

POL 312Y

## **Canadian Foreign Policy**

University of Toronto, St. George Campus  
Fall 2017 & Winter 2016

Tuesday 10 a.m.–12:00 p.m.  
Fall Term: SS 1070 (Sidney Smith Hall)  
Spring Term: GIT (George Ignatieff Theatre, Trinity College)

Course websites: [www.kirton.nelson.com](http://www.kirton.nelson.com) and [www.g7.utoronto.ca/teaching](http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/teaching)

### **Fall 2017: Professor John Kirton**

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### **Winter 2018: Dr. Leah Sarson**

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Teaching Assistant: Michael Kunz, Email: [michael.kunz@mail.utoronto.ca](mailto:michael.kunz@mail.utoronto.ca)

Since 1945, the study and practice of Canadian foreign policy (CFP) has been dominated by a *liberal-internationalist* perspective focused on Canada's pursuit, as a middle power, of harmonious multilateral associations and shared international values. This view has usually been challenged by a *peripheral dependence* perspective, which depicts a small, penetrated Canada heavily constrained at home and abroad by the dominant American power. This course also presents a third, *complex neo-realist* perspective. It suggests that Canada has emerged, in a more diffuse international system, as a principal power focused on globally advancing its own national interests, competitively pursuing external initiatives and promoting a world order directly supportive of Canada's distinctive values.

This course assesses the value of all three perspectives in describing, explaining and understanding CFP, especially in the current post-Cold War, globalizing, post-September 11th world. The first part of the course outlines the three perspectives. The second part assesses their accuracy and utility by surveying successive Canadian governments' major doctrines, resource distributions and decisions from 1945 to the present. The third part explores the individual, governmental, societal and external determinants of Canada's international behaviour. The fourth part examines trends in Canada's relations with the United States and North America, Europe, the Pacific, the Americas, Asia, Africa and the Middle East, and the major institutions, issues and instruments (such as military force, peacekeeping and development assistance) used in each region. The fifth part considers Canada's approach to world order and global

governance, largely through the multilateral United Nations and the plurilateral Group of Eight (G8) and Group of Twenty (G20).

## Requirements

Each student will be responsible for:

1. First-Term Test, on December 5, 2017 (the last class in the first term) (for 25% of the final grade);
2. Research Essay of 2,500 words plus bibliography and references, handed in both on paper and electronically on Turnitin.com (or with alternative arrangements/see end of document for Turnitin details), due on February 27, 2018 (at start of the first class after Reading Week) (for 50% of the final grade); and
3. Final Test (covering material from the entire course) on April 3, 2018 (the last class of second term) (for 25% of the final grade).

## Late Penalty

The late penalty is 2% of the assignment grade per calendar day, including weekends (without eligible cause, as approved by the instructor or TA in advance). Eligible causes for extension are unforeseen medical and dental, non-curricular paid work-related and disruptive personal relationship interruptions. Students should keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays and assignments before handing them in to the instructor. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned and the grades posted on ACORN. Note: Plagiarism is a serious academic offense and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism please see Writing at the University of Toronto, at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>

## Academic Integrity at the University of Toronto

The University of Toronto is committed to the values of independent inquiry and to the free and open exchange of ideas. Academic integrity underpins these values and is thus a core part of the University's commitment to intellectual life. Extending beyond our immediate intellectual community of students, faculty, and staff at the University of Toronto, our intellectual community embraces all who have contributed to the sum of human knowledge. The university defines several key concepts of academic integrity: honesty, fairness, trust, respect, responsibility, originality, expertise, credit and capacity.

Honesty and fairness are fundamental values shared by students, staff and faculty in the University of Toronto community. The ethic of intellectual honesty goes hand in hand with the University's efforts to advance and disseminate knowledge by drawing fairly on the ideas of others, by presenting and testing ideas, and by giving and receiving appropriate recognition.

Plagiarism, forgery, and unauthorized resubmission are among the most common forms of academic misconduct. According to the University of Toronto's Faculty of Arts and Science Student Academic Integrity website, plagiarism is "presenting the work, ideas, or words of another as your own, even by accident."

For more information, speak to your instructor or see:  
<http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/osai/The-rules/what-is-academic-misconduct>

### **Contact with Professors**

The professors are available during appointed office hours, via email, or by appointment in exceptional circumstances. In your emails, please include the course code (POL 312) in the subject line, a proper greeting, and a salutation with your full name.

### **Conduct in the Classroom**

In an era of disinformation, it is imperative that the classroom remains a safe space for the engagement of ideas and critical thought. Harassment, bullying, or abuse of any kind will not be tolerated. This includes racist, sexist, homophobic, transphobic, ableist, and classist language.

