women Working Outside Formal Political Structures” in Mark Charlton and Paul Barker (eds), *Contemporary Political Issues*, 6 th ed., Nelson, 2009, pp. 265 -275 ( 0 )

Jacqueta Newmann, “ Say It Five Times Fast: The Pitfalls of Small – P Politics and a Plea for Large- P Politics” ” in Mark Charlton and Paul Barker (eds), *Contemporary Political Issues*, 6 th ed., Nelson, 2009, pp.276 – 290 (O) .

Linda Trimble, and Jane Arscott, *Still Counting: Women in Politics Across Canada*, Broadview, 2003 (0)

Elisabeth Gidengil and Joanna Everitt, ” Conventional Coverage/Unconventional Politicians: Gender and Media Coverage of Recent Canadian Leaders'

Debates, 1993, 1997, 2000, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 2003, Vol 36, Vol 3, pp 559- 577 (0)

Linda Trimble , “Gender, Political Leadership and Media Visibility: *Globe and Mail* Coverage of Conservative Party of Canada Leadership Contests”, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol 40, No 4, December 2007, pp. 969 – 993. (0)

**Questions:**

1. Trimble and Arscott use the term "The Electoral Glass Ceiling" (Still Counting: Women in Politics Across Canada, Broadview, 2003, p. 42) to note the relative absence of women in leadership

positions in Canadian politics (representation in legislatures and in cabinet) at both the federal and provincial levels. Review the evidence and arguments developed by Sylvia Bashevkin to document the challenges encountered by women in leadership positions in Canada.

2. Outline and discuss the observations and conclusions that emerge from the case study that examined the perceptions of female party leaders by the electorate during election campaigns in Canada and Australia..

## **II - Part II - Prime Ministerial Leadership: Challenges and Strategies (Oct 18 /2011 – Jan 31/2012**

**Oct 18/2011 The Origins and Evolution of the Office of Prime Minister: Prime Ministerial Government**

**Please note that the seminar on October 18/2011 will be held in Room 9420 Social Science Centre. The Seminar room is located in the Dean's Office on the 9 th floor of the Social Science Building. Please proceed to the Dean's Office and you will be directed to Room 9420.**

### **Seminar Objectives:**

To document the historical origins and the evolution of the office of prime minister in Canada  
 To identify the factors that have contributed to the “presidentialization” of the Canadian parliamentary system and in particular to the office of prime minister

### **Readings:**

#### **Westminster Parliamentary Democracy: Responsible Government Background and Context**

Peter Aucoin, Mark D. Jarvis and Lori Turnbull, *Democratizing the Constitution: Reforming Responsible Government*, Emond Montgomery Publications, 2011, Chapter 2.(R)

#### **Prime Ministerial Government**

Graham White, *Cabinet and First Ministers*, University of British Columbia Press, 2005, pp.64 -101, 170-186(R).

Peter Aucoin, Mark D. Jarvis and Lori Turnbull, *Democratizing the Constitution: Reforming Responsible Government*, Emond Montgomery Publications, 2011, Chapter 4.(R)

Paul G. Thomas, "Governing From the Centre: Reconceptualising The Role Of The PM And Cabinet" in *Policy Options*, Vol.25, No 4, December 2003 - January 2004, pp.79 - 85(R).

### **Optional Reading**

Jeffrey Simpson, *The Friendly Dictatorship*, McClelland and Stewart, 2002, pp.3 – 72.(0)

Peter W. Hogg, *Constitutional Law of Canada*, Carswell, 2002 Student Edition, pp.249 - 278 (0)

R.M. Punnett, *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, Macmillan, 1977, pp. 17 – 29 (0)

Patrick Weller, *First Among Equals*, ch.1, pp. 1-17 (O)

Herman Bakvis, "Prime Minister and Cabinet in Canada: An Autocracy in Need of Reform?" in *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Winter 2000-2001, Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 60-79 (0)

Herman Bakvis and Stephen B. Wolinetz, "Canada: Executive Dominance and Presidentialization" in Thomas Poguntke and Paul Webb (eds), *The Presidentialization of Politics: A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies*, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 199 – 220 (0).

Thomas Poguntke and Paul Webb, "The Presidentialization of Politics in Democratic Societies: A Framework for Analysis", in Thomas Poguntke and Paul Webb (eds), *The Presidentialization of Politics: A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies*, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp.1 -25. (0)

Donald Savoie, *Power Where Is It?* McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010, pp. 127 - 151(0)

Hugh Mellon, "Coming to Terms with Political Realities: Exploring the Breadth of Prime – Ministerial Power" in Mark Charlton, and Mark Barker, (eds), *Contemporary Political Issues*, 6 th ed., Nelson, 2009, pp.162 -176. ( O )

Paul Barker, "Limits on the Power of the Prime Minister", in Mark Charlton, and Mark Barker, (eds), *Contemporary Political Issues*, 6 th ed., Nelson, 2009, pp. 177 – 190 ( 0 )

W. A. Matheson, *The Prime Minister and the Cabinet*, Methuen, 1976, pp.1 -21. (0)

### Questions:

1. Trace the historical origins of "responsible government" in Canada and identify the evolution of the constitutional customs and conventions surrounding parliamentary government and the office of prime minister in Canada.
2. Identify and discuss the factors that have contributed to the "presidentialization" of parliamentary systems. In particular discuss the factors that have contributed to the "presidentialization" of the Canadian parliamentary system and in particular the office of prime minister. What factors limit /constrain the influence/ dominance of the prime minister in the policy making process?

**Seminar Objectives:**

- To outline and assess the procedures for selecting national leaders in Canada
- To debate the merits of leadership selection by caucus and by convention
- To debate the advantages and disadvantages of leadership selection by a "delegate based convention" as opposed to a "direct membership" vote ("UMV") of all party members.
- To assess the effectiveness of the procedures developed by political parties for leadership review

**Readings:**

- William Cross, *Political Parties*, University of British Columbia Press, 2004 Chapter 5(R)
- R.K. Carty, "Leadership Politics and the Transformation of Canadian Parties," in Hans H. J. Michelman, Donald C. Storey and Jeffrey Steeves, *Political Leadership and Representation in Canada, Essays in Honor of John C. Courtney* University of Toronto Press, 2007, pp. 16 – 38. (R)
- Thomas Bateman, "Party Democracy Increases the Leader's Power" in *Policy Options*, September 2001, Vol 22, No 7, pp.20 -23 (R)

**Case Studies**

- David Stewart," Electing a Premier: An Examination of the 1992 Alberta PC Universal Ballot", in Joanna Everitt and Brenda O'Neil, *Citizen Politics: Research and Theory in Canadian Political Behaviour*, 321 - 337 (R)

**Optional Reading**

- John Courtney, *Do Leadership Conventions Matter? Choosing National Party Leaders in Canada*, ch.3, 13 ( 0)
- D.V. Smiley, "The National Party Leadership Convention in Canada: A Preliminary Analysis" in *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol 1, December 1968, No 4, pp. 373- 379 ( 0)
- David K. Stewart and R. Kenneth Carty," Leadership Politics as Party Building: The Conservatives in 1998" in William Cross (ed), *Political Parties, Representation, and Electoral Democracy in Canada*, Oxford University Press, 2002, pp.55-67 (0)

**Questions:**

1. Canada and Australia use different methods to select national party leaders-the parliamentary caucus and leadership conventions. Discuss the relative merits of each method. What factors prompted the choice of the leadership convention in Canada as the method of leadership selection? "One member one vote" conventions have replaced the delegate convention as the preferred method of leadership selection for many political parties in Canada. What do you consider to be the advantages and disadvantages of the new "direct vote" leadership selection process? What conclusions emerge from the case study that examined the selection of Ralph Klein as leader of the Progressive Conservative Party of Alberta?
2. Leadership review processes were implemented by the federal Liberal and Conservative parties in Canada in 1966. Discuss the procedures available to review the leadership of political parties. How do leadership review procedures affect relationships between the caucus and the extra-



parliamentary party and the accountability of political leaders to the caucus and the extra – parliamentary party?

3 Weller identifies four factors that affect the vulnerability of political leaders to leadership challenges. (See Courtney, pp. 49 -53). Discuss the relative security and vulnerability of the prime minister to leadership challenges. Compare the job security of the Canadian prime minister with his /her colleagues in Australia and Great Britain. Whose job is most secure?

**Nov 1/2011                      Political Leadership and Election Campaigns : Receiving and Renewing a Mandate**

**Seminar Objectives:**

To assess the importance of political leadership in the exercise of partisan choice (voting).

To discuss and to evaluate the importance of political leadership in receiving and renewing a mandate

**Readings:**

Amanda Bittner, “Personality Matters: The Evaluation of Party Leaders in Canadian Elections” in Cameron D. Anderson, and Laura B Stevenson,. (eds), *Voting Behaviour in Canada* , UBC Press, 2010, pp.

Jon H. Pammett, "Elections", in Michael Whittington and Glenn Williams (eds) *Canadian Politics in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, 7 th ed., Nelson, 2008, pp. 153 - 167 (R)

Elizabeth Gidengil and Andre Blais, “Are Party Leaders Becoming More Important to Vote Choice in Canada” in H.J. Michelman, Donald C. Storey and Jeffrey Steeves (eds), *Political Leadership and Representation in Canada, Essays in Honor of John C. Courtney*, University of Toronto Press, 2007, pp.39 -59 (R ).

