UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO

Political Science 260: Canadian Government and Politics

Spring 2015

Tuesday, Thursday: 10 am to 11:20 am: RCH 207

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Office Hours: Tuesday, 9:15 am to 9:45 am; 11:30 am to noon

Thursday, 9;15 am to 9:45 am

Or by appointment

Organization of Syllabus:

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Contact Policy: Email messages should be composed with the following in mind:

- Please use your official email account (for privacy reasons); my reply will be from my gmail account.
- Use proper salutation (i.e. Professor Woolstencroft).
- Use your first and last name.
- Allow up to 48 hours for a response.
- Generally not available from 4 pm Friday to 9 am Monday.
- Brief questions. And read this document to see if the answer is here.

Course Description: An introduction to the important institutions, processes, and cultural and legal influences on the governing of Canada. Following a discussion of various

interpretations of Canadian politics there is an overview of federalism, parliamentary government, and the importance of parties, elections, and advocacy groups in terms of the "democratic deficit." The course then turns to a discussion of the environment of Canadian politics and various interpretations of political culture; the federal system's origins, development, and impact on contemporary politics; the parliamentary system's character, especially the long-term centralization of the system and central aspects of the bureaucracy; the nature of political parties, along with the development of the party system, the impact of the electoral system, and the character of elections; the role of advocacy groups; and, last, judicial review, Supreme Court of Canada, and the impact of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Course Objectives: By the end of the term, students should learn about:

- Major political institutions, including the constitution.
- Principal ideas and sources of conflict.
- Origins and change of principal components of the political system.
- "The democratic deficit" in terms of institutions, political parties, elections and advocacy groups.
- The impact of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and leading supportive and oppositional interpretations.

Students will gain experience in academic writing by being required to

- Write a short paper about an issue of Canadian politics; and
- Prepare a research paper in which a question is asked and discussed in a wellorganized way. The paper is analytical and well-written; it represents wide reading of appropriate materials.

Course Themes: In December 2005 The Economist described Canada as having a "funny sort of politics" and "dysfunctional politics." Over 40 years ago a Canadian political scientist hesitated to rewrite a textbook because he did not think that Canada would be intact within the next year or so. Two Quebec-based political scientists, writing at the beginning of this century, called Canada's constitution incomplete because the failure to produce constitutional changes that would bring Quebec to sign the Constitution Act of 1982. And, yet, Canada endures, and in much of the world it is seen to be remarkably successful and praiseworthy. Do the performances of Canada's athletes in the 2010 and 2014 Olympics and Paralympics – along with the reaction of Canadians to their accomplishments - speak to a new Canadian spirit?

This course addresses various aspects of government and politics that are central to understanding how the Canadian political system operates and the problems it faces. Building on the past, we think about the present, and contemplate the future. Running through the course are six themes.

The first is **change**. Simply put, the Canadian political system has changed enormously from its form in 1867. You are asked to think about whether change has come about

accidentally or from the intersection between fundamental features of Canadian society and the organization of its political system. One thing is certain: although the names of Canada's political institutions come largely from their establishment in 1867, their nature and operation have changed enormously - in some cases to the point of being almost unrecognizable.

The second theme is **territorial instability**. Not only have there been great changes in Canadian political processes, there have been many movements calling for rejection of Canada as a territorial entity: the most notable being the Parti Quebecois in Quebec. Canadians often have seen the basic institutions and operations of their political system as flawed, to the point of calling for fundamental reform or seeking a separatist option. The history of the northern part of North America is one of many constitutions accepted and then rejected in light of emerging critiques. The last successful constitutional revision, in 1982, was followed by two massive failures, the Meech Lake Accord (1987-1990) and the Charlottetown Accord (1992). An argument is often made that the 1982 Constitution Act was imposed on Quebec despite earlier commitments not to do so, which serves as one of the motivating forces for separatism in Quebec. Does Canada have a flawed political contract?