### **Required Texts**

The required texts, which are all available for purchase at the University of Toronto Bookstore, are:

John Kirton (2007), *Canadian Foreign Policy in a Changing World* (Toronto: Thomson Nelson). The core textbook.

Duane Bratt and Chris Kukucha, eds. (2015), *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 3rd edition). The core reader.

### **Other Key Works**

- a. Don Munton and John Kirton, eds. (1992), *Canadian Foreign Policy: Selected Cases* (Toronto: Prentice Hall). Discusses the major cases from 1945 to 1991 and serves as a history and essay reference.
- b. Kim Richard Nossal, Stéphane Roussel and Stéphane Paquin (2010), *Politics of Canadian Foreign Policy*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (McGill-Queen's Press). Also see *Politique internationale et défense au Canada et au Québec* (Montreal: les Presses de l'Université de Montréal). A classic textbook focused on the policymaking process.
- c. Heather Smith and Claire Turenne Sjolander, eds. (2013), *Canada in the World: Internationalism in Canadian Foreign Policy* (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press). Useful for the essays.
- d. Duane Bratt and Christopher Kukucha, eds. (2011), *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas*, (Oxford University Press: Toronto), Second Edition.
- e. Beier, J. Marshall and Lana Wylie (2010), *Canadian Foreign Policy in Critical Perspective*, Don Mills: Oxford University Press Canada.

- f. Brian Tomlin, Norman Hillmer and Fen Osler Hampson (2008), *Canada's International Policies: Agendas, Alternatives, and Politics* (Oxford University Press: Toronto). Useful for the research essay.
- g. Andrew F. Cooper (1997), *Canadian Foreign Policy: Old Habits and New Directions* (Scarborough: Prentice Hall). A classic textbook.
- h. David Dewitt and John Kirton (1983), *Canada as a Principal Power* (Toronto: John Wiley). The classic foundation for this course.
- i. Robert Bothwell (2006), *The Penguin History of Canada* (Penguin: Toronto). The best history.
- j. Patrick James, Nelson Michaud and Marc O'Reilly, eds. (2006), *Handbook of Canadian Foreign Policy* (Toronto: Lexington Books).
- k. More may become available and will be identified during the year.

Also valuable are the annual volumes in the *Canada Among Nations* (CAN) series since 1984.

**Key Journals and Annuals (to scan for your essays, in order of relevance):**

- CFP *Canadian Foreign Policy* (1992–, 3/year, the key journal)
- IJ *International Journal* (1945–, 4/year, some CFP content)
- CAN *Canada Among Nations* (1984–, 1/year, good CFP content)
- GB *Global Brief* (2009–, 4/year, some CFP content)
- EI *Études Internationales* (1970–, 4/year, some systematic CFP content)
- ARCS *American Review of Canadian Studies* (some CFP content)
- CAPP *Canadian-American Public Policy* (good Canada-U.S. content)
- NA *Norteamerica* (2006–, good North American content)
- BH *Behind the Headlines* (some CFP content)
- CPP *Canadian Public Policy* (some CFP content)
- PO *Policy Options* (some CFP content)
- CJPS *Canadian Journal of Political Science* (strong analysis, some CFP content)
- LRC *Literary Review of Canada* (reviews of recent books)
- CWV *Canada World View*, Foreign Affairs Canada (empirically useful government source)

Note: Some current and archival issues of these publications are available online. Most are also in print, available in libraries, starting with Trinity College's John Graham Library.

**WEEKLY SESSION READING**

On reserve in Trinity College Library. Read each week in the order listed. \* Background if time and interest allow.

**1. Introduction to the Course (September 12)**

**2. Introduction to the Field: Premises and Principles (September 19)**

Kirton, Chapters 1-2.

Kirton, John (2009), "The 10 Most Important Books on Canadian Foreign Policy," Bratt and Kukucha, 10-18 (Also in *IJ* 64 (Spring): 553-564).

Sjolander, Claire Turenne and Heather A. Smith (2010), "The Practice, Purpose, and Perils of List-Making: A Response to John Kirton's "10 Most Important Books on Canadian Foreign Policy," in Bratt and Kukucha (2011), 19-27.

Michaud, Nelson (2007), "Values and Canadian Foreign Policymaking: Inspiration or Hindrance," Bratt and Kukucha (2011), second edition, 341-356.

Michaud, Nelson (2011), "Soft Power and Canadian Foreign Policy-Making: The Role of Values," Bratt and Kukucha, second edition.

\*Tomlin et al. (2008), 1-28.

\*Berns-McGown, Rima (2005), "Political Culture, Not Values," *IJ* 60 (Spring): 341-360.

## **PART I: THREE PERSPECTIVES ON CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY**

### **3. Canada as a Middle Power: Liberal-Internationalist Theory (September 26)**

Kirton, Chapter 3-4.

