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 and www.g7.utoronto.ca/teaching

Fall 2017: Professor John Kirton
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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](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:

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.
h. David Dewitt and John Kirton (1983), *Canada as a Principal Power* (Toronto: John Wiley). The classic foundation for this course.
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).
*Tomlin et al. (2008), 1-28.

PART I: THREE PERSPECTIVES ON CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY

3. Canada as a Middle Power: Liberal-Internationalist Theory (September 26)
Kirton, Chapter 3-4.

4. Canada as a Small Power: Peripheral Dependence Theory (October 3)
Kirton, Chapter 5.
5. Canada as a Principal Power: Complex Neo-Realist Theory (October 10)
Kirton, Chapter 6.

6. Assessing the Theories: Relative Capability, International Behaviour (October 17)
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 24)
Kirton, Chapter 8.

8. Trudeau and Clark (October 31)
Kirton, Chapter 9.
Stairs, Denis, “Reviewing Foreign Policy, 1968-70,” Munton and Kirton, 189-204.
*Thordarson, Bruce, “Cutting Back on NATO, 1969,” Munton and Kirton, 174-188.
*Dewitt and Kirton, 68-84.

Fall Break: November 7: NO CLASS

9. Mulroney (November 14)

Kirton, Chapter 10.

10. Chrétien and Martin (November 21)

Kirton, Chapters 11 and 12, 155-194.
*Canada (2003), A Dialogue on Foreign Policy: Report to Canadians (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade).

11. Harper and Trudeau (November 28)

Kirton, Chapter 12, 194-199.

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
Pick two:

14. Identity politics and Canadian Foreign Policy (January 16)
72.2, pp 255-268.

15. Canadian foreign policy meets “feminist foreign policy” (January 23)

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


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._


_N.b. All chapters of Rethinking Canadian Aid are available online. Search the chapter titles found in the table of contents._


**Exporting Good Governance** is available in its entirety at [https://www.cigionline.org/sites/default/files/welsh-woods.pdf](https://www.cigionline.org/sites/default/files/welsh-woods.pdf)


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 and Jeremy Paltiel (2016), Middle power or muddling power? Canada's relations with emerging markets. _Canadian Foreign Policy Journal_ 22.1.

**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.*

Wegner, Nicole (2015), “(De)constructing Foreign Policy Narratives: Canada in Afghanistan,” In Bratt and Kukucha, 113-121. (repeat from week 5)

**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.*

Kirton, Chapter 23.

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


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.


PART VI: CONCLUSION

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


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 9/11 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%.


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.

**Turnitin Details**

Class ID = 16046608  
Enrolment password = Laurier

*Version of August 24, 2017*