Since the 1970s, aboriginal peoples have become a leading force for change. One result was the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, amongst the most expensive in Canadian history and one of the most revolutionary in its recommendations. The emergence of aboriginal peoples as a political force has produced a wide range of options. Some commentators call for the wholesale integration of aboriginals into Canadian society. Others call for aboriginal and non-aboriginals to follow separate paths (the "two-path wampum") - one reason being the differences arising from their relationship: the colonizers and the colonized. Still others call for the path of "citizens plus" - shared citizenship but with special provision for aboriginals. In a word, the fundamental relations between the various peoples comprising Canadian society arising from the European colonization of aboriginal peoples are **contested**, the third theme of the course.

The fourth theme is the state of Canadian democracy as represented in the phrase 'democratic deficit'. While Canada is one of the world's longest lasting liberal-democracies, in recent times the quality of its democratic life has become increasingly questioned. Examination of the 'democratic deficit' will focus on Canada's central political institutions and the political processes that characterize them, such as political parties and advocacy groups, voting and elections.

The fifth major theme pertains to the **Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms**. Since 1982 – when the Charter, as part of the new Constitution Act, became part of Canada's constitutional framework – Canadian politics has been transformed. New issues, new language ("citizens" and "rights"), new actors, and new roles for old institutions (the Supreme Court of Canada) have become central – and contentious – elements of Canadian politics.

The last theme concerns the Canadian identity. In good measure, the self-image of

Canadians is **fragmented**, reflecting a history marked by defining events, immigration and demographic change, and value shifts. Are we a British nation? A North American society? Is Canadian society essentially bilingual and bicultural? Or is it multicultural? Does citizenship require equal treatment of each person or can it incorporate more complex understandings?

Overriding the issues of the past and the present is another question: given Canada's long standing and growing dependency upon the American economy, should this course's title be "Pre-American Politics"?

A message from Governor-General David Johnston (and former President, University of Waterloo), in response to a question about the public's understanding of government: "Even as a dean of a law school, I'd be so surprised that students would come through a major in history or political science and have so little understanding of our constitution and our division of powers and our protection of rights and freedoms." **Globe and Mail,** December 24, 2011, A4.

Textbooks: 1. Canadian Politics, by Rand Dyck, concise fifth edition Thomson Nelson, 2011

You can find a lot of helpful material, including self-testing, discussion questions, web-links, and new links chapter-by-chapter at the following: Textbook http://www.concise4e.nelson.com/student/

- 2. **Two Cheers for Minority Government**, by Peter Russell (Emond Montgomery, 2008)
- 3. IMPORTANT SUPPLEMENTAL TEXTBOOKS **Democratizing the Constitution: Reforming Responsible Government** by Peter Aucoin, Mark D. Jarvis, and Lori Turnbull (Emond Montgomery, 2011.) ON RESERVE

Against Reform by John Pepall (University of Toronto Centre for Public Management, 2010.) ON RESERVE

Evaluation: There are three ways in which students will be evaluated.

1. SHORT PAPER: (five typed pages, double-spaced); topics listed elsewhere

DUE: NO LATER THAN 4:00 PM, Wednesday, June 17, 2015

WHERE: IN CLASS OR POLITICAL SCIENCE DROP BOX (OPPOSITE HH 311)

WEIGHT: 20 PERCENT

NOTE: LATE SUBMISSIONS WILL BE PENALIZED THREE POINTS A DAY

2. (a) **ESSAY** (ten typed pages, double-spaced); topics listed elsewhere

DUE: Wednesday, July 21,2015

WEIGHT: 40 PERCENT

WHERE: IN CLASS OR POLITICAL SCIENCE DROP BOX (OPPOSITE HH 311)

NOTE: LATE SUBMISSIONS WILL BE PENALIZED THREE POINTS A DAY

OR

(b) **BOOK REVIEW** (ten typed pages, double-spaced)

DUE: Wednesday, July 21, 2015

WEIGHT: 40 PERCENT

WHERE: WHERE: IN CLASS OR POLITICAL SCIENCE DROP BOX

(OPPOSITE HH 311)

NOTE: LATE SUBMISSIONS WILL BE PENALIZED THREE POINTS A DAY

3. **FINAL EXAMINATION** (in August, as scheduled and administered by the Registrar's Office). **NOTE:** this date may be at any time during the examination period. The examination will be two and a half hours in length and will be composed of identification questions and essay questions that cover the entire term. Weight: 40 percent

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Criteria for the evaluation of written work:

Your argument in the short paper, the essay or the review must have the following characteristics:

- a clearly-stated question;
- focused on central issues;
- analytical (rather than descriptive or chronological);
- well-written;
- grammatically correct; and
- evidence of wide reading of pertinent materials.