Dewitt, David and John Kirton (1983), "Three Theoretical Perspectives," Bratt and Kukucha, 68-84 (or Dewitt and Kirton, 17-28).

Holmes, John (1984), "Most Safely in the Middle," Bratt and Kukucha, 31-43.

Ghent, Jocelyn and Don Munton, "Confronting Kennedy and the Missiles in Cuba, 1962," Munton and Kirton, 78-100.

Soward, Fred and Edgar McInnis, "Forming the United Nations, 1945," Munton and Kirton, 4-18.

Reid, Escott, "Forming the North Atlantic Alliance, 1949," Munton and Kirton, 27-42.

Stairs, Denis, "Containing Communism in Korea, 1950-53," Munton and Kirton, 46-57.

Reford, Robert, "Peacekeeping at Suez, 1956," Munton and Kirton, 58-77.

\*Tucker, Michael (1980), *Canadian Foreign Policy: Contemporary Issues and Themes* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson), 1-26, 224-238.

\*King, Mackenzie (1943), "The Functional Principle," in Granatstein (1993), 23-27.

### **4. Canada as a Small Power: Peripheral Dependence Theory (October 3)**

Kirton, Chapter 5.

Clarkson, Stephen (1968), "The Choice to Be Made," Bratt and Kukucha, 92-108.

Bow, Brian & Patrick Lennox (2011), "The 'Independence' Debates, Then and Now: False Choices and Real Challenges," Bratt and Kukucha, 109-112.

Wegner, Nicole (2015), "'(De)constructing Foreign Policy Narratives: Canada in Afghanistan," Bratt and Kukucha, 113-121.

McMahon, Sean (2015), "Hegemony in the Local Order and Accumulation in the Global: Canada and Libya," Bratt and Kukucha, 122-135.

Doran, Charles (1996), "Will Canada Unravel?" *Foreign Affairs* 75 (September/October): 97-109.

Ghent, Jocelyn, "Deploying Nuclear Weapons, 1962-63," Munton and Kirton, 101-117.

\*Neufeld, Mark (2011), "Democratization in/of Canadian Foreign Policy: Critical Reflections," Bratt and Kukucha, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. 109-122.

### 5. Canada as a Principal Power: Complex Neo-Realist Theory (October 10)

Kirton, Chapter 6.

Kirton, John (2015), "Canada as a Principal Power 2010," in Bratt and Kukucha, 85-91.

Welsh, Jennifer (2005), "Reality and Canadian Foreign Policy," *CAN 2005*, 23-46.

Schlegel, John, "Containing Quebec Abroad: The Gabon Incident, 1968," Munton and Kirton, 156-173.

Kirton, John and Don Munton, "The Manhattan Voyages, 1969-70," Munton and Kirton, 205-226.

Eays, James (1975), "Defining a New Place for Canada in the Hierarchy of World Powers," *International Perspectives* (May/June): 15-24. Also in Granatstein, J.L., ed. (1992), *Towards a New World: Readings in the History of Canadian Foreign Policy* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman), 76-89.

### 6. Assessing the Theories: Relative Capability, International Behaviour (October 17)

Kirton, Chapter 7.

Nye, Joseph (1974), "Transnational Relations and Interstate Conflicts: An Empirical Analysis," *International Organization* 28 (Autumn): 961-998.

Lyon, Peyton and Brian Tomlin (1979), *Canada As An International Actor*, 56-93, 163-187.

Kirton, John (1987), "Managing Global Conflict: Canada and International Summitry," *CAN 1987*: 22-40.

## PART II: CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOUR SINCE 1945

### 7. St. Laurent, Diefenbaker and Pearson (October 24)

Kirton, Chapter 8.

Chapnick, Adam (2015), "Canadian Foreign Policy, 1945-1968," Bratt and Kukucha, 28-41.

Nossal, Kim Richard (2015), "Defending Canada," Bratt and Kukucha, 295-307.

Ross, Douglal Alan (2015), "Canadian International Security Policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Closing the Book on the Sunderland Era? Not as All," Bratt and Kukucha 326-346.

\*Norman Hillmer and J.L. Granatstein (1994), *Empire to Umpire* (Toronto: Irvin), 181-264.

St. Laurent, Louis (1947), "The Foundations of Canadian Policy in World Affairs," in R.A. Mackay, ed. (1971), *Canadian Foreign Policy, 1945-1954: Selected Speeches and Documents* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart), 388-399. In J.L. Granatstein (1993), 28-37.

### 8. Trudeau and Clark (October 31)

Kirton, Chapter 9.

Stairs, Denis, "Reviewing Foreign Policy, 1968-70," Munton and Kirton, 189-204.

Dobell, Peter, "Reducing Vulnerability: The Third Option, 1970s," Munton and Kirton, 237-258.

