

AuCanada

The Canadian Studies Center at Bowling Green State University

Spring 2005 Vol. 12 Issue 1

Growing Dissimilarities Call for Greater Acceptance

Author and national affairs columnist for Canadian newspaper *The Globe and Mail*, **Jeffrey Simpson** provided the keynote address for BGSU's Communication Studies Week. Simpson asked whether several widening differences between Canada and U.S. in terms of policy and society are transitory or something more permanent. An expert on Canada-U.S. relations, Simpson has won the three top literary prizes in Canada for his political writing and published five books of nonfiction including *Star-Spangled Canadians*. Key areas where Simpson observes the U.S. and Canada moving in opposite directions are:

- ♦ **Government Accounts** – The Canadian federal budget and international trade balance are in surplus while the U.S. now runs record deficits on both accounts.
- ♦ **Environmental Policy** – Canada takes a view opposite the U.S. on participation in the Kyoto Accord and drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Reserve.
- ♦ **Religion** – The role of religion in public life is increasingly more pervasive in the U.S.
- ♦ **Social Issues** – Same-sex marriage, abortion, stem cell research, capital punishment, and decriminalization of possession of small amounts marijuana are all points of departure between the two countries.
- ♦ **International Institutions** – Canada strongly supports multilateral institutions such as the International Criminal Court and the United Nations.
- ♦ **Terrorism Threat Perception** – Understandably, the U.S. exhibits markedly greater concern regarding terror attacks.

Simpson believes these developments in the U.S. are the result of long-term trends rather than simply the politics of the moment. The twin realities that the U.S. is the world's only superpower and largest single economy are not likely to change anytime soon. Simpson's message for Canada and other traditional U.S. allies is greater

acceptance of these American facts when crafting international policy.

During his stay at BGSU, Simpson also guest lectured to journalism students in IPC 210-Interpersonal Communication in International Contexts. He lunched with a group of the School of Art's graphic design students, who had just completed a study-in-Canada experience that included visits to several design firms in Toronto, Ontario.



Simpson talks with students about how newspaper design, layout, and content has changed since the advent of the Internet.

From the Director

This issue focuses on Canada-U.S. relations and Canadian foreign policy. Two recent visitors to campus, **The Right Honorable Herb Gray** and **Jeffrey Simpson**, recalled Robert Thompson's comment, "America is our best friend, whether we like it or not." Post-September 11 border policy in response to homeland security concerns has been shaped through close cooperation by both sides. Given its economic dependence on the United States, Canada justifiably worries about measures that may discourage cross-border trade, direct investment, and personal travel. The premiers of Ontario and Québec recently sounded the alarm over a U.S. proposal requiring passports for all land crossings by 2008. This should also be a concern in the U.S. since Canada is our largest export market and most important supplier of energy, including oil and petroleum products.

Over time, Canada and the U.S. should work towards a common perimeter policy to minimize the negative effects of border procedures. Market forces should determine trade and investment flows, not worries about increased shipping costs and waiting times. This will require a deepening of NAFTA.

And speaking of the best of friends, a very fond farewell to **Dr. Beth Casey** on the occasion of her formal retirement. She has been a shining light in the development of Canadian Studies at BGSU.

Mark J. Kasoff
Director

Canada's Missile Defense Debate

Guest Column by Dr. Andrew Richter

After five years of discussion, Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin announced in February that Canada would decline the American invitation to participate in the missile defense program. Prime Minister Martin said in the House of Commons that while Canada “respect[s] the right of the U.S. to defend itself and its people,” missile defense “is not where [Canada] will concentrate [its] efforts.” The U.S. administration immediately signified its frustration about the Canadian decision, with outgoing ambassador to Canada Paul Cellucci saying that he did not “understand why Canada would in effect give up its sovereignty.” Critics suggested that the Canadian pronouncement was yet another indication of the downward spiral in bilateral relations, a trend that began during the tenure of the former Prime Minister, Jean Chrétien.