First-rate work is fluid, well-organized, and written from a clear point of view. It is well-grounded, being not just opinion but based on consideration of diverse materials and contrary perspectives or interpretations. And, overall, it is a pleasure to read.

Below are the criteria used for the marking of short papers, essays, and book reviews. Each is evaluated on a scale from "below standard" to "above standard". For marking purposes, "content" is equal in weight to "structure" and "communication".

CONTENT

- 1. Well-focussed thesis or argument
- 2. Identification of central issues
- 3. Evidence of relevant and in-depth reading
- 4. Evidence of knowledge and understanding of basic concepts
- 5. Evidence of independent thought/originality
- 6. Substance of topic

STRUCTURE

- 7. Coherent development of ideas
- 8. Logical organization and structure of argument
- 9. Integration of thesis, argument, and conclusion

COMMUNICATION

- 10. Documentation of references
- 11. Grammar, syntax, spelling, legibility, proof reading
- 12. Style
- 13. Clear exposition of ideas and concepts

Short Papers, Essays, and Book Reviews

For preparation of the short paper and the essay or book review, it is advisable to start with the appropriate materials in course textbooks and build from there. In all your work, it is not sufficient to just to present one view or interpretation but necessary to show you have taken into account differing views or perspectives.

YOUR WORK MUST CONTAIN AT LEAST ONE REFERENCE TO THE COURSE TEXTBOOKS (OR SUPPLMENTAL TEXTBOOKS) AND AT LEAST ONE REFERENCE TO COURSE LECTURES.

SHORT PAPER: TOPICS

- "Canada, without Quebec, is just a northern extension of the United States."
 (Brian Mulroney) Discuss.
- 2. "Canada is a 'community of communities'." (Joe Clark, 1980) Discuss.
- 3. Quebec has always been simply "un province comme les autres." Make a case for or against this view.
- 4. It does or does not matter that the province of Quebec is not a signatory to the Constitution Act of 1982.
- 5. "The central feature of Canadian politics is regionalism." Discuss.
- 6. "Sooner or later Canadians are going to become Americans. Too bad." **The Economist**, June 19, 1991. Discuss.
- 7. "Federalism is the most distinctive achievement of Canadian democracy." (Alexander Brady, 1958)
- 8. In terms of *realpolitik*, the French and English are equal in Canada because each of these linguistic groups has the power to break the country. And this power cannot yet be claimed by the Iroquois, the Eskimos, or the Ukrainians."

 (Pierre Elliot Trudeau) Discuss.
- 9. "The national interest is little more than the regional interest of central Canada writ large."
- "Geography has made us neighbours, History has made us friends. Economics has made us partners. And necessity has made us allies." (John F. Kennedy, 1961). Discuss.
- 11."I wouldn't lift a finger to get rid of the monarchy...I think the monarchy, by and large, has done more good than harm to Canada." (Pierre Elliot Trudeau, 1967.) Discuss.
- 12. Make an interpretation about what "bringing Canadians together" means.
- 13. Discuss the merits and demerits of the Conservative government's motion (November 2006) that "Quebec is a nation within a united Canada".
- 14. What would be the consequences of making the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) a province?

- 15. In March 2009, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration declared that Canada would adopt a new model of multiculturalism. Is this a good idea?
- 16. Reflect upon the meaning of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" and "peace, order, and good government" in reference to Canada and its development.
- 17. Should aboriginal peoples be treated in different ways, such as in the legal system or in the health care system, than are other Canadians?
- 18. Write an essay about the implications of the following:
 - "We French, we English, never lost our civil war

Endure it still, a bloodless civil bore.

