POL 312Y

# Canadian Foreign Policy

University of Toronto, St. George Campus
Fall 2014-Spring 2015
Tuesday 10 a.m.–12:00 p.m., George Ignatieff Theatre (GI)
Course websites: <www.kirton.nelson.com> and <www.g8.utoronto.ca/teaching>

**Professor John Kirton**
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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).

## Evaluation

Mid-Term Quiz in the first part of the class on October 21, 2014 (not for final grade);

## Requirements

Each student will be responsible for:

1. First-Term Test, on December 2, 2014 (the last class in the first term), written in a room to be announced (for 25% of the final grade);
3. Research Essay of 2,500 words plus bibliography and references, handed in both on paper and electronically on Turnitin.com (or with alternative arrangements), due on February 24, 2015 (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 March 31, 2015 (the last class of second term), written in a room to be announced (for 25% of the final grade).

### Late Penalty

The late penalty is 2% of the 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 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 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

## Required Texts

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

1. John Kirton (2007), *Canadian Foreign Policy in a Changing World* (Toronto: Thomson Nelson). The core textbook.
2. Duane Bratt and Chris Kukucha, eds. (2011), *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition). The core reader.

Recommended Background:

1. Geoffrey Hale and Monica Gattinger, eds. (2010), *Borders and Bridges: Canada's Policy Relations in North America* (Toronto: Oxford University Press). Important for essays.
2. Michael Fry, John Kirton and Mitsuru Kurosawa, eds. (1998), *The North Pacific Triangle: The United States, Japan, and Canada at Century's End* (Toronto:

University of Toronto Press). Deals with systematic treatments of Canada's relations with the U.S. and Japan.

## Other Key Works

1. 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.
2. 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.
3. Kim Richard Nossal, Stéphane Roussel and Stéphane Paquin (2010), *International Policy and Politics in Canada* (Toronto: Pearson Education). 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.
4. Andrew F. Cooper (1997), *Canadian Foreign Policy: Old Habits and New Directions* (Scarborough: Prentice Hall). A classic textbook.
5. David Dewitt and John Kirton (1983), *Canada as a Principal Power* (Toronto: John Wiley). The classic foundation for this course.
6. Robert Bothwell (2006), *The Penguin History of Canada* (Penguin: Toronto). The best history.
7. Patrick James, Nelson Michaud and Marc O'Reilly, eds. (2006), *Handbook of Canadian Foreign Policy* (Toronto: Lexington Books).

Also valuable are the annual volumes in the *Canada Among Nations* (CAN) series since 1984. Consult the basic Canadian Institute of International Affairs (CIIA) bibliographies: *A Bibliography of Works on Canadian Foreign Relations, 1945–1970, 1971–1975, 1976–1980, and 1981–1985*, and electronic updates.

**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 9)

### 2. Introduction to the Field: Premises and Principles (September 16)

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).

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

Sjolander, Claire Turenne and Kathryn Trevenen (2010), "Constructing Canadian Foreign Policy: Myths of Good International Citizens, Protectors, and the War in Afghanistan," Bratt and Kukucha, 96-109.M

Michaud, Nelson (2011), "Soft Power and Canadian Foreign Policy-Making: The Role of Values," Bratt and Kukucha, 433-451.

Nossal, Kim Richard (2004), "Understanding Canadian Defence Policy," Bratt and Kukucha, 303-315.

*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: The Liberal-Internationalist Perspective (September 23)

Kirton, Chapter 3-4.

Dewitt, David and John Kirton (1983), "Three Theoretical Perspectives," Bratt and Kukucha, 52-68 (or Dewitt and Kirton, 17-28).

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

Keating, Tom (2011), "Multilateralism reconsidered," Bratt and Kukucha, 44-51.

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: The Peripheral Dependence Perspective (September 30)**

Kirton, Chapter 5.
Clarkson, Stephen (1968), "The Choice to Be Made," Bratt and Kukucha, 76-91.
Bow, Brian and Patrick Lennox (2011), 'the 'Independence' debates, Then and Now: False Choices and real Challenges," Bratt and Kukucha, 92-95.
Neufeld, Mark, "Democratization in/of Canadian Foreign Policy: Critical Reflections," Bratt and Kukucha, 109-122.
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.