Takach, George, "Moving the Embassy to Jerusalem, 1979," Munton and Kirton, 273-285.

Bayer, James "Sanctioning the Soviets: the Afghanistan Intervention, 1979-80," Munton and Kirton, 286-298.

- \*Thordarson, Bruce, "Cutting Back on NATO, 1969," Munton and Kirton, 174-188.
- \*Harbron, John, "Recognizing China, 1971," Munton and Kirton, 227-236.
- \*Canada, Department of External Affairs, "Canada and the World," A Policy Statement by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau issued on May 29, 1968, *Statements and Speeches* 68/17. Extracts in Arthur Blanchette, ed., *Canadian Foreign Policy, 1966-1976*, 335-341.
- \*Granatstein, J. L. and Robert Bothwell (1990), *Pirouette: Pierre Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), especially pp. 3-38, 363-383.
- \*Dewitt and Kirton, 68-84.

Fall Break: November 7: NO CLASS

### **9. Mulroney (November 14)**

- Kirton, Chapter 10.
- Hart, Michael, "Negotiating Free Trade, 1985-88," Munton and Kirton, 314-337.
- Kirton, John, "Liberating Kuwait: Canada and the Persian Gulf War, 1990-91," Munton and Kirton, 382-393.
- Cohen, Andrew (1989), "Canada's Foreign Policy: The Outlook for the Second Mulroney Mandate," *BH* 46 (Summer): 1-15. Also in Granatstein, 1992, 280-294.
- Michaud, Nelson and Kim Richard Nossal, eds. (2001), *Diplomatic Departures: The Conservative Era in Canadian Foreign Policy, 1984-93* (Vancouver: UBC Press), pp. 3-42, 290-296.
- \*Canada, Department of External Affairs (1983), *Competitiveness and Security* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada) (43 pp.). Use J.L. Granatstein (1993), 73-86.

### **10. Chrétien and Martin (November 21)**

- Kirton, Chapters 11 and 12, 155-194).
- Nossal, Kim Richard (2003), "Canada: Fading Power or Future Power?" *BH* 59 (Spring): 9-16.
- Hampson, Fen Osler and Dean Oliver (1998), "Pulpit Diplomacy: A Critical Assessment of the Axworthy Doctrine," *IJ* 53 (Summer): 379-406.
- Stairs, Denis (2003), "Trends in Canadian Foreign Policy: Past, Present, and Future," *BH* 59 (Spring): 1-7.
- Malone, David (2001), "Foreign Policy Reviews Reconsidered," *IJ* 56 (Autumn): 555-578.
- \*Fraser, Graham (2005), "Liberal Continuities: Jean Chrétien's Foreign Policy, 1993-2003," *CAN 2004*: 171-186.
- \*Canada (1995), *Canada in the World: Government Statement* (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade).
- \*Canada (2003), *A Dialogue on Foreign Policy: Report to Canadians* (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade).
- \*Smith, Heather (1999), "Caution Warranted: Niche Diplomacy Assessed," *CFP* 6 (Spring): 57-72.

### **11. Harper and Trudeau (November 28)**

- Kirton, Chapter 12, 194-199.

- Kirton, John (2006), "Harper's "Made in Canada" Global Leadership," Cooper and Rowlands, 34-57.
- McKercher, Asa and Leah Sarson (2016), "Dollars and sense? The Harper government, economic diplomacy, and Canadian foreign policy," *International Journal* 71(3) 351-370.
- Chapnick, Adam and Christopher Kukucha eds. (2016). *The Harper Era in Canadian Foreign Policy: Parliament, Politics, and Canada's Global Posture*. (Toronto: UBC Press).
- Harper, Stephen (2006), "Address by the Prime Minister at the Canada-UK Chamber of Commerce," London, UK, July 14 <[www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?category=2&id=1247](http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?category=2&id=1247)>.
- Freeland, Chrystia (2017), "Address by Minister Freeland on Canada's foreign policy priorities." [https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2017/06/address\\_by\\_ministerfreelandoncanadasforeignpolicypriorities.html](https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2017/06/address_by_ministerfreelandoncanadasforeignpolicypriorities.html)
- Paris, Roland (2017). "Interview on 'The Agenda' about Canada's Foreign and Defence Policy." RolandParis.com. <http://www.rolandparis.com/single-post/2017/06/09/Interview-on-The-Agenda-about-Canadas-Foreign-and-Defence-Policy>

## 12. Term Test (December 5, written in Room TBA)

### PART III: GOVERNMENTAL, SOCIETAL, AND EXTERNAL DETERMINANTS OF CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY

#### 13. Traditional understandings of determinants of Canadian Foreign Policy (January 9)

- Kirton, chapters 13-15
- Freeland, Chrystia (2017), "Address by Minister Freeland on Canada's foreign policy priorities." [https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2017/06/address\\_by\\_ministerfreelandoncanadasforeignpolicypriorities.html](https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2017/06/address_by_ministerfreelandoncanadasforeignpolicypriorities.html) (repeat from week 11).
- Pick two:
- Gecelovsky, Paul (2015), "Of Legacies and Lightning Bolts: Another Look at the Prime Minister and Canadian Foreign Policy." In Bratt and Kukucha.
- Lagassé, Philippe (2012), "Parliamentary and judicial ambivalence toward executive prerogative powers in Canada." *Canadian Public Administration* 55.2: 157-180.
- Schmitz, Gerald J. (2015), "Parliament and Canadian Foreign Policy: Between Paradox and Potential." In Bratt and Kukucha.

#### 14. Identity politics and Canadian Foreign Policy (January 16)

- Sjolander, Claire Turenne (2014), "Through the looking glass: Canadian identity and the War of 1812." *International Journal* 69.2: 152-167.
- Kukucha, C. J. (2009), "Dismembering Canada-Stephen Harper and the Foreign Relations of Canadian Provinces." *Review of Constitutional Studies*, 14, 21.
- Ahmad, Aisha (2017), "Canadian values and the Muslim world." *International Journal*



72.2, pp 255-268.

Cornut, J., and Roussel, S. (2011), "Canadian Foreign Policy: A Linguistically Divided Field." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 44(3), 685-709.

Carment, David and Joseph Landry (2016), "Diaspora and Canadian Foreign Policy: The World in Canada?" In *The Harper Era in Canadian Foreign Policy*. Eds, Adam Chapnick and Christopher J. Kukucha. UBC Press. **[Blackboard]**

### 15. Canadian foreign policy meets "feminist foreign policy" (January 23)

Zilio, Michelle. (2017). "Ottawa unveils new feminist foreign-aid policy". *The Globe and Mail*. 9 June 2017.

<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/ottawa-unveils-new-feminism-focused-foreign-aid-policy/article35260311/>

Standish, Reid (2016), "How Sweden Is Pursuing Its 'Feminist Foreign Policy' in the Age of Erdogan, Putin, and Trump." *Foreign Policy*. 29 July 2016.

<http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/29/how-sweden-is-pursuing-its-feminist-foreign-policy-in-the-age-of-erdogan-putin-and-trump-wallstrom-hultqvist/>

Crouch, David (2017), "Is Sweden's feminist agenda working?" *BBC News*. 17 February 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-39004991>

Tiessen, Rebecca and Krystel Carrier (2015), "The erasure of "gender" in Canadian foreign policy under the Harper Conservatives: the significance of the discursive shift from "gender equality" to "equality between women and men"." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 21.2.

Stienstra, Deborah, Claire Turenne Sjolander, Heather A. Smith. 2003. "Taking Up and Throwing Down the Gauntlet: Feminists, Gender, and Canadian Foreign Policy." In *Feminist Perspectives on Canadian Foreign Policy*, eds. Claire Turenne Sjolander, Heather Smith and Deborah Stienstra. Don Mills: OUP. **[Blackboard]**

Howell, Alison (2005) "Peaceful, tolerant and orderly? A feminist analysis of discourses of 'Canadian values' in Canadian Foreign Policy," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 12:1.

### 16. Nation-to-Nation? Indigenous peoples and the circumpolar north (January 30)

Beier, J. Marshall (2010), "At Home on Native Land: Canada and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights on Indigenous Peoples." In *Canadian Foreign Policy in Critical Perspective*, eds. J. Marshall Beier and Lana Wylie. Don Mills: Oxford University Press Canada. **[Blackboard]**

\*\*Article version: Beier, J. Marshall (2007), "Inter-National Affairs: Indigeneity, Globality and the Canadian State." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 13 (3): 121-131.

King, Hayden, (2017), "The erasure of Indigenous thought in foreign policy." *Open Canada*. 27 July 2017.

<https://www.opencanada.org/features/erasure-indigenous-thought-foreign-policy/>

Cooper, Andrew and P. Whitney Lackenbauer (2011), "The Achilles' Heel of Canadian Good International Citizenship: Indigenous Diplomacies and State Response." In *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas*, 2nd ed., eds. Duane Bratt and Christopher J. Kukucha. Don Mills: OUP. **[Blackboard]**

- \*\*Article version: Lackenbauer, P. Whitney and Cooper, Andrew F. (2007), "The Achilles heel of Canadian international citizenship: Indigenous diplomacies and state responses." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*. Volume 13, Issue 3, pp. 99-119.
- Wilson, Gary N and Heather A. Smith. 2011. "The Inuit Circumpolar Council in an era of global and local change." *International Journal* 66.4: 909-921.
- Simon, Mary. 2011. Canadian Inuit: Where we have been and where we are going. *International Journal* 66, no. 4:879-891.