**Optional Reading**

Richard Johnston, "Prime Ministerial Contenders in Canada" in Anthony King (ed), *Leaders' Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*, pp.158 -183 (0)

Anthony King, "Do Leaders' Personalities Really Matter?" in Anthony King (ed), *Leaders Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*, pp.1- 43 (0), pp.210 -221 ( 0 )

**Questions:**

1. What factors determine how an individual will vote: party, leader, local candidate?
2. What observations are found in the literature with regard to the relationship between the party leader, leadership images and voting intentions?
3. Assess the influence of party leadership and leadership images on voting intentions.

**Nov 8/2011                      Preparing to Govern: The Transition**

**Seminar Objectives**

To identify the challenges faced by a “prime minister designate “in the interval between winning a leadership convention and / or a general election and assuming the position of prime minister.

Donald R. Cameron and Graham White, *Cycling into Saigon: The Conservative Transition in Ontario*, UBC Press, 2000, pp. 3 – 16, 17 - 40. (R)

Allan Blakeney and Sandford Borins, *Political Management in Canada*, 2 nd Edition, 1998, University of Toronto Press, pp.229 – 239 ( R ).

Donald Savoie, "Introduction" in Donald Savoie (ed), *Taking Power: Managing Government Transitions*, Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 1993, pp, 1 – 11 (R).

#### Case Study

Donald R. Cameron and Graham White, *Cycling into Saigon: The Conservative Transition in Ontario*, UBC Press, 2000, pp. 17 - 40. (R)

Book Excerpt from Paul Wells, *Right Side Up: the Fall of Paul Martin and the Rise of Stephen Harper's New Conservatism*, Mc Clelland and Stewart, 2006, in Paul Wells, “Harper's first 100 days: Taking Charge”, in *Policy Options*, Vol 27, No 9, November 2006, pp. 83 – 87 ( R ).

#### Questions

1. Identify and discuss the challenges faced by a "prime minister designate" in the transition period between a leadership convention and / or a general election and assuming office. What factors /circumstances influence the nature of the transition process? What insights emerge from the case studies of the transition in Ontario from Frank Miller to David Peterson in 1985 and from David Peterson to Bob Rae in 1990. Discuss the transition of power from Paul Martin to Stephen Harper at the national level in 2006
2. Discuss the impact of the leadership style and the personality of political leaders (prime ministers) on the transfer of power in Canada after a federal election..

**Nov 15 /2011**

**Exercising Political Leadership in a Fragmented Community  
Forming A Government: Selecting a Cabinet  
Regional Ministers and the Quebec Lieutenant**

#### **Seminar Objectives:**

To assess the ability of prime ministers to provide political leadership within a regionally and culturally fragmented community through elite accommodation

To assess the factors a prime minister takes into account in forming a cabinet  
 To assess the evolving role of the "Quebec Lieutenant" and the "Regional Minister" in the federal cabinet.

## Readings

### **Forming a Government: Exercising Political Leadership in a Fragmented Community**

W. A. Matheson, *The Prime Minister and the Cabinet*, pp.22 - 46, 176 -180 (R)

Graham White, *Cabinets and First Ministers* pp. 40 - 42, 162 -164 (R).

Herman Bakvis, *Regional Ministers: Power and Influence in the Cabinet*, University of Toronto Press, 19991, Ch 12, pp. 283 -302 (R)

Blair Neatby, "Mackenzie King and French Canada" in *Journal of Canadian Studies*, February 1976, Volume XI, Number 1, pp. 3 – 13 (R).

## Optional Reading

John English, The "French Lieutenant" in Ottawa", in R. K Carty and W. Peter Ward (eds), *National Politics and Community in Canada*, UBC Press, 1986, pp. 184 – 200. (0)

David E. Smith, "Cabinet and Commons in the Era of James G. Gardiner" in John C. Courtney (ed). *The Canadian House of Commons: Essays in Honour of Norman Ward*, University of Calgary Press, 1985, pp.69 – 89 (0)

W.A. Matheson, *The Prime Minister and the Cabinet*, pp.127-180 for an overview.

These chapters will provide historical background on the representational role of the cabinet in a "consociational model" of decision-making and identify the constraints placed on the Prime Minister in the selection of ministers.

Matthew Kerby, "Worth the Wait: Determinants of Ministerial Appointment in Canada,1935 - 2008" in *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 2009, Vol 42, No 3, pp. 593 -611 ( 0 )

Christopher Kam and Indridi Indridason, "The Timing of Cabinet Reshuffles in Five Westminster Systems, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2005, Vol 30, No 3,pp.327 – 363 (0 )

## Questions:

1. Matheson employs the concept of "consociational democracy" as a framework to view the relationship between the Prime Minister and the Cabinet and as a bench mark to evaluate the leadership skills and styles of Prime Ministers.

What personal attributes ("leadership qualities" / "leadership style") are required if prime ministers are to govern effectively for an extended period of time in a fragmented political community?

(Matheson, p.175) How do these leadership traits affect the character of Canadian politics? (see Matheson, p. 179)

Is longevity in office an effective (perhaps the only way) to measure the leadership skills of national leaders?

2. Define the term "regional minister". What roles have "regional ministers" performed in the federal cabinet? What techniques / strategies have been used to perform these roles? Has the role of the "regional minister" changed over time?

3. Is there a conflict between the role of a cabinet minister as a "departmental leader" exercising policy leadership and the role of a minister as a representative of regional/linguistic interests?
4. Define the term "Quebec Lieutenant"? What factors /circumstances explain the success of particular prime ministers (Macdonald and King) in selecting a prominent cabinet minister from Quebec (Cartier and Lapointe ) to perform a special role and to exercise significant influence in cabinet decision -making. Why have some prime ministers been less successful in defining a special role for a Quebec minister in the cabinet?

**Nov 22/2011                      Organizing and Managing A Government: the Prime Minister and the Cabinet**

### **Seminar Objectives**

- To assess the evolving role of the cabinet in the context of “prime ministerial” government
- To assess the different perspectives on "cabinet government” within a Westminster model of parliamentary democracy
- To isolate and assess major trends in cabinet government in Canada since 1945
- To discuss the merits of the "departmentalized" and "institutionalized" cabinets.

### **Readings:**

#### **Cabinet Organization: An Overview 1945 – 2010**

- Patrick Weller, “Cabinet Government: An Elusive Ideal ?” in *Public Administration*, 2003, Vol 81, No 4, pp. 701 – 722 ( R )
- Graham White, *Cabinets and First Ministers*, University of British Columbia Press, 2005, pp.29 – 63 and pp.102 – 169 (R)

#### **Optional Reading**

- Paul Barker, *Public Administration in Canada, Brief Edition*, Nelson, 2008, pp. 180 – 190 (0)
- Christopher Dunn, “The Utility of the Institutionalized Cabinet” in Charlton, Mark and Barker, Paul (eds), *Contemporary Political Issues*, 3 rd edition, 1998, Nelson, pp.244 – 263 ( 0 )
- Paul Barker, “Problems with the Institutionalized Cabinet“ in Charlton, Mark and Barker, Paul (eds), *Contemporary Political Issues*, 3 rd edition, 1998, Nelson, pp. 264 -274 ( 0 )
- Peter Aucoin, "Organizational Change in the Management of Canadian Government: From Rational Management to Brokerage Politics", *Canadian Journal of Political Science* Vol 19, No 1, March 1986, pp. 3-27 ( 0 )
- Gerald C.V. Wright, "Mackenzie King: Power over the Political Executive" in T. Hockin, . ed. *Apex of Power*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Prentice-Hall, 1977, pp. 285 – 293.( O)
- Peter Aucoin, "Prime Minister and Cabinet", in J Bickerton, and A. Gagnon, (*Canadian Politics*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Broadview, 1999 , pp.109 -128 ( 0 )
- Herman Bakvis, "Cabinet Ministers: Leaders or Followers?" in M. Mancuso, R. Price, and R. Wagenberg, (eds.) *Leaders and Leadership in Canada*, Oxford 1994, pp. 132 -154 (0)

Michael Howlett, Luc Bernier, Keith Brownsey, and Christopher Dunn," Modern Canadian Governance: Administrative Styles and Executive Organization in Canada" in Luc Bernier, Keith Brownsey, and Michael Hewlett, (Eds.), *Executive Styles in Canada: Cabinet Structures and Leadership in Canadian Government*, 2005, pp.3 -13. (0)

### Questions:

1. Trace the evolution of "Cabinet Government" in Westminster parliamentary systems since 1945 as outlined by Weller and White .In particular, identify the trends that emerge from the readings with regard to the evolving role of the cabinet and cabinet ministers in the formation of policy and the relationship between the Prime Minister and cabinet ministers, cabinet committees and central agencies in the cabinet decision-making process. What special role does the Prime Minister play in the organization and operation of the cabinet?

**Nov 29/2011**

### **The Exercise of Power: Sources of Advice**

#### **Seminar Objectives:**

To assess and evaluate the sources of advice available to prime ministers

To assess and evaluate the role of central coordinating agencies

To review the evolving role of the PMO and the PCO as sources of advice to the prime minister and the cabinet

#### **Readings:**

#### **Sources of Advice**

Patrick Weller, "Support for Prime Ministers: A Comparative Perspective", in Colin Campbell, S.J. and Margaret Jane Wyszomirski (eds), *Executive Leadership in Anglo-American Systems*, University of Pittsburg Press, 1991, pp. 361 – 379 (R).

Herman Bakvis "Advising the Executive: Think Tanks, Consultants, Political Staff and Kitchen Cabinets", in Patrick Weller, Herman Bakvis and R.A.W. Rhodes, *The Hollow Crown: Countervailing Trends in Core Executives*, Macmillan Press, 1997, pp. 84 – 125 ( R )

Donald Savoie, *Breaking the Bargain: Public Servants, Ministers, and Parliament*, University of Toronto Press, pp.103- 131 (R).