The Canadian debate on missile defense dates back to 1999, when the first American request for Canadian participation was received. For much of the next four years, the Chrétien government did virtually everything it could to avoid making a decision on the matter. During this time, some indicated support for the U.S. project while others suggested Canadian opposition. In this regard, Lloyd Axworthy, Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1995-2000, developed a reputation as a fierce opponent of missile defense, and made numerous speeches ridiculing the program.

Prior to 2003, it appeared as if the likely Canadian government response to the American request would be “no” (in spite of the mixed signals). But through 2003 and 2004, a series of developments suggested that Canada would, in fact, participate. In May 2003, Canadian approval was granted for the initiation of bilateral negotiations aimed at defining the possible Canadian role in the program. In January 2004, a formal bilateral exchange of letters was approved that outlined Ottawa's willingness to negotiate an agreement on missile defense. And in August 2004, changes to NORAD were made that ensured that the command would continue its missile warning and detection roles. With Canada's military strongly supportive of the project, and the Liberal party attempting to balance the

vocal anti-American faction that had taken control of caucus, many assumed that it was only a matter of time before the official announcement of participation was made.

But then came the surprise February decision. Among the possible explanations for it was Prime Minister Martin's concern over the unpopularity of missile defense in Canada, and particularly in Québec, where the fortunes of the Liberal party must improve if it is to have any chance of forming a majority government again. In addition, the political left in Canada has aggressively championed a campaign against defense cooperation with the U.S., offering objections to the missile defense program that frequently have no factual basis, but touch on traditional concerns of political sovereignty and independence. Lastly, polling data show that many Canadians object to U.S. foreign policy; thus, Prime Minister Martin may have concluded that cooperating with the U.S. was a political risk not worth taking.

In the aftermath of the decision, it is difficult to predict what the fallout may be. Without question, the Martin government has lost much goodwill with the Bush administration, and reclaiming it will be difficult, especially considering that the U.S. is still smarting from the anti-American comments made by several Liberal officials in the prelude to the Iraq war.

However, the decision's long-term significance may be far more important than lost goodwill. For the first time in sixty years, a Canadian government has decided against participation with the U.S. in a defense initiative aimed at protecting North America. As is clear from recent comments made by Bush administration spokespeople and a rash of angry newspaper editorials, the U.S. is having difficulty understanding Canada's objection to the missile defense program (and, more broadly, to Canada's general approach to defense issues). That resentment might ultimately herald a fundamental change in the relationship, one that could have dramatic negative consequences for the more dependent of the two states.

Special thanks to Dr. Andrew Richter for submitting this article. Dr. Richter is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Windsor. He can be contacted via the Center.

Writing a New Verse

The names of authors who have participated in BGSU's Canadian Author Series read like a Who's Who of Canadian literature. **Dr. Beth Casey**, who begins her retirement at the end of the semester, was instrumental in originating the series in 1999. She identifies and invites relevant authors, playing host during their stays. Ten English language authors have participated so far.

Casey has a record at BGSU for starting things that last. She was the first to teach English 269—Canadian Fiction beginning in the mid-1980s. She is a founding member of the Canadian Studies Advisory Committee that has been in existence since the creation of the Canadian Studies Center in the early 1990s.

Her interest in teaching Canada reaches back to her childhood years when she vacationed with her family in Québec City and Montréal. Growing up on the Pennsylvania-New York border Casey laughs that she had one foot in the city and one foot in the country. Her early experiences on a borderland of sorts would later lead her to examine the significance of border culture in Canada. After leaving the country for the city, Casey obtained her Ph.D. from Columbia University in English and Comparative Literature. Teaching Canadian literature gives Casey the perfect opportunity to combine her interests in literature and comparative culture.

Casey says she was surprised by students' curiosity about Canada. She finds it greatly rewarding to see how preconceived notions concerning Canada-U.S. similarity are dispelled during the semester. Her first class had just twelve students, the next year there were twenty-five, then thirty-five, and then another section was added. It is now also taught online. Each year, several dozen students gain greater appreciation of the Canadian quest for community and national identity and its integration of native and ethnic populations.