**5. Canada as a Principal Power: The Complex Neo-Realist Perspective (October 7)**

Kirton, Chapter 6.
Kirton, John (2011), "Canada as a principal Power 2010," in Bratt and Kukucha, 69-75.
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.
Eayrs, 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 Perspectives: Relative Capability and International Behaviour (October 14)**

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 21)**

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

Kirton, Chapter 8.
Chapnick, Adam (2011), "Canadian Foreign Policy, 1945-1968," Bratt and Kukucha, 17-30.
*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 28)**

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.

**9. Mulroney (November 4)**

Kirton, Chapter 10.

Tomlin, Brian (2001), "Leaving the Past Behind: The Free Trade Initiative Assessed," Bratt and Kukucha, 287-297. Also in *Diplomatic Departures* (see below).

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 11)**

Kirton, Chapters 11 and 12, 155-194).

Crosby, Ann Denholm (2003), "Myths of Canada's Human Security Pursuits: Tales of Tool 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.

Stairs, Denis (2003), "Trends in Canadian Foreign Policy: Past, Present, and Future," *BH* 59 (Spring): 1-7.

*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).

*Malone, David (2001), "Foreign Policy Reviews Reconsidered," *IJ* 56 (Autumn): 555-578.

*Smith, Heather (1999), "Caution Warranted: Niche Diplomacy Assessed," *CFP* 6 (Spring): 57-72.

**(November 18: Autumn Break: No classes)**

**11. Harper (November 25)**

Kirton, Chapter 12, 194-199).

Kirton, John (2006), "Harper's "Made in Canada" Global Leadership," Cooper and Rowlands, 34-57.Chapnick, Adam (2006), "Caught In-between Traditions: A Minority Conservative Government and Canadian Foreign Policy," Cooper and Rowlands, 58-75.

Cooper, Andrew and Dane Rowland (2006), "Positioning Policy Priorities in a Minority Context: Prospects for the Harper Government," Cooper and Rowlands, 3-26.

Segal, Hugh (2006), "Compassion, Realism, Engagement and Focus: A Conservative Foreign Policy Thematic," Cooper and Rowlands, 27-33.

Sloan, Elinor (2006), "Canada's International Security Policy under a Conservative Government," Cooper and Rowlands, 145-163.

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>.

**12. Term Test (December 2, written in Room TBA)**

**PART III — THE CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS**

**13. The Governmental Process (January 6)**

Kirton, Chapter 13.

Gecelovsky, Paul (2011), "Of Legacies and Lightning Bolts: The Prime Minister and Canadian Foreign Policy," Bratt and Kukucha, 217-227.

Dutil, Patrice (2011), "The Institutionalization of Foreign Affairs (1909-2009)," Bratt and Kukucha 239-258.

Bratt, Duane (2011), "Afghanistan: Why Did We Go? Why Did We Stay? Will We leave? Bratt and Kukucha, 316-328.

Meren, David (1999), "Destinies with Greatness or Delusions of Grandeur? Causes and Consequences of Canadian Prime Ministerial Intervention in International Crises," *CFP* 7 (Winter): 127-148.

Michaud, Nelson (2006), "The Prime Minister, PMO, and PCO: Makers of Canadian Foreign Policy? In Patrick James, Nelson Michaud and Marc O'Reilly, eds. (2006), *Handbook of Canadian Foreign Policy* (Lexington Books: Toronto), pp. 21-48.

*Stairs, Denis (2001), "The Changing Office and the Changing Environment of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Axworthy Era," *CAN 2001:* 19-38.

*Kirton, John (1997), "Foreign Policy Under the Liberals: Prime Ministerial Leadership in the Chrétien Government's Foreign Policy-making Process," *CAN 1997*, 21-50.

*Dewitt and Kirton, 16-17, 195-234.