#### **PART IV: CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN ACTION**

##### **17. Canadian international human rights policy and official development assistance (February 6)**

*N.B. Please select a recent newspaper article related to this topic and be prepared to discuss it in groups.*

Brown, Stephen, Molly den Heyer and David R. Black (2015), "Introduction and Conclusion." In *Rethinking Canadian Aid*, eds. Stephen Brown, Molly den Heyer and David R. Black. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.  
Available at <http://aix1.uottawa.ca/~brown/pages/RCA%20introduction.pdf> and  
<http://aix1.uottawa.ca/~brown/pages/RCA%20conclusion.pdf>.

\*\*n.b. All chapters of *Rethinking Canadian Aid* are available online. Search the chapter titles found in the table of contents.

Macdonald, Laura (1995). "Unequal Partnerships: The Politics of Canada's Relations with the Third World," *Studies in Political Economy*, vol.47, pp.111-41

Smilie, Ian (2007). "Boy Scouts and Fearful Angels: The Evolution of Canada's Good Governance Agenda." In *Exporting Good Governance*, eds. Jennifer Welsh and Ngaire Woods. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press.

\*\* *Exporting Good Governance* is available in its entirety at  
<https://www.cigionline.org/sites/default/files/welsh-woods.pdf>

Brown, Stephen (2016), "Canadian Aid Policy during the Harper Years." In *The Harper Era in Canadian Foreign Policy*. Eds, Adam Chapnick and Christopher J. Kukucha. UBC Press. **[Blackboard]**

Optional: Pratt, Cranford. 2003. "Ethical Values and Canadian Foreign Aid Policies." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 37.1: 84-101.

##### **18. Canadian trade policy (February 13)**

*N.B. Please select a recent newspaper article related to this topic and be prepared to discuss it in groups.*

Macdonald, Laura (2010), "Trading Places." (aka "A Fine Balance: Multilateralism and Bilateralism in Canadian Policy in the North American Region.") *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 16.2: 111-124.

Macdonald, Laura and Jeremy Paltiel (2016), Middle power or muddling power? Canada's relations with emerging markets. *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 22.1.

- Kukucha, Christopher J. (2016), Canada's Incremental Foreign Trade Policy. In *The Harper Era in Canadian Foreign Policy*. Eds, Adam Chapnick and Christopher J. Kukucha. UBC Press. **[Blackboard]**
- McBride, Stephen (2015), "Canada's Policy Response to the Global Financial Crisis," In Bratt and Kukucha, 400-414.

### **Reading week (February 20)**

#### **19. Canadian defence policy: Canada in Afghanistan and beyond (February 27)**

*N.B. Please select a recent newspaper article related to this topic and be prepared to discuss it in groups.*

- Paquin, Jonathan (2015), "Canada's International Security Agenda." In "The World Won't Wait: Why Canada Needs to Rethink its International Policies", eds. Roland Paris and Taylor Owen. University of Toronto Press. **[Blackboard]**
- Ettinger, Aaron and Jeffrey Rice (2016), "Hell is other people's schedules: Canada's limited-term military commitments, 2001-2015." *International Journal*. Vol 71, Issue 3, pp. 371 - 39.
- Sjolander, Claire Turenne and Kathryn Trevenen (2010), "Constructing Canadian Foreign Policy: Myths of Good International Citizens, Protectors, and the War in Afghanistan." In *Canadian Foreign Policy in Critical Perspective*, eds. J. Marshall Beier and Lana Wylie. Don Mills: OUP. **[Blackboard]**
- Jones, Peter and Philippe Lagassé (2012), "Rhetoric versus reality: Canadian defence planning in a time of austerity." *Defense & Security Analysis* 28.2: 140-151.
- Wegner, Nicole (2015), "(De)constructing Foreign Policy Narratives: Canada in Afghanistan," In Bratt and Kukucha, 113-121. (repeat from week 5)
- McMahon, Sean (2015), Hegemony in the Local Order and Accumulation in the Global: Canada and Libya," In Bratt and Kukucha, 122-135. (repeat from week 5).
- Nossal, Kim Richard (2015), "Defending Canada," In Bratt and Kukucha, 295-307. (repeat from week 7)

### **PART V: RELATIONSHIPS AND DIPLOMACY**

#### **20. Bilateralism, Multilateralism, and Regionalism (March 6)**

*N.B. Please select a recent newspaper article related to this topic and be prepared to discuss it in groups.*

- Keating, Tom (2015), "The Twilight of of Multilateralism in Canadian Foreign Policy?" Bratt and Kukucha, 55-67.
- Macdonald, Laura (2010), "Trading Places." (aka "A Fine Balance: Multilateralism and Bilateralism in Canadian Policy in the North American Region.") *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 16.2: 111-124. (repeat from week 18)
- Kirton, Chapter 23.

