Since 1945, the study and practice of Canadian foreign policy (CFP) have 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 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. Mid-Term Quiz in the first part of the class on October 22, 2013 (10% of final grade);
2. First-Term Test, last class in the first term, December 3, 2013 (25% of final grade);
3. Research Essay of 2,500 words, handed in both on paper and electronically on Turnitin.com (or with alternative arrangements), due on February 25, 2014 (at start of the first class after Reading Week) (40% of final grade), and
3. Final Test (on the entire course), last class of second term, April 1, 2014 (25% of final grade).

Late Penalty

The late penalty is 2% of assignment grade per calendar day, including weekends (without eligible causes, 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 are strongly advised to 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 ROSI. 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](http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources)

Required Texts

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

Recommended Background:
Other Key Works


Key Journals and Annuals (to scan for your essays):

- CFP  *Canadian Foreign Policy* (1992–, 3/year, the key journal)
- CAN  *Canada Among Nations* (1984–, 1/year, good CFP content)
- IJ   *International Journal* (1945–, 4/year, some 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. * Background

1. Introduction to the Course (September 10)

2. Introduction to the Field: Premises and Principles (September 17)

Kirton, Chapters 1-2.
Kirton, John (2009), “The 10 Most Important Books on Canadian Foreign Policy,” Bratt and Kukucha, 9-17 (Also in IJ 64 (Spring): 553-564).
*Tomlin et al. (2008), 1-28.

PART I: THREE PERSPECTIVES ON CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY

3. Canada as a Middle Power: The Liberal-Internationalist Perspective (September 24)

Kirton, Chapter 3-4.
4. Canada as a Small Power: The Peripheral Dependence Perspective (October 1)

Kirton, Chapter 5.

5. Canada as a Principal Power: The Complex Neo-Realist Perspective (October 8)

Kirton, Chapter 6.

6. Assessing the Perspectives: Relative Capability and International Behaviour (October 15)

Kirton, Chapter 7.
Lyon, Peyton and Brian Tomlin (1979), Canada As An International Actor, 56-93, 163-187.

PART II: CANADA’S INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOUR SINCE 1945

7. St. Laurent, Diefenbaker and Pearson (October 22)

MID TERM QUIZ, written during the first half of the class in the George Ignatieff Theatre

Kirton, Chapter 8.
8. Trudeau and Clark (October 29)
Kirton, Chapter 9.
Stairs, Denis, “Reviewing Foreign Policy, 1968-70,” Munton and Kirton, 189-204.
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.
*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.

(November 5: Break: No classes)

9. Mulroney (November 12)
Kirton, Chapter 10.
and Kukucha, 287-297. Also in Diplomatic Departures (see below).
Kirkton, John, “Liberating Kuwait: Canada and the Persian Gulf War, 1990-91,” Munton and
Kirton, 382-393.
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 19)
Kirton, Chapters 11 and 12, 155-194).
Boxes, Toy Chests, and Tickle Trunks,” Bratt and Kukucha, 265-284.
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.
59 (Spring): 1-7.
*Canada (2003), A Dialogue on Foreign Policy: Report to Canadians (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade).

11. Harper (November 26)
Kirton, Chapter 12, 194-199).

12. Term Test (December 3, written in Room TBA)

PART III — THE CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS

13. The Governmental Process (January 7)
Kirton, Chapter 13.
*Dewitt and Kirton, 16-17, 195-234.

14. The Societal Process (January 14)
Kirton, Chapter 14.
Hale and Gattinger, eds., Borders and Bridges, 41-58.
*Dewitt and Kirton, 167-194.

15. The External Process (January 21)
Kirton, Chapter 15.
Hale and Gattinger, eds., Borders and Bridges, 21-40.
*Lyon, Peyton and Brian Tomlin (1979), Canada As An International Actor, 77-94.
*Dewitt and Kirton, 117-166.
PART IV — CANADA’S REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS


Kirton, Chapters 16-17.
Hale and Gattinger, eds., Borders and Bridges, 82-99.

17. The New North American Community (February 4)

Kirton, Chapter 18.
Hale and Gattinger, eds., Borders and Bridges, 1-18, 59-76, 139-157, 158-176

18. Europe (February 11)

Kirton, Chapter 19.
Hale and Gattinger, eds., Borders and Bridges, 120-137, 177-193
*Cooper 110-172, 248-256.

Reading Week: February 18-21. No Class. No Office Hours.

19. Asia Pacific (February 25)
ESSAYS DUE TODAY IN CLASS AT START OF CLASS
Kirton, Chapter 20.

20. The Americas (March 4)
Kirton, Chapter 21.
*Cooper, 261-280.

21. Africa and the Middle East (March 11)
Kirton, Chapter 22.


*Heinbecker, Paul and Bessma Momani, eds. (2007), Canada and the Middle East: In Theory and Practice (Wilfrid Laurier University Press).


*Dewitt and Kirton, 355-402.

PART V: INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND ORDER


Kirton, Chapter 23.


Kirton, Chapter 24.


26. FINAL TEST (April 1, 2012, written in Room TBA)

**Essay:** What did Canada do, why, and 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, 1993-2010
Anti-Personnel Landmines, 1993-
The International Criminal Court, 1995-
Climate Change, 1997-
The G20/L20, 1997-
Softwood Lumber, 2001-
Post 911 Homeland Security, 2001-
The War in Afghanistan, 2001-
Ballistic Missile Defence, 2001-
African Development, 2001-
The Kananaskis G8 Summit, 2002
The War in Iraq, 2003-
The Responsibility to Protect (R2P), 2003-
Infectious Disease and Health, 2003-
Haiti, 2004-
The Security and Prosperity Partnership (SPP/NALM), 2004-
Arctic Sovereignty, 2006-
Middle East Diplomacy, 2006-
Global Financial Crisis, 2007-
Essay Guidelines

Note: Select and start your essay early (preferably 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.

1. 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%.

2. 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. For the best available (although by no means adequate) model of what is required for your essay, see 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, both in Canadian Foreign Policy: Selected Cases.

3. 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.

4. 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); the puzzles or unexplained phenomena the arguments of these existing schools do not adequately account for; and your thesis or central argument.

5. 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.

6. In the beginning and body of the essay, you need not relate your thesis or argument explicitly to the larger three theoretical perspectives on CFP. The subject-specific competing schools of thought — not the overall three theoretical perspectives — will
be your guide. However, in the conclusion, you should relate your argument to these larger perspectives and the other major relevant theoretical offerings 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.

7. 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).

8. 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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