**14. The Societal Process (January 13)**

Kirton, Chapter 14.

Hale and Gattinger, eds., *Borders and Bridges*, 41-58.

Kukucha, Christopher (2011), "Dismembering Canada? Stephen Harper and the Foreign Relations of Canadian Provinces," Bratt and Kukucha, 259-276.

Roussel, Stéphane and Jean-Christophe Boucher (2008), "The Myth of the Pacific Society: Quebec's Contemporary Strategic Culture," Bratt and Kukucha, 277-298.

Bratt, Duane and Christopher Kukucha (2011), "The Role of Parliament in a Minority Government," Bratt and Kukucha, 235-238.

English, John (1998), "The Member of Parliament and Foreign Policy," Bratt and Kukucha, 228-234.

Cooper, Andrew F. and P, Whitney Lackenbauer (2007), "The Achilles' Heel of Canadian Good International Citizenship: Indigenous Diplomacies and State Response," Bratt and Kukucha, 175-192.

Bow, Brian and David Black (2008-9), "Does Politics Stop at the Water's Edge in Canada? Party and Partisanship in Canadian Foreign Policy," *IJ* 64 (Winter): 7-28.

*Michaud, Michel (2006), "Canada and Quebec on the World Stage," Cooper and Rowlands, 232-250.

*Mace, Gordon, Louis Bélanger, and Ivan Bernier (1995), "Canadian Foreign Policy and Quebec," *CAN 1995*: 119-144.

*Smith, Heather (2008-9), "Political Parties and Canadian Climate Change Policy," *IJ* 64 (Winter): 47-66.

*Dewitt and Kirton, 167-194.

**15. The External Process (January 20)**

Kirton, Chapter 15.

Hale and Gattinger, eds., *Borders and Bridges*, 21-40.

Doern, Bruce and John Kirton (1995), "Internationalization, Globalization and the Canadian Foreign Policy Process," in Bruce Doern, Leslie Pal, and Brian Tomlin, eds., *The Internationalization of Canadian Public Policy* (Toronto: Oxford University Press), 237-264.

Clarkson, Stephen (2002), *Uncle Sam and Us: Globalization, Neoconservatism and the Canadian State* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 3-24.

*McBride, Stephen (2001), *Paradigm Shift: Globalization and the Canadian State* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing), 13-34.

*Lyon, Peyton and Brian Tomlin (1979), *Canada As An International Actor*, 77-94.

*Dewitt and Kirton, 117-166.

## PART IV — CANADA'S REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

### 16. Canada–U.S. Relations: Partnership, Absorption & Adjusting America (January 27)

Kirton, Chapters 16-17.

Kirton, John (2008-9), "Consequences of the 2008 US Elections for America's Climate Change Policy, Canada, and the World," *IJ* 64 (Winter): 153-162.

Barry, Don (2003), "Managing Canada-U.S. Relations in the Post 9/11 Era: Do We Need a Big Idea?" Bratt and Kukucha, 130-156.

Hale and Gattinger, eds., *Borders and Bridges*, 82-99.

Sands, Chris (2002), "Fading Power or Rising Power: 11 September and Lessons from the Section 110 Experience," Bratt and Kukucha, 249-264.

Sakurada, Daizo (1998), "The 'Nixon Shokku' Revisited: Japanese and Canadian Foreign Economic Policies Compared," Fry et al., 17-35.

Kawasaki, Tsuyoshi (1998), "Managing Macroeconomic Relations with the United States: Japanese and Canadian Experiences," Fry et al., 36-59.

*Kirton, John (1993), "A New Global Partnership," *CAPP* 15 (November): 1-38.

*Kirton, John (1993), "Promoting Plurilateral Partnerships: Managing United States-Canada Relations in the Post–Cold War Period," *ARCS* 24 (Winter): 453-472.

*"The Heeney-Merchant Report, 1965," in Granatstein (1993), 38-53.

### 17. The New North American Community (February 3)

Kirton, Chapter 18.