#### **Central Agencies**

Paul Thomas, "The Role of Central Agencies" in J. Bickerton and Alain -G. Gagnon, *Canadian Politics* , 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Broadview, 1999 pp. 129-147. (R)

**Optional Reading**

Jacques Bourguault, "Clerks and Secretaries to Cabinet: Anatomy of Leadership" in Patrice Dutil (ed), *Searching for Leadership: Secretaries to Cabinet in Canada*, University of Toronto Press, 2008, pp. 41 – 81 (O)

Irwin Studin, "Revisiting the Democratic Deficit: The Case For Political Party Think Tanks", *Policy Options*, Vol 29, No2, February 2008, pp. 62 – 67. (O)

Thomas Axworthy, "Of Secretaries to Princes", *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol 31, No 2, Summer 1988, pp. 247-264 (O)

Ken Rasmussen, "Bureaucrats and Politicians in the Diefenbaker Era: A Legacy of Mistrust" in D. C. Storey, *The Diefenbaker Legacy*, pp155-169(O).

Reg Whitaker, "Politicians versus Administration: Politicians and Bureaucrats", in M. Whittington and Glen Williams (eds). *Canadian Politics in the 21 st Century*, 7 th ed, Nelson 2008, pp.54 -77 (O).

Donald Savoie, *Power Where Is It?* McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010, pp. 152 – 192 (O).

**Questions:****Sources of Advice**

1. What type of advice does the Prime Minister need? Identify the sources of advice that are available to the Prime Minister? Who is best equipped to provide advice to the Prime Minister? Why do first ministers rely less heavily on policy advice from the federal bureaucracy and increasingly seek policy advice from "think tanks", "consulting firms" and "focus groups"? Do governments rely too heavily on public opinion surveys and "focus groups" in the formation of public policy?

**.Central Agencies**

1. What is a central agency and how can it be differentiated from "line" departments? What objectives does the "core executive" hope to achieve when central agencies are established? Why do central agencies have influence? Do central agencies work to advance the interests of line departments or the policy priorities of the Prime Minister? Cite examples to illustrate the obstacles that central agencies can construct to challenge the policy initiatives of line departments.
2. What is the Privy Council Office? What role does the PCO play in the cabinet planning and decision-making processes? What is the role of the Clerk of the Privy Council? Discuss how the role of the office has changed over the past 25 years.
3. What is the PMO? Differentiate the role of the PCO and PMO?

**Dec 6/2011 Prime Minister and Provincial Premiers - Federal-Provincial Relations****Seminar Objectives:**

To outline and assess the strategy and tactics employed by prime ministers to manage and resolve intergovernmental conflict

**Readings:**

Background and Framework:

S.J.R.Noel, "The Prime Minister's Role in a Consociational Democracy" in T. Hockin, *Apex of Power*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pp.154-157 (R)

Richard Simeon, *Federal – Provincial Diplomacy: The Making of Recent Policy in Canada*, University of Toronto Press, 1972, pp. 3 – 19 and 298 – 313 (R)

Donald Wallace, "Friends and Foes: Prime Ministers and Premiers in Intergovernmental Relations", in L. Pal and D. Taras, *Prime Minister and Premiers*, pp. 69-86 (R)

**Case Study: Lester B. Pearson and the " Quiet Revolution"**

Readings:

Michael D. Behiels, "Lester B. Pearson and the Conundrum of National Unity, 1963 - 1968" in Norman Hillmer (ed.), *Pearson, The Unlikely Gladiator*, McGill - Queen's University Press, 1999, pp.68 -82. (R)

**Optional Reading**

Claude Ryan, "Lester B. Pearson and Canadian Unity", in Norman Hillmer (ed.), *Pearson, The Unlikely Gladiator*, McGill - Queen's University Press, 1999, pp.83 -91 ( 0 )

H. Blair Neatby, "Duality" in Norman Hillmer (ed.), *Pearson, The Unlikely Gladiator*, McGill - Queen's University Press, 1999, pp. 175 -177 (o)

Gordon Robertson, "Unity", in *Pearson, The Unlikely Gladiator*, McGill - Queen's University Press, 1999, pp. 178 -180 (o)

Martin Papillion and Richard Simeon, "The Weakest Link? First Ministers' Conferences in Canadian Intergovernmental Relations" in J.P.Meekison, Hamish Telford and Harvey Lazar (eds), *Canada: The State of the Federation 2002: Reconsidering the Institutions of Canadian Federalism*, Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, 2002, pp. 113 - 140 (0)

**Questions:**

1. Define the term "consociational politics" and indicate how the concept provides a framework to assess the role of the Prime Minister in managing federal -provincial relations and intergovernmental conflict? Cite examples to demonstrate Noel's observation that "if a Prime Minister is unable or unwilling to perform what may be called his "elite accommodation role", he is unlikely to survive for long to perform the others, or to perform them well" (p.158).

2. Trace the evolution and assess the effectiveness of First Ministers' Conferences as a mechanism for the resolution of intergovernmental conflict. Assess the impact of the "leadership style" of first ministers on the strategy and tactics employed by first ministers in the negotiation of

intergovernmental accords? What resources can Prime Ministers employ to manage intergovernmental conflict?

3. To what extent do the events in Quebec from 1960 -1966 ("Quiet Revolution") demonstrate Prime Minister Pearson's "leadership style" (political values, policy objectives as well as negotiating strategy and bargaining tactics) on the management and resolution of intergovernmental conflict.

### **Jan 10/2012 The Prime Minister and Parliament: Opposition Parties, the Government Caucus, and Party Discipline**

#### **Seminar Objectives:**

To assess and evaluate the role of the parliamentary caucus

To assess the opportunities available to backbench members of the legislature to participate in the legislative process and to raise issues for discussion and debate that are either of personal interest to the member or of general concern to their constituents

To review the evolution of relations between the government caucus and the prime minister and to assess the impact of party discipline on the legislative and representative roles of backbench members of parliament

To assess the relationship between opposition party leaders and the parliamentary caucus.

To compare the mechanisms of control and influence that can be exerted on government and opposition caucus members by the party leader.

#### **Readings:**

##### **Caucus**

Paul G. Thomas, "Parties in Parliament: The Role of Party Caucuses", in A.B. Tanguay and Alain G.Gagnon (eds.), *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pp252-279(R)

Graham White, *Cabinets and First Ministers*, University of British Columbia Press, 2005, pp. 125 - 129. (R)

##### **Party Discipline**

David Docherty, *Legislatures*, University of British Columbia Press, 2005, pp.94 -117, pp.157 -175, 190 -194(R)

Christopher J. Kam, *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 1-37 ( R )

##### **Case Study: Jean Chrétien and the Liberal Caucus: 1993 -2003**



David Docherty, "Could the Rebels Find a Cause? House of Commons Reform in the Chrétien Era", in Harder, Lois, and Patten, Steve, (eds), *The Chrétien Legacy: Politics and Public Policy in Canada*, Mc Gill –Queen's University Press, 2006, pp.300 – 320 (R).

Christopher J. Kam, *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp.150 – 168, pp.205 -210 (R )

### **Optional Reading**

Jonathan Malloy, "The House of Commons Under the Chrétien Government" in G.Bruce Doern, (Ed), *How Ottawa Spends 2003 -2004, Regime Change and Policy Shift*, Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 59 -71 (O)

Paul G. Thomas," Caucus and Representation in Canada", in H.G.Thorburn and Alan Whitehorn,(eds), *Party Politics in Canada*,8 th ed.,pp 221 -230 ( O)

Ian Stewart, "Scaling the Matterhorn: Parliamentary Leadership in Canada", in Mancuso et al (ed), pp.154-173 (O)

Christopher Garner and Natalia Letki, "Party Structure and Backbench Dissent in the Canadian and British Parliaments", *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol 38, No2, June 2005, pp. 463 – 482. (O)

### **Questions:**

1. Discuss the roles performed by the "government" and the "opposition" party caucus. How has the nature of the relationship between the Prime Minister and the caucus changed over time in Canada? Cite examples (King, St.Laurent, Diefenbaker, Pearson, Trudeau, Mulroney, and Chrétien) to illustrate the extent to which a Prime Minister must look to the caucus for support and advice. . Is it possible for a first minister to ignore the caucus and his /her political party? What opportunities exist for backbench members to influence the legislative agenda and to raise policy issues of concern to constituents? How effective are parliamentarians in exploiting these opportunities? (See Docherty, *Legislatures*, pp. 94 -117)

2.Define the terms "party cohesion" and "party discipline". What factors are cited in the literature (Kam ) to explain the relationship that develops between party leaders and backbenchers? What variables influence the degree of cohesion within a party caucus? What leadership qualities and skills are required by party leaders to exercise effective leadership within the party caucus?. What mechanisms are available to the party leader to facilitate cohesion within a caucus? What mechanisms are available to members of parliament to express views or to consider legislative initiatives that challenge the party position and produce tensions and conflict between backbenchers and the leadership of the party. Do MP's re-evaluate their views with regard to party

discipline based on the length of their tenure in the House of Commons?(See Docherty, Legislatures, pp. 157 -175, 190 -194.

3. Assess the nature of the relationships between Prime Minister Chrétien and the Liberal caucus from 1993 -2003. In particular assess the role of the Liberal caucus during the summer of 2002 in influencing Prime Minister Chrétien's decision to announce a retirement date. How would you describe relations between the Prime Minister and the caucus during the period from September 2003 to January 2004? Will these events create a precedent that will influence relations between a Prime Minister and the caucus in the future?