- No wounded lying about, no Whitman wanted
- It's only by our lack of ghosts we're haunted." Earle Birney, "Can.Lit," (1962).
- 19. Make an argument for or against the Clarity Act.
- 20. Should Canadians elect the Governor-General?
- 21. Discuss arguments for and against Bill C-586 (Reform Act, 2014), taking into account the mover's (MP Michael Chong) changes.

Essays

You may write on a topic other than those listed. Students interested in writing a book review **MUST** consult with Professor Woolstencroft. The Dyck textbook contains suggestions at the end of most chapters; other textbooks lead you to sources.

IF YOU CHOOSE YOUR OWN ESSAY TOPIC YOU MUST RECEIVE PROFESSOR WOOLSTENCROFT'S WRITTEN PERMISSION. PLEASE MAKE YOUR REQUEST BY EMAIL

- 1. "It is unthinkable that the provinces should have the responsibility for the provision of social services." Make a case for or against this view.
- 2. The national government should have policies and programmes that deal directly with cities and municipalities. Make a case for or against this view.
- 3. Analyze the forces that have contributed to "province-building" in the Canadian federation. What are the consequences of "province-building?
- 4. Analyze the issue of "non-voting" in Canadian federal elections.
- 5. Is there a problem with female participation in Canadian politics?
- 6. Discuss the evolution (role, problems) of one of the parties in national politics.
- 7."I cannot support the Meech Lake Accord because it violates the principles of Canadian federalism." (Clyde Wells) Discuss.
- 8. Discuss the case for and against compulsory voting.
- 9. Argue in favour of a particular version of Senate reform.
- 10. Describe the nation-building perspective in Canadian politics and the forces working for and against it.
- 11. Discuss how the government of Stephen Harper has handled the recommendations coming out of Justice Gomery's report into the "sponsorship scandal."
- 12. Discuss the roles of "officers of parliament."

- 13. Discuss the concept of "New Public Management" and its application in the Canadian case.
- 14. Discuss the matter of low "class voting" in Canadian elections.
- 15. Account for the ability of the Liberal party to be the dominant force in Canadian politics since 1896.
- 16. Make an argument for or against Aboriginal self-government.
- 17. Make a case for the national government to have an enhanced role in education. How would this be accomplished?
- 18. Make an argument for or against the exercise of the federal spending power.
- 19. Make an argument for or against executive federalism.
- 20. Make an argument for or against the view that the workings of advocacy groups contribute to the unhealthy state of Canadian democracy.
- 21. Is the argument made by Louis Hartz (as amended by Gad Horowitz) or Seymour Martin Lipset pertinent to politics in contemporary Canada?
- 22. Was it a mistake to defeat the Charlottetown Accord?
- 23. The courts, through their interpretation of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, have inappropriately taken over the role of Parliament. Discuss.
- 24. The cabinet has, in fact, taken over the allotted role of the Senate as the protector of the rights of the provinces, and it has done an incomparably better job. (R. Macgregor Dawson, 1922)
- 25. "It is a historical error and political mistake to deny "special status" for Quebec in our Constitution." Discuss.
- 26. Make an argument in favour of the "Triple E" Senate.
- 27. Make an argument for or against equalization fiscal arrangements.
- 28. Make an argument for or against the Social Union Framework Agreement.
- 29. Analyze the forces underlying separatism in Quebec.
- 30. Analyze the forces underlying "western alienation".
- 31. Analyze why Canada has a multi-party system and the United States has a two-party system.
- 32. Should advocacy groups be restricted from participating in election campaigns?
- 33. Do young people look at Canadian politics in significantly different ways than do older Canadians?
- 34. Make an argument for or against the provinces having exclusive control over immigration.
- 35. Discuss the applicability of "asymmetrical" models of federalism to Canada.
- 36. Analyze the strategies of one of the four national political parties in the 2011 election.
- 37. Make a case for/against the override provision of Section 33 of the Constitution Act of 1982.
- 38. Discuss proposals for changing the appointment process for Supreme Court judges.
- 39. "The fundamental problem for Quebec is not the economy, or the social security system, or the method of constitutional change: Quebec is moved by its belief that its culture and its language continue to be threatened." Discuss
- 40. What is the nature of "party identification" in Canada compared to the pattern in the United States?