Gattinger, Monica and Geoffrey Hale (2010), "Borders and Bridges along a Multidimensional Policy landscape: Canada's policy relations in North America," Bratt and Kukucha, 329-347.

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

*Fagan, Drew (2003), "Beyond NAFTA: Toward Deeper Economic Integration," *CAN 2003*: 32-53.

*Kirton, John and Virginia Maclaren, eds. (2002), *Linking Trade, Environment, and Social Cohesion: NAFTA Experiences, Global Challenges* (Ashgate: Aldershot), 1-23, 73-99.

*Cameron, Maxwell and Brian Tomlin (2000), *The Making of NAFTA: How the Deal Was Done* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 1-14, *51-236.

*McDougall, John (2000), "National Differences and the NAFTA," *IJ* 50 (Spring): 281-291.

**18. Europe (February 10)**

Kirton, Chapter 19.

Ross, Douglas Alan (2011), "NATO in Canadian Foreign Policy: From 'Atlanticist' fear and Hope to a Future of Environmental Crisis and 'Civilizational Rallying'?" Bratt and Kukucha, 193-212.

Huebert, Rob (2009), "Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security in a Transforming Circumpolar World," Bratt and Kukucha, 348-371.

Smith, Heather (2009), "Unwilling Internationalism or Strategic Internationalism? Canadian Climate Policy Under the Conservative Government," Bratt and Kukucha, 452-468." Bratt and Kukucha, 357-367.

Hale and Gattinger, eds., *Borders and Bridges*, 120-137, 177-193

*Buduru, Bogdan and Dragos Popa (2005), "Canada-Russia Relations: A Strategic Partnership?" *CAN* 2005, 185-202.

*Jockel, Joseph and Joel Sokolsky (2009), "Canada and NATO: Keeping Ottawa In, Expenses Down, Criticism out…and the Country Secure," *IJ* 64 (Spring): 315-336.

*Kirton, John (2000), "Canada and the New Europe: The Compounding Cultural Connection," in Waldemar Zacharasiewicz and Fritz Peter Kirsch, eds., *Canada/Europe: Opportunities and Problems of Interculturality* (Hagen: ISL-Verlag), 7-22.

*Cooper 110-172, 248-256.

**Reading Week: February 17-20. No Class. No Office Hours.**

**19. Asia Pacific (February 24)**

ESSAYS DUE TODAY IN CLASS AT START OF CLASS

Kirton, Chapter 20.

Kirton, John (2008), "North Pacific Neighbours in a New World: Canada-Japan Relations, 1984-2006," in Greg Donaghy and Patricia Roy, eds., *Contradictory Impulses: Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century* (UBC Press: Toronto), pp. 207-230.

Fry, Michael et al. (1998), "The New North Pacific Triangle," in Fry et al., 3-13.

Taylor, James (1998), "Managing Canada-Japan Relations," in Fry et al., 237-250.

Kumar, Ramesh and Nigmendra Narain (2005), "Re-engaging India: Upgrading the Canada-India Bazaar Relationship," *CAN* 2005, 169-184.

Evans, Paul (2006), "Canada, Meet Global China," *IJ* 61 (Spring): 283-298.

*Fry, Michael (1998), "Canada-Japan Forum 2000: A Novel Exercise in Diplomacy," Fry et al., 251-276.

*Langdon, Frank (1998), "Cooperative Security in the North Pacific," Fry et al., 167-184.

**20. The Americas (March 3)**

Kirton, Chapter 21.

Shamsie, Yasmine (2006), "It's Not Just Afghanistan or Darfur: Canada's Peacebuilding Efforts in Haiti," Cooper and Rowlands, 209-232.

Randall, Stephen (2002). "In Search of a Hemispheric Role: Canada and the Americas," *CAN 2002*: 233-255.

Stevenson, Brian (2000), *Canada, Latin America and the New Internationalism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press), 3-21, 224-234.

*Dosman, Ed (1992) "Canada and Latin America: The New Look," *IJ* 47 (Summer): 529-554.

*Cooper, 261-280.