Nossal, Kim Richard, (2013), "The Liberal Past in the Conservative Present: Internationalism in the Harper Era." In *Canada in the World*. [Blackboard]  
Smith, Heather A. and Claire Turenne Sjolander (2013), "Conclusion: Canada, the World and the Inside/Outside of Internationalism." In *Canada in the World*. [Blackboard]

### **21. Canada-US Relations: Sleeping with an Elephant (March 13)**

*N.B. Please select a recent newspaper article related to this topic and be prepared to discuss it in groups.*

Hale, Geoffrey (2015), "Canada-US Relations: Proximity and Distance in Perspective." In Bratt and Kukucha.  
Kirkey, Christopher and Michael Hawes (2015), "Canada in an Age of Unipolarity: Structural Change and Canadian Foreign Policy. In Bratt and Kukucha, 144-155.  
Bow, Brian and Adam Chapnick (2016), Teaching Canada-US relations: Three great debates. *International Journal*. Vol 71, Issue 2, pp. 291 – 312  
Kitchen, Veronica M. (2013), "Where Is Internationalism? Canada-US Relations in the Context of the Global and the Local." In *Canada in the World*. [Blackboard]

### **22. Canada-Asia Relations (March 20)**

*N.B. Please select a recent newspaper article related to this topic and be prepared to discuss it in groups.*

Nossal, Kim Richard and Leah Sarson (2014), About face: explaining changes. in Canada's China policy, 2006–2012, *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 20:2, 146-162  
Burton, Charles (2015) "The Dynamic of Relations between Canada and China," Bratt and Kukucha, 171-185.  
Singh, Anita (2015), "The Indo-Canadian Diaspora and Canadian Foreign Policy: Lessons Learned and Moving Forward," Bratt and Kukucha 259-276.  
Paltiel, Jeremy (2016), Resolute ambivalence: Canada's strategy toward China and the Asia-Pacific. *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 22.1.  
Andrew Lui: 2013. Sleeping with the Dragon: The Harper Government, China, and How Not to Do Human Rights. In *Canada in the World*. [Blackboard]

## **PART VI: CONCLUSION**

### **23. What is Canadian Foreign Policy anyway? (March 27)**

Black, David and Heather Smith (2014), "Still Notable? Reassessing Theoretical Exceptions in Canadian Foreign Policy Literature." *International Journal* 69.1: 1-19.  
Smith, Heather (2010), The Disciplining Nature of Canadian Foreign Policy." In *Canadian Foreign Policy in Critical Perspective*, eds. J. Marshall Beier and Lana Wylie. Don Mills: OUP. [Blackboard]  
Bow, Brian and Andrea Lane (2017), "Generations: The sources of our ideas about Canadian Foreign Policy." *International Journal*. Vol 72, Issue 2, pp. 158 - 165

- Nossal, Kim Richard. 2000. "Home-Grown IR: The Canadianization of International Relations." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 35: 95-114 (n.b. Nossal and Cox released a piece in 2009 that serves as a corollary to this piece: Wayne S. Cox and Kim Richard Nossal, "The "crimson world": the Anglo core, the post-imperial non-core and the hegemony of American IR," in Tickner and Waever, *International Relations Scholarship around the World*.)
- Bow, Brian. 2010. "Paradigms and paradoxes: Canadian foreign policy in theory, research, and practice." *International Journal* 65.2: 371-380.
- Carment, David and Joe Landry. 2016. 150 years of Canada in the world: claiming the twenty-first century? *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* Vol. 22 , Iss. 3.

#### 24. FINAL TEST (April 3, Location TBA)

**Essay due on February 27:** *What did Canada do, why, and, in the short conclusion, what could and should it have done differently, in one of the following critical post-Cold War cases in Canadian foreign policy?*

- The War in the Balkans and Kosovo, 1993-
- NAFTA Chapter 11 Investor State Dispute Settlement, 1994-
- The G20, 1997-
- Post 911 Homeland Security, 2001-
- The War in Afghanistan, 2001-
- Ballistic Missile Defence, 2001-
- African Development, 2002-
- The War in Iraq, 2003-
- The Responsibility to Protect (R2P), 2003-
- International Health, 2003-
- The Security and Prosperity Partnership (SPP-NALS), 2004-
- Arctic Sovereignty, 2006-
- Climate Change, 2006-
- Energy Policy 2006-
- Middle East Diplomacy, 2006-
- Global Financial Crisis, 2007-
- G8 Muskoka Summit, 2010
- The Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP), 2010-
- The War in Libya 2011
- Ukraine 2014-
- United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 1982-
- ODA and Sexual and Reproductive Rights, 2010-
- Other topics possible ONLY in consultation with professor prior to January 30 (no exceptions)

#### Essay Guidelines

Note: Select and start your essay from the topics listed above early in the first term to give yourself maximum time and to avoid any last-minute shortage of high-demand

works on popular topics as the deadline approaches in 2018. All cases start in the year indicated and go up to the present.