- 41. Make a case for or against reform of the Canadian electoral system.
- 42. Is the parliamentary system of government incompatible with the nature of Canadian society?
- 43. Discuss how Parliament does or does not have control over pulic spending.
- 44. Discuss proposals for reforming the parliamentary system.
- 45. Make an argument for or against more "free votes" in the House of Commons.
- 46. Write an essay in which you discuss how technology has and might change electoral politics in Canada.
- 47. Write an essay in which you discuss Canadian politics from the perspective of Canada being a plurinational system.
- 48. Write an essay in which you discuss the relationship between the government of Newfoundland and Labrador (or any other province) and the national government.
- 49. Analyze the relationship between the national government and Nunavut.
- 51. Analyze Canada's changing demographics (past, present, and future) and its significance for the political system.
- 52. Analyze the concept of a "representative civil service" in reference to the national government's attempts to develop a bilingual bureaucracy.

Book Reviews: Students interested in writing a book review must consult with Professor Woolstencroft. Following a discussion about the kinds of questions you are interested in Professor Woolstencroft will assign an appropriate book.

A book review (10 pages, double-spaced) consists of two equal parts: first, a summary of the authors thesis: second, an analytical discussion of the merits and demerits of the thesis.

YOUR REVIEW MUST CONTAIN A REFERENCE TO ONE OF THE TEXTBOOKS (OR SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTBOOKS) AND ONE OF PROFESSOR WOOLSTENCROFT'S LECTURES.

NOTE ON AVOIDANCE OF ACADEMIC OFFENSES

The following reflects changes to policies 70, 71, and new policy 72 passed by UW Senate's Undergraduate Council in May, 2008:

<u>Academic Integrity:</u> To create and promote a culture of academic integrity, the behaviour of all members of the University of Waterloo is based on honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility.

<u>Discipline:</u> A student is expected to know what constitutes academic integrity, to avoid committing academic offenses, and to take responsibility for his/her actions. A

student who is unsure whether an action constitutes an offense, or who needs help in learning how to avoid offenses (e.g., plagiarism, cheating) or about "rules" for group work/collaboration should seek guidance from the course professor, academic advisor, or the Undergraduate Associate Dean. When misconduct has been found to have occurred, disciplinary penalties will be imposed under Policy 71 – Student Discipline. For information on categories of offenses and types of penalties, students should refer to Policy 71 - Student Discipline, Student Discipline http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy71.htm **Grievance:** A student who believes that a decision affecting some aspect of his/her university life has been unfair or unreasonable may have grounds for initiating a grievance. Read Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances, Section 4, Student Petitions http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy70.htm Appeals: A student may appeal the finding and/or penalty in a decision made under Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances (other than regarding a petition) or Policy 71 - Student Discipline if a ground for an appeal can be established. Read Policy 72 - Student Appeals, Student Appeals http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy72.htm

SCHEDULE OF LECTURES AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

Lectures and reading assignments are organized in terms of units. The best approach is to read assigned materials before the unit's first lecture is given. While not all ideas or materials discussed in the textbook will be explicitly addressed in lectures, you are responsible for them for examination purposes. There are three non-textbook readings for which you are responsible. In your reading of them you should focus on the major ideas and interpretations, which is precisely why they are so important and considered "classics." Students are also strongly encouraged to consult the two supplementary textbooks. **Against Reform** presents a contrarian interpretation of the performance of central political institutions and **Democratizing the Constitution** addresses dysfunctional features of the Canadian constitution and proposes various reforms.

There is also a website available (Avoiding Academic Offences@-www.arts.uwaterloo.ca/arts/ugrad/academic_responsibility.html)

UNIT ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF CANADIAN POLITICS

Although **Two Cheers for Minority Government** is especially pertinent to Unit 5, it is advisable to start reading it at the beginning of the term because it covers a wide range of material and recent political events.

READING: Dyck, Chapter One, 1-18.

May 5 Introduction to Course Materials

May 7 Images of Canadian Politics Two Ways to Study Canadian Politics

May 12 Federalism and Parliamentary Government

May 14 Connecting (or not) citizens to government: Parties, Elections, Groups

UNIT TWO: NATURE, SOCIETY, ECONOMY, AND POLITICAL CULTURE

READING: Dyck, Chapter 2, 21-47 Dyck, Chapter 6, 131-54.