## **Jan 17/2012                    Managing a Minority Government: Case Studies**

### **Seminar Objectives:**

To evaluate the arguments surrounding "Minority Government"

To assess how Prime Ministers and Provincial Premiers have managed minority governments using the minority government in Ottawa from 1972 -1974 (Trudeau) and the minority government in Ontario 1975 – 1981(Davis ) and 1985 -1987 (Peterson) as case studies.

### **Readings:**

Peter Aucoin, Mark D.Jarvis, and Lori Turnbull, *Democratizing the Constitution: Reforming Responsible Government*, Emond Montgomery Publications, 2011, Chapter 5 (R)

Mark Chalmers "Canada's Dysfunctional Minority Parliament" in Robert Hazell and Akash Paum (eds),with Mark Chalmers, Ben Young and Catherine Haddon, *Making Minority Government Work: Hung Parliaments and the Challenges for Westminster and Whitehall*, Institute for Government, the Constitution Unit, December 2009, pp. 26 -37 (R )

Peter H. Russell "Learning to Live with Minority Parliaments" in Peter H. Russell and Lorne Sossin (eds), *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis*, University of Toronto Press, 2009, pp. 136 - 149. (R )

Paul E. J. Thomas,"Measuring the Effectiveness of a Minority Parliament" in *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, Vol 30, No1, spring 2007,pp. 27 -31 ( R )

### **Case Studies: Minority Governments**

Ian Stewart, "Of Customs and Coalitions: The Formation of Canadian Federal Parliamentary Alliances, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol XIII, No 3, September 1980, pp. 451 - 479 (R)

R.M. Krause, R.G. Price, and R.H. Wagenbach, "A New Alternative: The Legislative Alliance in Ontario", *The American Review of Canadian Studies*, Vol XVI, Number 4, Winter 1986, pp. 413 -425 (R )

### **Optional Reading**

- Peter Russell, *Two Cheers for Minority Government: The Evolution of Canadian Parliamentary Democracy*, Emond Montgomery Publications, 2008, (O)
- Eugene Forsey, "The Problem of "Minority" Government in Canada", *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 30, February 1964, pp.1 -11 (O). This article is reprinted in Eugene Forsey, *Freedom and Order: Collected Essays*, McClelland and Stewart 1974, pp.109 -123. (O)
- Peter Dobell, What Could Canadians Expect from a Minority Government? in *Policy Matters*, Institute for Research on Public Policy, November 2000, Vol. 1, No6, pp. 1 -18 (O)
- Linda Geller- Schwartz, "Minority Government Reconsidered", *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol ,14, No2, Summer 1979, pp. 69 -79 ( R ).
- Howard, Cody, "Minority Government in Canada: The Stephen Harper Experience" in *American Review of Canadian Studies* , Vol 38, Spring 2008, pp. 27 -42 ( O)

Vaughan Lyon, "Minority Government in Ontario, 1975 -1981: An Assessment" in *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol 17, No 4., Dec 1984, pp.685 -705 (O)

### **Coalition Governments**

- Gregory P. Marchildon, "Provincial Coalition Governments in Canada: An Interpretive Survey", in Hans J. Michelman and Cristine De Clercy (eds), *Continuity and Change in Canadian Politics: Essays in Honor of David E. Smith*, University of Toronto Press, 2006, pp. 170 – 194.( O )
- Lawrence Leduc, "Coalition Government: When It Happens, How it Works" in Peter H. Russell and Lorne Sossin (eds.), *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis*, University of Toronto Press, 2009, pp. 123 -135.(O)
- Graham White, "The Coalition That Wasn't: A Lost Reform Opportunity" in Peter H. Russell and Lorne Sossin (eds.), *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis*, University of Toronto Press, 2009, pp.150 – 160 (O)

### Questions:

1. "An appraisal of minority governments based on empirical study rather than ignorance and prejudice does not support the view that such governments lack governing capability or effectiveness." (Peter Russell, *Two Cheers for Minority Government: The Evolution of Canadian Parliamentary Democracy*, 2008, p. 97). Do you agree with Russell's assessment of minority governments? Cite evidence to support your arguments.
2. Paul Thomas utilized a series of benchmarks to evaluate the performance of minority parliaments. What conclusions emerge from his analysis?
3. What arrangements/strategies/coalitions/legislative agreements can be negotiated by a prime minister/provincial premier in a minority parliament to maintain "the confidence of the House?" In particular, discuss the relative costs and benefits of the following strategies that can be adopted to manage a minority parliament - the formation of a coalition government, the negotiation of a formal "political accord" between political parties or short term ad hoc agreements negotiated on an issue by issue basis with opposition parties. Was the "political accord" negotiated between David Peterson and Bob Rae in Ontario between 1985 -1987 a more effective strategy for dealing with a

minority legislature than the ad hoc arrangements negotiated between Paul Martin and Jack Layton in 2005 or between Pierre Trudeau and David Lewis from 1972 -1974.

**Jan 24/2012**

**Patronage: Building a Party and Remaining in Office**

**Seminar Objectives:**

To assess the use of patronage by political leaders to build political parties and winning electoral coalitions.

To evaluate "patron -client" relations as a framework in which to assess the notion of political patronage.

To consider how the "rules of the game" regarding the distribution of patronage have evolved over time.

**Readings:**

Jeffrey Simpson, *Spoils of Power: The Politics of Patronage*, Collins Publishers, 1988, pp.6-16(R)

S.Noel, "Leader's Entourages, Parties, and Patronage", in Alain-G. Gagnon and Brian Tanguay (eds), *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 3 rd ed., Broadview 2007, pp. 197 – 213. (R)

S.J.R.Noel,"Dividing the Spoils: The Old and New Rules of Patronage in Canadian Politics" in *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol22, No2, Summer 1987, pp72-95 (R)

**Case Study: John Savage**

Ian Stewart," To Bear the Yoke: Renovating the Liberal Party", in Peter Clancy, James Bickerton, Rodney Haddow, Ian Stewart, *The Savage Years: The Perils of Reinventing Government in Nova Scotia*, Formac Publishing Company Limited, Halifax, 2000,pp. 30 – 53.( R)

**Optional Readings**

Gordon Stewart," Political Patronage under Macdonald and Laurier" in A.D.Gilbert, C.M. Wallace, R.M. Bray, *Reappraisals in Canadian History: Post Confederation*, Prentice Hall, 1992, pp 129-156(O)

Jeffrey Simpson," The Two Trudeaus: Federal Patronage in Quebec, 1968-84" in *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1987 pp 96-110 (O)

Norman Ward," The Politics of Patronage: James Gardiner and Federal appointments in the West, 1935-57, *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. LVIII, No 3, September 1977, pp.294- 310(O)

Peter Clancy, James Bickerton, Rodney Haddow, Ian Stewart, "Political Reform and Political Change in Nova Scotia", in Peter Clancy, James Bickerton, Rodney Haddow, Ian Stewart, *The Savage Years: The Perils of Reinventing Government in Nova Scotia*, Formac Publishing Company Limited, Halifax, 2000, pp.1- 29 ( 0 )

### Questions:

1. What is meant by the term "political patronage"? Both Simpson and Noel suggest that the distribution of patronage can be assessed in the context of "patron -client relations". Is this an appropriate framework in which to discuss the concept of patronage?
2. Noel refers to the "old" and "new" rules governing the distribution of patronage. What are the differences between the "old and new" rules?
3. "The history of Canadian politics shows that the use of patronage, rather than the mere possession of the resources to dispense it, is a litmus test of political success. Some prime ministers- Macdonald, Laurier, King- have used it with subtlety and a sure sense of purpose. Other prime ministers - Mackenzie and Mulroney- have misunderstood its exacting requirements" Jeffrey Simpson, *Spoils of Power: The Politics of Patronage*, Collins, Toronto, 1988, p.13
4. Using the case of John Savage (Premier of Nova Scotia 1993 -1997) as a basis for analysis, outline and assess the challenges / obstacles that a premier /prime minister can encounter when "traditional conventions" surrounding the use of patronage are challenged by the party leader..

## **Jan 31/2012 The Prime Minister and the Media: Public Persuader - Managing the Message**

### **Seminar Objectives:**

- To define and to assess the role of the prime minister as a "public persuader"
- To assess the evolving relationship between the prime minister and the media

### **Background Readings:**

Fred Fletcher, "The Prime Minister as a Public Persuader" in T. Hockin, *Apex of Power*, 2<sup>nd</sup>, Prentice-Hall, 1977 , pp. 86-111 (R)

David Taras, "Prime Ministers and the Media" in Leslie A. Pal and David Taras (eds), in *Prime Ministers and Premiers, Political Leadership and Public Policy in Canada*, pp.36 -50. (R).

Allan Blakeney and Sandford Borins, *Political Management in Canada*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 1998, University of Toronto Press, pp.217 - 228 ( R ).

### **Case Study:**

Lester Pearson and the Media

**Readings:**

Patrick H. Brennan, "A Good Man for the Middle Innings": Lester Pearson and the Media, 1963 -1968, in Norman Hillmer (ed), *Pearson: The Unlikely Gladiator*, pp.117 -130. (R)

**Optional Readings**

Allan Levine, *Scrum Wars: The Prime Minister and the Media*, ch.13 (O)

David Taras, *The Newsmakers: The Media's Influence on Canadian Politics*, ch. 5 (R)

Paul Nesbitt-Larking, *Politics, Society and the Media: Canadian Perspectives*, Broadview, 2001, Chapter 13 (O)

Robin V. Sears, "Harper vs The Press Gallery:The Frog and the Scorpion" in *Policy Options*, July-August, 2006, pp.5 -8 ( O ).