### 21. Africa and the Middle East (March 10)

Kirton, Chapter 22.

Brown, Stephen (2011), "Aid Effectiveness and the Framing of New Canadian Aid Initiatives," Bratt and Kukucha, 469-486.

Bratt, Duane (2007), "Warriors or Boy Scouts? Canada and Peace Support Operations," Bratt and Kukucha, 238-248.

Pratt, Cranford (1999), "Competing Rationales for Canadian Development Assistance: Reducing Global Poverty, Enhancing Canadian Prosperity and Security, or Advancing Global Human Security," Bratt and Kukucha, 368-378.

Black, David (2007), "Leader or Laggard? Canada's Enduring Engagement with Africa," Bratt and Kukucha, 379-394.

Black, David (2006), "Canadian Aid to Africa: Assessing "Reform," Cooper and Rowlands, 319-338.

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

*Culpeper, Roy (2006), "Canada, Hippocrates, and the Developing World: Toward a Coherent Foreign Policy for Canada," Cooper and Rowlands, 339-352.

Sucharov, Mira (2003), "A Multilateral Affair: Canadian Foreign Policy in the Middle East," *CAN 2003*: *312-331.*

*Dawson, Grant (2003), "'A Special Case': Canada, Operation Apollo, and Multilateralism," *CAN 2003*: *180-199.*

*Kurosawa, Mitsuru, "Japanese and Canadian Peacekeeping Participation: The American Dimension," in Fry et al., 196-208.

*Dewitt and Kirton, 355-402.

## PART V: INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND ORDER

### 22. Global Governance and the Multilateral United Nations System (March 17)

Kirton, Chapter 23.

Keating, Tom (2006), "Canada and the New Multilateralism," Bratt and Kukucha, 21-26.

Riddell-Dixon, Elizabeth (2007), "Canada at the United Nations in the New Millennium," Bratt and Kukucha, 139-158.

Smythe, Elizabeth (2007), "Canada and the Negotiation Over Investment Rules at the WTO," Bratt and Kukucha, 316-334.

Malone, David (2006), "UN Reform: A Sisyphean Task," Cooper and Rowlands, 79-108.

*Cooper, Andrew (2004), *Tests of Global Governance: Canadian Diplomacy and United Nations World Conferences* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press), 69-93.

*Keating, Tom (2002), *Canada and World Order: The Multilateralist Tradition in Canadian Foreign Policy,* 2nd edition (Toronto: Oxford University Press), 1-16, 186-225.

**25. Global Governance and the G8-G20 System (March 24)**

Kirton, Chapter 24.
Kirton, John (2011), "Canada as a G8 and G20 Principal Power," in Bratt and Kukucha, 157-174.
Black, David (2011), "Canada, the G8, and Africa: The Rise and Decline of a Hegemonic Project?" Black and Kukucha, 487-502.
McBride, Stephen (2011), "Canada and the Global Economic Crisis," Bratt and Kukucha, 390-405.
Kirton, John (1998), "The Emerging Pacific Partnership: Japan, Canada and the United States at the G7 Summit," in Fry et al., 292-314.
*Black, David (2005), "From Kananaskis to Gleneagles: Assessing Canadian 'leadership' on Africa," *BH* 62 (May): 1-16.
*Fowler, Robert (2003) "Canadian Leadership and the Kananaskis G8 Summit: Toward a Less Self-Centered Policy," *CAN 2003*: 219-241.
*Haynal, George (2005), "Summitry and Governance: The Case for a G-xx," *CAN 2004:* 261-274.
*Langdon, Steven (2003), "NEPAD and the Renaissance of Africa," *CAN 2003*: 242-255.
*Smith, Gordon (2001-02), "It's a Long Way from Halifax to Kananaskis," *IJ* 57 (Winter): 123-127.

**26. FINAL TEST (March 30, written in Room )**

**Essay due on February 24th.**: *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, 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-
G8 Muskoka Summit, 2010

## 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 2015.

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 the 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 Turtnitin.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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