NON-TEXTBOOK READING (REQUIRED)

Donald M. Savoie, "All Things Canadian are Now Regional," Journal of Canadian Studies, Volume 35, No. 1 (Spring 2000), 203-17. AVAILABLE ELECTRONICALLY.

May 19 Environment of Canadian Politics

May 21 Canadian Political Culture 1: Hartz-Horowitz and Lipset

May 26 Canadian Political Culture 2: regionalism, post-materialism

UNIT THREE: CANADA'S CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

READING: Dyck, Chapter 11, 255-266 Dyck, Chapter 3, 49-52.

May 28 Constitutionalism: Pre-Confederation to Confederation.

June 2 Confederation: Federalism as the option for Canada.

June 4 Confederation: Incomplete beginning, disputed heritage.

UNIT FOUR: THE FEDERAL SYSTEM, 1867-2015

READING: Dyck, Chapter 12, 283-306.

Dyck, Chapter 3, 52-72.

NON-TEXTBOOK READING (HIGHLY RECOMMENDED)

E.R. Black and Alan C. Cairns, "A Different Perspective on Canadian Federalism," **Canadian Public Administration**, Vol. IX, No. 1 (March 1966; 27-45). Available electronically. Reprinted in J. Peter Meekison, ed., **Canadian Federalism: Myth or Reality**.

June 9 Judicial Interpretation: 1867-1937: Development of the Modern System

June 11 Money; province-building; the development of Executive Federalism

June 16 Quebec, the West, and the national government: A compounded crisis.

June 18 Meech Lake Accord: Charlottetown Accord; Clarity Act; The Harper Way.

UNIT FIVE: THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF CANADIAN POLITICS: PARLIAMENT, PRIME MINISTERS, CABINETS AND THE BUREAUCRACY

READING: All of Peter Russell, **Two Cheers for Minority Government**

Dyck, Chapter 15, 367-98 Dyck, Chapter 13, 315-41 Dyck, Chapter 14, 343-65

June 23 Central Political Institutions: Parliament –House of Commons.

June 25 Central Political Institutions: Parliament – Senate; Prime Ministers.

June 30 Central Political Institutions: Control from the Centre.

UNIT SIX: POLITICAL PARTIES, THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM, VOTING.

NON-TEXTBOOK READING

R.K. Carty, "Three Canadian Party Systems," in R.K. Carty, ed., **Canadian Political Party Systems** (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1992), 563-87. (Reserve, Dana Porter).

READING: Dyck, Chapter 9, 205-30.

Dyck, Chapter 8, 177-203. Dyck, Chapter 7, 155-75.

July 2 Political Parties and the Canadian Party System

July 7 The electoral system

July 9 Understanding elections, voting and non-voting.

UNIT SEVEN: THE NATURE AND ROLE OF ADVOCACY GROUPS

READING: Dyck, chapter 10, 231-54

July 14 Pluralist Theory and Its Critique

July 16 Groups in Action: the case of the CCCE

UNIT EIGHT: THE CHARTER OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

READING: Dyck, Chapter 11, 257-85

July 21 The Charter of Rights and Freedoms: Basic Features

July 23 Interpretation Issues; Appointment of Judges

LEARN

Professor Woolstencroft will use LEARN to send information and material.

NOTE FOR STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES

The Office for Persons with Disabilities (OPD), located in Needles Hall, Room 1132, collaborates with all academic departments to arrange appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities without compromising the academic integrity of the curriculum. If you require academic accommodations to lessen the impact of your disability, please register with the OPD at the beginning of each academic term.

LIBRARY RESOURCES

For assistance in using the library, students are encouraged to contact: Jane Forgay, Political Science Liaison Librarian (x35417) or jdforgay@uwaterloo.ca See also the web page specifically set up for Political Science students – it provides general help for finding books and journal articles, etc. Library Resources http://www.lib.uwaterloo.ca/discipline/politic/index.html