Christopher Dornan, "The Cool on the Hill", *Globe and Mail* , Oct 20, 2007, P.F3

**Questions:**

1. Fred Fletcher indicates that one of the most important roles performed by a Prime Minister is that of "public persuader". What does this mean and what role does the media play in influencing the strategies and tactics employed by the Prime Minister and the PMO to "sell the government"?
2. What words or phrases best describe the relationship between the PM and the media? What factors influence the nature of the relationship and how has the relationship changed over time?
3. Outline and evaluate the guidelines proposed by Allan Blakeney with regard to the development of a "crisis management strategy" to deal with unexpected events (crisis) that develop within a community.
4. Using Prime Minister Pearson's relations with the media as case study, indicate how the prime minister was portrayed by the media and how the prime minister attempted to use the media to convey his message to the Canadian electorate?

**Part III      Evaluating Political Leadership: Case Studies (Feb 7 /2012 – April 10/2012)**

The following seminars are devoted to a selection of case studies that are designed to demonstrate how prime ministers/ provincial premiers manage conflict, build support for a major policy initiative, or obtain or renew a mandate from the electorate.

*In preparing the seminars on these topics the following format is suggested:*

- a. Provide a short biographical note on the prime minister or provincial premier that is the subject matter of the case study**
- b. Place the issue in historical context and provide a brief summary of the events surrounding the issue/policy/proposed initiative/election. Identify the key actors that are central to the case study you have selected.**
- c. Using the framework and concepts outlined by Joseph S. Nye Jr., *The Powers to Lead*, Oxford University Press, 20008, outline the goals and objectives the prime minister /provincial premier were attempting to achieve. What resources, strategies**

**and tactics was the prime minister/ premier prepared to employ to achieve these policy goals and objectives. How successful was the prime minister/ provincial premier in achieving their objectives?**

**Feb 7/2012                      Managing Relations with the United States:  
John Diefenbaker, the Cuban Missile Crisis and Cabinet Revolt**

**Seminar Objectives:**

To assess the state of Canadian - American relations from 1957 - 1963  
To review the issues that promoted conflict between Ottawa and Washington and to assess how Prime Minister Diefenbaker attempted to redefine Canada's relations with the United States.

**Readings:**

**A. John Diefenbaker: Political Values and Beliefs**

Michael Bliss, *Right Honourable Men*, pp 185 -215 (R).  
J.L. Granatstein, "Hail to the Chief: The Incomparable Campaigner Who Squandered A Historic Majority, *Policy Options*, Vol 24, No 6, June –July 2003, pp. 57 -62 (R ).

**B. John Diefenbaker: The Cuban Missile Crisis 1962 and Canadian Defence Policy 1962-1963**

Kevin J. Gloin, "Canada-US Relations in the Diefenbaker Era: Another Look" in D. C. Storey and R. Bruce Shepard, *The Diefenbaker Legacy*, pp. 1-14(R)  
Denis Smith, *Rogue Tory: the Legend of John G. Diefenbaker*, pp. 452-488 (R)  
Erika Simpson, "New Ways of Thinking About Nuclear Weapons and Canada's Defence Policy" in D. C. Storey and R. Bruce Shepard, *The Diefenbaker Legacy*, pp27-41(R)  
Peter Newman, *Renegade in Power: The Diefenbaker Years*, pp. iv – xiii, Introduction by Denis Smith, and Introduction by Peter C. Newman, pp. xiv – xvii (R)

**Optional Reading**

Howard H. Lentner, "Foreign Policy Decision Making: The Case of Canada and Nuclear Weapons" in *World Politics*, Vol. 29, No1 (Oct 1976), pp 20 -66. (O)  
Peyton Lyon, "Prime Minister Diefenbaker and the Cuban Missile Crisis", in *Apex of Power*, 2<sup>nd</sup>, Prentice-Hall, 1977, pp. 294-306 (O)  
Peter Newman, *Renegade in Power: The Diefenbaker Years* chs. 23, 24 (O)  
J.L. Granatstein, *Yankee go Home: Canadians and Anti-Americanism*, Chpt. 5, pp.121 -145, (O)

Lawrence Martin, *The Presidents and the Prime Ministers: Washington and Ottawa Face to Face: The Myth of Bilateral Bliss 1867 -1982*, pp.181- 211 (O)

Robert Bothwell, *Canada and the United States: The Politics of Partnership*, University of Toronto Press, 1992, Chapter 4 pp.70 -87 (O)

### Questions:

1. Place the debate surrounding the "Cuban Missile Crisis" and the debate surrounding the acquisition of nuclear weapons in the larger context of Canadian- American relations during the period from 1957-1963.
2. There are conflicting views regarding Canadian defence policy during Diefenbaker's tenure as prime minister. Virtually all observers support the views of Denis Smith and Peter Newman that "The Cuban Missile Crisis" of October 1962 was a significant event that contributed to the disintegration of the minority Diefenbaker Government. However, authors disagree with regard to both the content of Canada's defence policy during the period and to the capacity of the prime minister to provide effective leadership. How do you evaluate Diefenbaker's leadership during this period?
3. Peter Newman has written "... that under the parliamentary system, a prime minister can be removed by undercover intrigue among his ministers, only if it culminates in a sudden, unpredicted coup d'etat. The takeover must be so swift and so ruthless that by the time it flares up into the open around the cabinet table, the power struggle has been resolved and the prime minister's resignation becomes only its final ritual."(Peter Newman, *Renegade in Power: The Diefenbaker Years*, p. 355). Using this quotation as a basis for discussion, describe the events surrounding the attempted cabinet revolt in February 1963. Discuss the strategy of the cabinet rebels and assess the tactics employed by the prime minister to remain in office. In retrospect, what strategic errors did the cabinet rebels make that allowed Prime Minister Diefenbaker to remain in office? What does this incident demonstrate with regard to the vulnerability of prime ministers to leadership challenges and the security of their tenure in office?

**.Feb 14 /2012                      Managing Relations with the United States:  
Lester Pearson and the Vietnam War 1963 -1968**

### **Seminar Objectives:**

To review Canadian - American relations during the period from 1963 -1968

To compare and contrast the "leadership styles" of Diefenbaker and Pearson with regard to managing relations with the United States

To explore the strategy and tactics of the Pearson Government to influence American policy on the Vietnam War



**Readings:**

## A. Lester Pearson: Political Values and Beliefs

Michael Bliss, *Right Honourable Men*, pp 217 -243 (R).

Norman Hillmer, "Introduction: Pearson and the Sense of Paradox" in Norman Hillmer, (ed.), *Pearson: The Unlikely Gladiator*, McGill Queen's University Press, 1999, pp. 3 -18. (O)

## B. Lester Pearson and the Vietnam War 1963 -1968

Greg Donaghy, "Minding the Minister: Pearson, Martin and American Policy in Asia, 1963 - 1967 in Norman Hillmer (ed.), *Pearson: The Unlikely Gladiator*, 1999, pp.131 -149.(R)

Greg Donaghy, *Tolerant Allies: Canada and the United States, 1963 -1968*, pp.3 - 14, 176 -179 (R)

John English, *The Wordly Years: The Life of Lester Pearson*, Volume II: 1949 -1972, pp. 357 -380 (R)

**Optional Reading**

Robert Bothwell, *Canada and the United States: The Politics of Partnership*, University of Toronto Press, 1992, Chapter 4 pp.87 -97. (O)

John English, "Speaking Out on Vietnam, 1965" in Don Munton and John Kirton (eds.), *Canadian Foreign Policy: Selected Cases*, 1992, pp. 135 -152 (O)

J.L.Granatstein, "Pearson and Diefenbaker: Similar Men?" in Norman Hillmer, (ed.), *Pearson: The Unlikely Gladiator*, McGill Queen's University Press, 1999, pp. 51 -58(O).

Christina McCall, "The Unlikely Gladiators: Pearson and Diefenbaker Remembered" in Norman Hillmer, (ed.), *Pearson: The Unlikely Gladiator*, McGill Queen's University Press, 1999, pp. 58 – 82. (O).

**Questions:**

1. "No single foreign policy issue preoccupied Pearson as much as Canada's relations with the United States." Greg Donaghy, "Minding the Minister: Pearson, Martin and American Policy in Asia, 1963 - 1967 in Norman Hillmer (ed.), *Pearson: The Unlikely Gladiator*, p.132 Discuss this quotation in relation to Canadian policy on the Vietnam War.

2. What were the goals and objectives of Canadian foreign policy during the period from 1963-1968? To what extent was the Pearson Government successful in brokering a negotiated resolution to the conflict between North and South Vietnam?

3. Discuss the nature of the tensions/issues of dispute that developed between the prime minister and the Minister of External Relations (Paul Martin) over Canadian policy in south -east Asia.

**Feb. 28/2012**                      **Managing Relations with the United States after September 11/2001**  
**Jean Chrétien and Iraq: 2002 -2003**

**Seminar Objectives:**

To review Canadian - American relations during the period from September 11 2001 to Dec 2003 and from 2003- 2009

To place the decision of the Chrétien Government on March 17/2003 not to commit troops to participate in military action against Iraq without a resolution from the Security Council of the United Nations in the broader context of Canada's relations with the United States.

To assess the rationale provided by the Chrétien Government for the decision not to participate in military action against Iraq and the possible implications for Canadian - American relations.

To assess reaction of opposition parties in the House of Commons, provincial governments and the Canadian electorate to Chrétien's announcement of March 17/2003. Assess the evolution of public opinion in Canada on the Iraq War and more generally on the overall direction of Canadian foreign policy.