Regarding the Canadian Author Series, Casey emphasizes how much it has meant

Continued on back page.



The Trade-Security Nexus in Canada-U.S. Border Policy

It's the economy, America.

It's the terrorists, Canada.

So goes the dialogue on border management. A common refrain of several commentators that recently visited BGSU dealt with improving economic and security functions along the shared U.S.-Canada border. Productive bilateral border management has different meanings depending on which side of the border one stands. Americans focus on the border as a line of security while Canadians view the border as an economic lifeline. As with many bilateral issues, Canadians and Americans have much to learn from one another. The 18th annual Reddin Symposium provided just such an opportunity.

Security

Major General (ret'd) Lewis MacKenzie maintains that Canada needs to lead the U.S. in matters of homeland security.

“If the U.S. is attacked again it will slam that border like a bank vault. . . it is in Canadian interests to have security policies that are even better than those of the U.S.”

The general, after thirty-six years in the Canadian military that included nine peace keeping tours of duty, is advisor to the province of Ontario regarding counter-terrorism and emergency measures. He notes the mistaken (still lingering) perception that the September 11 terrorists gained entrance into the U.S. from Canada, and says that Canada has no room to be seen as complacent. In addition to North American security, MacKenzie advocates for substantial new investment in the Canadian military so that it can more effectively partner with other nations in peace making operations around the globe.

Economy

When Canadians think about the border many worry most about economic security. Rightfully so, since 85 percent of the country's exports are sent to the United States. **Maureen Appel Molot**, Professor of International Affairs and Political Science at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs

sites evidence that the huge investment relationship of cross-border companies means that over half of total trade is conducted on an intra-firm basis. The figure is probably even higher for Ohio-Canada trade given the state's proximity to Ontario, Canada's most productive province. According to Professor Molot, this high level of intra-firm trade shows how intensely integrated production is between Canada and the United States. While many American producers understand the economic peril of a closed border, the typical U.S. citizen has little understanding of local dependence on a smoothly functioning border. As Molot indicates, any shut-down in the flow of merchandise would have serious economic ramifications across the United States.

“Canada is the largest market for U.S. goods, consuming about the same value of U.S. exports as the European Union (despite the dramatic difference in size between the two). Canada is the most important export destination for merchandise exports from thirty-nine of the fifty states.”

The Right Honorable Herb Gray supports the notion that trade and security are two sides of the same coin saying,

“Since so much of the Canadian economy is formed by subsidiaries of companies owned and based in the U.S., the damage [of a border shutdown] in the short and long run would be to the bottom line of their U.S. based parents.”

Mr. Gray—having served in the House of Commons for nearly four decades and a former Deputy Prime Minister—is one of Canada's most highly regarded statesman and is now Chair of the Canadian Section of the International Joint Commission. The IJC is an autonomous international organization, based on the Boundary Waters Treaty between Canada and the U.S., that deals with transboundary issues of water and air.

Solutions

Many steps have already been taken to enhance border operations such as the 30 points outlined in the U.S.-Canada Smart Border Declaration. In March, the three leaders of North America met and signed an agreement that calls for further security and immigration cooperation and economic integration called the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America. Reddin speakers have some very practical proposals for enhancing both security and trade.

- ◆ Professor Molot recommends mutual recognition of each country's regulatory standards. Shippers in both countries complain about nuisance regulations that require burdensome paperwork and time-consuming, border-clogging inspection.
- ◆ General MacKenzie suggests it is time to develop a common set of procedures and capabilities around the outer perimeter of North America to facilitate the open movement of people and goods inside the North American boundary.
- ◆ The Right Honorable Herb Gray calls for twenty-four hour staffing of every one of the customs booths on both sides of busy gateways.