In your case study, address, in order, three questions: What did the Canadian government do? Why did it do it? And, briefly, at the end, and based on your answers to the first two questions, what could and should it have done differently to better secure the outcomes it and you wanted? The first two questions will each constitute about 40% of the essay, the final question (on feasible, superior policy alternatives) 10%, and the introduction (including the significance of the case, competing schools of thought, “puzzle” and your thesis) 10%.

In conducting your case study, you are taking up a pursuit pioneered in the scholarly study of CFP by the legendary John Holmes. That tradition has been continued in Don Munton and John Kirton, eds. (1992), *Canadian Foreign Policy: Selected Cases* (Toronto: Prentice Hall), which you will be familiar with as you research and write your essay. Refer especially in the above to John Kirton and Don Munton, “The Manhattan Voyages, 1969-70,” 205-226, and John Kirton, “Liberating Kuwait: Canada and the Persian Gulf War, 1990-91,” 382-393. For a model case for this course, see Alissa Wang (2016), “The Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement: What Did Canada Do and Why?” <http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/teaching/312/Wang-CETA-2016.pdf>.

Start researching your essay by reading the relevant passages in the course text and reader, syllabus, and lecture notes (including those lectures or chapters you have not yet come to). Then follow the citations in those pieces, the case study bibliographies on the course/textbook website, the guidance provided by the instructor when you ask for it, and the relevant pieces yielded by your scan of the major books and journals, starting with those listed at the beginning of this syllabus.

The introduction to your essay will include in turn a treatment of the following elements: the policy and theoretical *significance* of the case; the debate among the competing *schools of thought* about the case itself, drawn from existing scholarly writing on the subject (each week’s lectures and chapters in the core text tend to start this way; these schools must be identified at the start of your essay. They are NOT the three theories used for the course as a whole); the *puzzles* or unexplained phenomena the arguments of these existing schools do not adequately account for; and your *thesis* or central argument.

You must clearly state in the introduction, ideally in one or two sentences, your thesis — your central argument about *what happened* (the central pattern of Canadian foreign policy behaviour you have identified, including trends and phases in Canadian behaviour) and *why* (the key causes of that behaviour, identifying the most salient external, societal, governmental and individual determinants). Remember, a scholarly research essay is not a murder mystery novel where the reader has to wait until the very end to find out “whodunit” — that is, what really happened and why. This thesis statement in the introduction should be a clear, complete statement that offers a better account (i.e., solves the puzzle) than the existing inadequate arguments offered by the competing schools of thought.

In the beginning and body of the essay, you should NOT relate your thesis or argument explicitly to the larger three theories on CFP. Your thesis, derived from the subject-specific competing schools of thought and the puzzles they leave — not the overall three theories — must be your guide. However, in the conclusion, you should briefly relate your argument to these three larger theories and the other major relevant theories and models in the course, in order to connect your work to the larger corpus of empirical and theoretical work. If you are ambitious, you might even suggest here how the existing perspectives might be extended, modified, or supplemented.

To organize your essay, often a chronological ordering of the empirical record works well, with each successive section covering what Canada did and why on that key decision in the case. Begin and conclude each section by directly relating its main message to your overall thesis, so you cumulatively support your thesis as you proceed. In each section and the conclusion, you should directly connect effects (usually, what Canada did) and causes (why it did it). Each case covers the start date indicated above through to the present, unless an earlier end date is notified above. In some cases you can focus on the handful of major decisions (and the determinants for each) but in many, longer cases the many decisions should be grouped into major phases, defined by the dominant direction and degree of the decisions within.

Hand in your essay in class in typed, proofread English or French. Your essay should be 2,500 words or about 10–15 pages double spaced in Times New Roman, font size 12, with embedded (author-date) citations, endnotes as necessary, and a list of references, in a style similar to those in the Kirton text. Proofread your essay before you hand it in. You will not be penalized for writing more than the 2,500-word limit, but do remember that length is not usually a virtue, and that the longer you and others write, the fewer comments can be given on the essay, given the limits of resources and time.

Normally, students are required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purposes of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University of Toronto's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com website. If, as a student, you object to using turnitin.com, please see the course instructor to establish appropriate alternative arrangements for submission of your written assignments.

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Commented [I1]: Update required?