**Readings**

A. Jean Chrétien and Iraq: 2002 -2003

Andrew F. Cooper, "Canadian Foreign Policy after September 11: Patterns of Change and Continuity" in James Bickerton and Alain-G. Gagnon, *Canadian Politics*, 4 th ed., Broadview, 2004, pp. 447 - 465(R)

Donald Barry, "Chrétien, Bush, and the War in Iraq", *American Review of Canadian Studies*, Summer 2005, Vol 35, Issue 2, p 215- 245 (R)

Andrew Richter," From Trusted Ally to Suspicious Neighbour:Canada –US Relations in a Changing Global Environment", in *American Review of Canadian Studies*, (Vol 35, No 3, Autumn 2005,pp 471 – 502. (R )

**Optional Reading**

Kim Richard Nossal, "Defense Policy and the Atmospherics of Canada- US Relations: The Case of the Harper Conservatives", *American Review of Canadian Studies*, Spring 2007, pp. 25 -34 ( 0 )  
 Janice Stein, and Eugene Lang, *The Unexpected War: Canada in Kandahar*, Viking Canada, 2007(0).

"The Chrétien Legacy" in Stephen Patten and Lois Harder (eds.), *The Chrétien Legacy*, Centre for Constitutional Studies, 2004, pp.1-29 ( note pp.19 - 22.)(R) and in Harder, Lois, and Patten, Steve, (eds), *The Chrétien Legacy: Politics and Public Policy in Canada*, Mc Gill –Queen's University Press, 2006, pp.3 -36 (note pp.22 -25) (0).

Eddie Goldenberg, *The Way It Works: Inside Ottawa*, McClelland and Stewart, 2006, pp.1-10, 256 - 270, 286 - 308 (0)

Lawrence Martin, *Iron Man: The Defiant Reign of Jean Chrétien*, pp.407 - 418. (O)

Tom Keating," A Passive Internationalist: Jean Chrétien and Canadian Foreign Policy" in Stephen Patten and Lois Harder (eds.), *The Chrétien Legacy*, Centre for Constitutional Studies, 2004, pp.115 -131 (R) and in Harder, Lois, and Patten, Steve, (eds), *The Chrétien Legacy: Politics and Public Policy in Canada*, Mc Gill –Queen's University Press, 2006, pp.124 – 141.(0)

Government of Canada, Privy Council Office, Former Prime Minister's Newsroom Archive (1995 - 2003), Statement by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien in Support of a Motion in the House of Commons, April 8,2003(O)

Andrew Parkin, Pro -Canadian, anti -American or Anti-War? Canadian Public Opinion on the Eve of War" in *Policy Options*, Vol 24, No. 4, April 2003, pp.5 - 7 (O)

Pollara, *Canadians' Attitudes Toward Foreign Policy April 2004*, Report Prepared for the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, April 2004. (O)

Government of Canada, Privy Council Office, Former Prime Minister's Newsroom Archive (1995 - 2003), Statement by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien in Support of a Motion in the House of Commons, April 8,2003 (O)

#### Questions:

1. Place the decision of the Chrétien Government on March 17, 2003 not to participate in military action against Iraq in the context of the evolution of Canadian -American relations since September 11/2001
2. Assess the rationale provided by the Chrétien Government for the March 17/2003 decision not to participate in military action against Iraq as well as the implications of the decision on the evolution of Canadian -American relations. Was this decision consistent with the fundamental principles that have guided Canadian foreign policy since 1945?
3. Assess the reaction of opposition parties in the House of Commons, provincial governments and the Canadian electorate to Chrétien's announcement of March 17/2003. Document the evolution of public opinion in Canada on the Iraq War and more generally on the overall direction of Canadian foreign policy since September 11/2001.
4. Was the decision of the Chrétien Government not to participate in the Iraq War the most important element of the Chrétien legacy?

March 6/2012

**Maintaining the Unity of the Nation  
The Conscription Crisis 1942 and 1944**

**Readings:**

A. Mackenzie King: Political Values and Beliefs

H.B. Neatby, "The Political Ideas of William Lyon Mackenzie King", in Marcel Hamelin, (ed.), *The Political Ideas of the Prime Ministers of Canada*, University of Ottawa, 1969  
pp. 121-137 (R)

B. King and Conscription: 1942 and 1944

J.L. Granatstein, *Canada's War: The Politics of the Mackenzie King Government*, chs. 6, 9 (R)  
Andre Laurendeau, "The Plebiscite" in J.L. Granatstein and Peter Neary ( eds.), *The Good Fight: Canadians and World War II*, Copp Clark, 1995, pp.220 -227 (R)  
F.R. Scott, "What Did "No" Mean" in J.L. Granatstein and Peter Neary ( eds.), *The Good Fight: Canadians and World War II*, Copp Clark, 1995, pp. 229 -234 (R)  
"Result of the Plebiscite of 27 April 1942" in J.L. Granatstein and Peter Neary ( eds.), *The Good Fight: Canadians and World War II*, Copp Clark, 1995, pp.227 -228 (R)

**Optional Reading**

J. L. Granatstein " King and His Cabinet: The War Years in John English, and J.O. Stubbs, (eds), *Mackenzie King: Widening the Debate*, Macmillan of Canada, 1978, pp.173 -190 ( 0 )  
R. MacGregor Dawson, *The Conscription Crisis of 1944*, pp. 11-125 (0)  
J.L.Granatstein, and. J. Hitsman, *M Broken Promises: The History of Conscription in Canada*, Oxford, 1977. (0)  
J.W. Pickersgill, *The Mackenzie King Record, Vol 1 1939 /1944*, The University of Chicago and the University of Toronto Press, 1960, Chapter XIII, pp. 333 - 364 (O)  
John English, "Political Leadership in the First World War" in David Mac Kenzie (ed)., *Canada and the First World War*, University of Toronto Press, 2005, pp.76 -95 ( O ).  
J.L. Granatstein, "Conscription in the Great War" in David Mac Kenzie (ed)., *Canada and the First World War*, University of Toronto Press, 2005, pp.62 – 75 ( O ).  
Michael Bliss, *Right Honourable Men*, pp123-183(0)  
Reginald Whitaker, "Political Thought and Political Action in Mackenzie King" *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Winter 1978 -1979, Vol 13, No 4, pp. 40 – 60(0)

**Questions:**

1. Blair Neatby has written that "In conclusion, let me repeat that Mackenzie King did have political ideas. He was not a philosopher, but he had a consistent framework of inarticulated attitudes and sentiments. He had a political philosophy" (H.B. Neatby, "The Political Ideas of William Lyon Mackenzie

King", in Marcel Hamelin, (ed.), *The Political Ideas of the Prime Ministers of Canada*, University of Ottawa, 1969 p. 136). Using Neatby's comments as a framework, outline what you consider to be the major principles, ideas, beliefs that influenced King's approach to politics and public policy.

2. What was the Conscription Crisis of 1942 and 1944? Identify the key issues and political actors involved in the debate. How did King manage the conflict in terms of his relations with the cabinet, the caucus, the opposition parties in the House of Commons, and the Canadian electorate? What insights can be gained with regard to King's views about the nature of political leadership? How would you evaluate his leadership during this period?

3. Outline, evaluate and assess the strategies and tactics employed by Sir Robert Borden (1917 - 1918) and Mackenzie King (1942 and 1944) to "manage" the issue of conscription during their tenure as prime minister.

**March 13/2012**

**Pierre Trudeau--The October Crisis 1970**

**Readings:**

A. Michael Bliss, "Guarding A Most Famous Stream: Trudeau and the Canadian Political Tradition", in Andrew Cohen and J.L. Granatstein (eds), *Trudeau's Shadow: The Legacy of Pierre Elliott Trudeau*, Random House of Canada, 1998, pp. 9 -19 (R)

B. The October Crisis 1970: Evaluation and Assessment

Denis Smith, *Bleeding Hearts, Bleeding Country: Canada and the Quebec Crisis*, ch.7, pp. 134-150 (R)

Reg Whitaker, "Apprehended Insurrection? RCMP Intelligence and the October Crisis" in *Queen's Quarterly*, Summer, 1993, pp.383 - 406 (R)

John English, *Just Watch Me, The life and Times of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, 1968 -2000*, Alfred Knopf, 2009, pp. 73-97 ( R )

J. L. Granatstein, "Changing Positions: Reflections on Pierre Trudeau and the October Crisis", Andrew Cohen and J. L. Granatstein (eds), *Trudeau's Shadow: The Life and Legacy of Pierre Elliott Trudeau*, pp.297 -305 (R)

**Optional Reading**

Eric Kierans (with Walter Stewart), *Remembering*, Stoddart, 2001, pp.178 – 187(0).

Donald Jamieson, (edited by Carmelita Mc Grath), *A World Unto Itself: The Political Memoirs of Don Jamieson, Vol II*, Breakwater, 1989 -1991, pp.76 -112 (0).

Abraham Rotstein for the Canadian Forum, (ed.), *Power Corrupted: The October Crisis and the Repression of Quebec*, New Press, Toronto, 1971. The articles were originally published in Canadian Forum , January 1971(O)

Questions:

1. Document the events surrounding the October Crisis 1970. Identify the key political actors.
2. Assess the arguments advanced by Prime Minister Trudeau in his speech invoking the War Measures Act, taking into account his views about Quebec nationalism, his assessment of the Quiet Revolution of the 1960's, and his beliefs about the protection of individual freedoms in a democratic state.
3. Was the government justified in invoking the War Measures Act in October 1970? Note the comments of Whitaker, Granatstein, Kierans and Jamieson.
4. Denis Smith questions the argument advanced by authorities in October 1970 that there had been an "erosion of public will" (p.146) that justified the invocation of the War Measures Act. Professor Smith argues that in a democracy the authority of the state should not be used "to shock or intimidate public opinion." (p. 145). "It cannot, that is legitimately, use techniques of scare, or arbitrary police action, or emergency measures to meet an "erosion of public will", because the "erosion of public will" is a euphemism for the free evolution of public debate." (P.145- 6) How do you evaluate Professor Smith's view?