Mr. Gray recommends a grand vision rather than the over-arching “grand bargain” that some commentators have put forward regarding Canada-U.S. relations. He suggests a binational border management institution modeled on the IJC, or expanding the role of the current IJC by adding to the number and skills of the commissioners and providing them more expert staff [not limited to matters of water and air]. Alternately, Mr. Gray sees the viability of a suggestion advanced by Canada's Association of Chief Executives for developing several commodity-specific, product-specific, or region-specific entities set up like mini IJCs to address border management issues.

To obtain a copy of the Reddin Symposium proceedings, *Canadian Foreign Policy: The Values That Shape It*, please contact the Center.

For That Which is Irrevocably Lost

As the main character says in the novel, *Our Lady of the Lost and Found*, by **Diane Schoemperlen**, "There are many ways to divide up the world. One of those divisions is between those who make lists and those who do not." Diane Schoemperlen will freely confess that she has a thing with lists. This is nowhere more evident than in her novel, *In the Language of Love: A Novel in 100 Chapters* in which she uses the 100 stimulus words from the Standard Word Association Test to create the structure for a series of vignettes. As with her book, *Forms of Devotion*, (winner of Canada's Governor General's Award for Fiction in



Diane Schoemperlen signs a book for a student during her visit to BGSU.

1998) Schoemperlen has made a name for herself based on her inventive use of language that often incorporates lists to create literary works of art.

Schoemperlen's most recent work relies on her method of lists but by any other measure is a substantial departure from her style of warm humor and irony. In the days and months following September 11, 2001, Schoemperlen found herself nearly obsessed by the tragedy. To try and

make some personal sense of the events she began to make a different kind of list. Reflecting on the power of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C. that lists the names of 58,245 dead or missing, Schoemperlen began creating her own list of the dead. In her mission to catalog the names of every individual whose life was lost, Schoemperlen also discovered myriad personal details of the victims: distinguishing features, the clothes they wore, things they loved, things they hated, items carried or recovered, hopes and dreams for the future, lunch hour habits, and much more. At some point in her quest for catharsis and healing, Schoemperlen says she realized that she was writing a book. That work, *Names of the Dead: An Elegy for the Victims of September 11* is a hauntingly sorrowful account of these lives. Alphabetically listed, the names of all who died in the terror attacks are interspersed with personal details, and these are tightly woven together with the day's chronology, facts of buildings, and emotionally evocative prose. For Schoemperlen, the project became a metaphor for putting fragments together to try and build something again. Employing a technique that is at once directly factual and intensely intimate, she brings the horrific, impersonal numbers down to the level of delicate individual features and foibles. Schoemperlen's accomplishment is a respectful and beautiful tribute to how the victims lived rather than how they died.

Upcoming Events

Mark your calendars for the following events.

Please contact **Elizabeth Forester at 419.372.2457** for more information.



November 9, 2005

Canada-Ohio Business Dinner, BGSU, Ohio



November 16-20, 2005

Association for Canadian Studies in the United States 18th Biennial Conference, Saint Louis, Missouri

Writing Continued from page 2.

to her personally to get to know the authors and the publishing environment in which they work. The visits are a wonderful way for her to check her interpretation and improve her lectures.



Bringing authors to campus is Casey's way of providing opportunities for students to interact with the larger world while satisfying her own need to create trans-cultural experiences. Casey is optimistic about the future of both English and French language Canadian literature. Greater cultural exchanges and more cross-border travel are among the many factors opening U.S. market access to Canadian authors.

Casey intends to continue comparing Canadian and American cultural strategies through literature, particularly with respect to historical periods and geographies. Herself a poet, she looks forward to the mental creativity that a little free time will allow. We look forward to her next line.

This is a publication of the



**CANADIAN
STUDIES**
CENTRE
**D'ÉTUDES
CANADIENNES**

Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, OH 43403-0260
419.372.2457

Fax: 419.372.0457

E-Mail: cast@cba.bgsu.edu
www.cba.bgsu.edu/cast

Editors: Mark J. Kasoff
Christine Drennen