### **March 20/2012: Transformational Leadership: Lester Pearson: The Canada Pension Plan and Medicare**

#### **Seminar Objectives:**

To identify the major themes and social policies that define the "Pearson Legacy" (1963 -1968)  
 To review and assess the federal /provincial negotiations surrounding the introduction of Medicare and the Canada Pension Plan.

#### **Reading: Transformational Leadership**

Jim Coutts, "Windows of Opportunity: Social Reform Under Lester B. Pearson, "*Policy Options*, Vol 24, No 10, Nov 2003, pp. 9 – 20. (R).

John English, "Pearson –Amiable But Ambitious, He Governed in Chaos and Confusion, Yet Left A Legacy of Unequalled Achievement, *Policy Options*, Vol 24, No 6, June –July 2003, pp. 63 – 68 (R)

#### **Question:**

1 "In the more noble reaches of politics, windows of opportunity provide gifted leaders with a chance to advance crucial public policy. But the window is usually not open for a long period of time, and the politician needs sufficient leadership skills and talented advisors to recognize and seize the opportunity. (Jim Coutts, "Windows of Opportunity: Social Reform Under Lester B. Pearson, "*Policy Options*, Vol 24, No 10, Nov 2003, p. 9.)

Using the quotation by Jim Coutts as a basis for discussion, outline and assess the conditions that are necessary for political leaders to exercise transformational leadership within a community.

### **Readings: Canada Pension Plan and Medicare**

P.E. Bryden, "Prescience, Prudence and Procrastination: National Social Policies in the Pearson Era", in Norman Hillmer (ed.), *Pearson: The Unlikely Gladiator*, McGill – Queen's Press, 1999, pp. 92 -103 (R).

P. Bryden, *Planners and Politicians : Liberal Politics and Social Policy, 1957 -1968*, McGill – Queen's University Press, 1997, Chapter 6, pp. 124 – 169.( R ).

Tom Kent, *A Public Purpose*, Mc Gill –Queen's University Press, 1988, pp. 255 – 292 and pp.364 - 371 (R ).

### **Questions:**

1. "In his decade as leader of the Liberal party, Lester Pearson wore a variety of hats, sometimes two at a time, when it came to social policy issues." (P.E. Bryden, "Prescience, Prudence and Procrastination: National Social Policies in the Pearson Era", in Norman Hillmer (ed.), *Pearson: The Unlikely Gladiator*, McGill – Queen's Press, 1999, pp. 102 -103).

"Pearson's legacy, then, is mixed. He created the environment in which social plans could flourish, secured a partial consensus, and then somewhat reluctantly pushed through the necessary legislation. It is his foresight in producing the Canada Pension Plan and Medicare that is remembered more frequently than his caution."(P.E. Bryden, "Prescience, Prudence and Procrastination: National Social Policies in the Pearson Era", in Norman Hillmer (ed.), *Pearson: The Unlikely Gladiator*, McGill – Queen's Press, 1999, p. 103).

Using the above comments by Bryden as a basis for analysis, assess the leadership provided by Lester Pearson with regard to the development and the implementation of the Canada Pension Plan and Medicare during the period from 1963-1968.

### **March 27/2012      Transformational Leadership: Tommy Douglas**

#### **Seminar Objectives: Tommy Douglas and Medicare in Saskatchewan**

To review and assess the events surrounding the introduction of medicare in Saskatchewan in 1962.

To identify the major themes that defines the "Douglas Legacy" (1944 -1961)

### **Readings:**

A. Tommy Douglas and Medicare

AW Johnson, *Dream No Little Dreams: A Biography of the Douglas Government of Saskatchewan, 1944 -1961*, (University of Toronto Press, 2004, pp.3- 35 (optional), 259 -301, 302 - 310 (R)

Edwin A. Tollefson, "The Medicare Dispute" in Norman Ward and Duff Spafford (eds), *Politics in Saskatchewan* , Longmans Canada, 1968, pp. 238 – 279 (R).

Questions:

1. Review the events surrounding the introduction Medicare in Saskatchewan from 1960 -1962.
2. Define the issues of conflict that emerged in Saskatchewan between the provincial government and the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Saskatchewan. Discuss the role of Woodrow Lloyd in the final negotiations leading to a resolution of the dispute with the doctors.

**April 3/2012 Louis Robichaud: A Decade of Transformational Leadership in New Brunswick 1960 -1970**

**Seminar Objectives:**

- To review the events leading to the election of the Robichaud Government in 1960
- To outline and assess the social, economic and cultural reforms initiated by the Robichaud Government from 1960 -1970
- To document the sources of opposition to the reform agenda of the Robichaud Government
- To assess the strategic leadership skills of Louis Robichaud to implement a legislative agenda
- To assess the political legacy of Louis Robichaud

**Readings:**

**A. Louis Robichaud: Political Values and Beliefs**

Della M.M. Stanley, *Louis Robichaud: A Decade of Power*, Nimbus Publishing, 1984, pp.1- 23, 215 - 228 (R)

Joseph Yvon Theriault, "The Robichaud Period and Politics in Acadia", in *The Robichaud Era, 1960 -70, Colloquium Proceedings*, Maritime Series, the Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development, 2001, pp. 37 – 52 (R )

**B.Louis Robichaud: Transformational Leadership in New Brunswick 1960 – 1970**

R.A.Young, "Remembering Equal Opportunity: clearing the undergrowth in New Brunswick, in *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol 30, No1, Spring 1987, pp. 88 -102 ( R)

Michel Cormier, "The Robichaud Legacy: What Remains?" in *The Robichaud Era, 1960 -70, Colloquium Proceedings, Maritime Series*, the Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development, 2001, pp. 187 -198. (R).

**Optional Reading**

Chedly Belkhodja, "The Right Responds to Change: Opposition to the Robichaud Reforms in New Brunswick," in *The Robichaud Era, 1960 -70, Colloquium Proceedings*, Maritime Series, the Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development, 2001, pp.121 - 134 ( 0 )



April 10 /2012

**Political Leadership: Renewing a Mandate and Defining a Legacy: The Federal Election of May 2011**

**Seminar Objectives:**

To discuss the strategies developed by Stephen Harper to build a coalition of interests that allowed the Conservative Party to win a majority government in 2011 and to be in a position to dominate national politics in Canada for a sustained period of time.

To assess the tensions (Chretien and Martin) that emerged within the Liberal Party from 2000 – 2006 that culminated in the defeat of the Martin government in January 2006.

To discuss the challenges the Liberal Party has encountered since 2006 to rebuild the party.

To assess the implications of the results of the 2011 election campaign and to consider if there is a role for a moderate centrist party in Canadian politics. Will polarized politics dominate party politics in Canada in the future?.

**Readings:**

George C. Perlin, *The Tory Syndrome: Leadership Politics in the Progressive Conservative Party*, Mc Gill – Queen's University Press, 1980, pp.1-9, 190 – 201. (R).

Thomas Flanagan, *Harper's Team: Behind the Scenes in the Conservative Rise to Power*, Mc Gill – Queen's, 2 nd ed., 2009, pp. 274 – 319. (R)

Paul Wells, *Right Side Up: the Fall of Paul Martin and the Rise of Stephen Harper's New Conservatism*, Mc Clelland and Stewart, 2006, pp.281 -318. (R).

Brooke Jeffrey, *Divided Loyalties*, University of Toronto Press, 2010, pp.341 – 395 with particular emphasis on pp361 – 395 and pp. 524 – 621( R)

**Readings: Federal Election 2011**

Robyn V. Sears, “Quebec Storm Sweeps Canadian Electoral Landscape”, *Policy Options*, Vol 32, No 06, June – July 2011, pp.18 – 36 (R).

Nik Nanos, “From A Nothing Election To A Seismic Shift”, *Policy Options*, Vol 32, No 06, June – July 2011, pp.14 – 16(R)

Tom Flanagan, “The Emerging Conservative Coalition”, in *Policy Options*, Vol 32, No 06, June – July 2011, pp. 104 – 108 (R).

Scott Reid, “On the Long Road Back From Third Place, Liberals Need to Play the Long Game”, in *Policy Options*, Vol 32, No 06, June – July 2011, pp. 119 -124 (R).

**Optional Reading**

Jeffrey Simpson, *Discipline of Power: The Conservative Interlude and the Liberal Restoration*, Personal Library Publishers, 1980, Introduction, pp. ix – xiv. (0)

Stephen Clarkson, *The Big Red Machine: How the Liberal Party Dominates Canadian Politics*, UBC Press, 2005, pp. 3- 27 and 265 – 284 (0)

**Questions:**

- 1 George Perlin has used the phrase "The Tory Syndrome" to describe the challenges faced by leaders of the Progressive Conservative Party to build an electoral coalition that would allow

the party to win federal elections over a sustained period of time. What is the "Tory Syndrome"? To what extent does Perlin's analysis of the conflicts that divided the Progressive Conservative Party account for past electoral failures.

2. Outline and assess the attempts by Stephen Harper to reconstruct the "Mulroney coalition" (1984 and 1988) that resulted in the Conservative Party winning a majority government in 2011 and dominating national politics for a sustained period of time.
3. What factors contributed to the dominance of the Liberal Party and the perception that since 1896 the Liberal Party was Canada's "natural governing party"? In particular assess the importance of political leadership as a contributing factor to the prolonged dominance of the Liberal Party in federal politics. Can Perlin's analysis of the tensions and conflicts within the Progressive Conservative Party ("the minority party syndrome") p. 200 be applied to the tensions and challenges encountered by the Liberal Party since 2004.

## **ESSAY ASSIGNMENT**

**You may not select a topic that directly duplicates research/reading for your seminar presentations. If there is any uncertainty regarding the selection of a topic please discuss the matter with course instructor.**

### **Essay Assignment:**

**Format:** 20 pages typed (double spaced) excluding footnotes and bibliography

### **Documentation of Sources:**

**Please read the material attached to the course outline with regard to plagiarism and paraphrasing. Please ensure that all sources are documented and that all direct quotations from sources are clearly marked with quotation marks and an appropriate footnote. All footnotes must include the page reference from the source cited in the footnote.**

### **Submission of Essay:**

**February 14/2012**

### **Late Penalties For Essays:**

**A late penalty of 3% per day including weekends and statutory holidays will be assigned. Therefore an essay that was due on a Friday and which is submitted on a Monday will be assigned a 6% penalty.** The late penalty will be deducted from the grade assigned to the essay-an assigned grade of 80% with a late penalty of 6% would result in a grade of 74%. Papers submitted 10 days

after the due date will not normally be accepted without appropriate documentation. **Essays can not be submitted via email or "fax" without permission of the instructor.**

**Essay Proposal: An essay proposal must be submitted on or before Nov 22/2011.** Details regarding the format will be discussed in the seminar on September 13/2011. Failure to submit a proposal will result in a 5% reduction in the grade assigned to the essay. For example a grade of 75% will be reduced to 70% if an essay proposal is not submitted on **Nov 22 /2011**. Essay proposals will be reviewed with each student prior to the conclusion of classes in December 2011.

### Essay Topic

**1. Select a policy issue/theme/incident that demonstrates the ability of a prime minister, a provincial premier, a regional minister or a leader of an opposition political party to manage conflict, to build a consensus, or to win and/or renew a mandate from the electorate.**

Your essay should place the issue/incident/theme in historical context and must include an analysis, and assessment of the leadership skills demonstrated by the political leader you have selected. Several case studies have been referred to in the seminars and there is a wide variety of literature available on provincial premiers.

You may chose an historical or a more contemporary case study. In selecting your topic, you must assess the availability of research material as it will be necessary to consult a variety of sources in the preparation of the essay. You should begin your research early in the first term.

**You may not choose a topic that duplicates research prepared for a seminar presentation. If there is any doubt, please contact the course instructor.**

### **Some Suggestions for Essay Topics**

#### **A. Federal – Provincial Conflicts:**

Pierre Trudeau and Rene Levesque: Referendum 1980 and the Constitutional Future of Quebec  
 Pierre Trudeau and Peter Lougheed: National Energy Program  
 Brian Mulroney: Meech Lake Accord and the Charlottetown Accord  
 Pierre Trudeau: Constitutional Renewal and Patriation of the Constitution (1980 -1982)

#### **B.National Policy Initiatives**

Brian Mulroney and Free Trade  
 Lester Pearson and the Canada Pension Plan  
 Lester Pearson and Medicare  
 Lester Pearson and the Flag Debate  
 Pierre Trudeau and Bilingualism

John Diefenbaker and the AVRO Arrow  
Robert Borden and Mackenzie King: Conscription  
Joey Smallwood and the entry of Newfoundland into Confederation  
Jean Lesage and the "Quiet Revolution"  
Sir John A. Macdonald and the National Policy

**Regional Ministers**

James Gardiner  
C.D. Howe  
Ernest Lapointe  
John Crosbie  
Thomas Crerar  
Allan MacEachen

**Opposition Party Leaders**

Robert Stanfield  
Ed Broadbent  
Preston Manning

**Note: Students must consult with the instructor with regard to topics and the availability of resources.**

September 1, 2011.

**APPENDIX TO UNDERGRADUATE COURSE OUTLINES  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**Prerequisite checking - the student's responsibility**

"Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites."

**Essay course requirements**

With the exception of 1000-level courses, most courses in the Department of Political Science are essay courses. Total written assignments (excluding examinations) will be at least 3,000 words in Politics 1020E, at least 5,000 words in a full course numbered 2000 or above, and at least 2,500 words in a half course numbered 2000 or above.

**Use of Personal Response Systems ("Clickers")**

"Personal Response Systems ("clickers") may be used in some classes. If clickers are to be used in a class, it is the responsibility of the student to ensure that the device is activated and functional. Students must see their instructor if they have any concerns about whether the clicker is malfunctioning.

Students must use only their own clicker. If clicker records are used to compute a portion of the course grade:

- the use of somebody else's clicker in class constitutes a scholastic offence,
- the possession of a clicker belonging to another student will be interpreted as an attempt to commit a scholastic offence."

**Security and Confidentiality of Student Work** (refer to current *Western Academic Calendar* (<http://www.westerncalendar.uwo.ca/>))

"**Submitting or Returning Student Assignments, Tests and Exams** - All student assignments, tests and exams will be handled in a secure and confidential manner. Particularly in this respect, leaving student work unattended in public areas for pickup is not permitted."

**Duplication of work**

Undergraduate students who submit similar assignments on closely related topics in two different courses must obtain the consent of both instructors prior to the submission of the assignment. If prior approval is not obtained, each instructor reserves the right not to accept the assignment.

**Grade adjustments**

In order to ensure that comparable standards are applied in political science courses, the Department may require instructors to adjust final marks to conform to Departmental guidelines.

**Academic Offences**

"Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site:

<http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/scholoff.pdf>."

## Submission of Course Requirements

ESSAYS, ASSIGNMENTS, TAKE-HOME EXAMS **MUST** BE SUBMITTED ACCORDING TO PROCEDURES SPECIFIED BY YOUR INSTRUCTOR (I.E., IN CLASS, DURING OFFICE HOURS, TA'S OFFICE HOURS) OR UNDER THE INSTRUCTOR'S OFFICE DOOR.

THE MAIN OFFICE DOES NOT DATE-STAMP OR ACCEPT ANY OF THE ABOVE.

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. <http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/>

Students registered in Social Science should refer to <http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/> <http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/procedures/havingproblems.asp> for information on Medical Policy, Term Tests, Final Examinations, Late Assignments, Short Absences, Extended Absences, Documentation and other Academic Concerns. Non-Social Science students should refer to their home faculty's academic counselling office.

## Plagiarism

"Plagiarism: Students must write their essays and assignments in their own words. Whenever students take an idea, or a passage from another author, they must acknowledge their debt both by using quotation marks where appropriate and by proper referencing such as footnotes or citations. Plagiarism is a major academic offence." (see Scholastic Offence Policy in the Western Academic Calendar).

**Plagiarism Checking:** "All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com ( <http://www.turnitin.com> )."

**Multiple-choice tests/exams:** "Computer-marked multiple-choice tests and/or exams may be subject to submission for similarity review by software that will check for unusual coincidences in answer patterns that may indicate cheating."

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. <http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/>

### **PLAGIARISM\***

In writing scholarly papers, you must keep firmly in mind the need to avoid plagiarism. Plagiarism is the unacknowledged borrowing of another writer's words or ideas. Different forms of writing require different types of acknowledgement. The following rules pertain to the acknowledgements necessary in academic papers.

**A. In using another writer's words, you must both place the words in quotation marks and acknowledge that the words are those of another writer.**

You are plagiarizing if you use a sequence of words, a sentence or a paragraph taken from other writers without acknowledging them to be theirs. Acknowledgement is indicated either by (1) mentioning the author and work from which the words are borrowed in the text of your paper; or by (2) placing a footnote number at the end of the quotation in your text, and including a correspondingly numbered footnote at the bottom of the page (or in a separate reference section at the end of your essay). This footnote should indicate author, title of the work, place and date of publication, and page number.

Method (2) given above is usually preferable for academic essays because it provides the reader with more information about your sources and leaves your text uncluttered with parenthetical and tangential references. In either case words taken from another author must be enclosed in quotation marks or set off from your text by single spacing and indentation in such a way that they cannot be mistaken for your own words. Note that you cannot avoid indicating quotation simply by changing a word or phrase in a sentence or paragraph which is not your own.

**B. In adopting other writers' ideas, you must acknowledge that they are theirs.**

You are plagiarizing if you adopt, summarize, or paraphrase other writers' trains of argument, ideas or sequences of ideas without acknowledging their authorship according to the method of acknowledgement given in 'A' above. Since the words are your own, they need not be enclosed in quotation marks. Be certain, however, that the words you use are entirely your own; where you must use words or phrases from your source, these should be enclosed in quotation marks, as in 'A' above.

Clearly, it is possible for you to formulate arguments or ideas independently of another writer who has expounded the same ideas, and whom you have not read. Where you got your ideas is the important consideration here. Do not be afraid to present an argument or idea without acknowledgement to another writer, if you have arrived at it entirely independently. Acknowledge it if you have derived it from a source outside your own thinking on the subject.

In short, use of acknowledgements and, when necessary, quotation marks is necessary to distinguish clearly between what is yours and what is not. Since the rules have been explained to you, if you fail to make this distinction your instructor very likely will do so for you, and they will be forced to regard your omission as intentional literary theft. Plagiarism is a serious offence which may result in a student's receiving an 'F' in a course or, in extreme cases in their suspension from the University.

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Adopted by the council of the Faculty of Social Science, October, 1970; approved by the Dept. of History August 13, 1991

**Accessibility at Western**

Please contact [poliscie@uwo.ca](mailto:poliscie@uwo.ca) if you require any information in plain text format, or if any other accommodation can make the course material and/or physical space accessible to you.