Since 1945, the study and practice of Canadian foreign policy (CFP) have been dominated by a *liberal-internationalist* theory 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* theory, 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* theory. It suggests that Canada has emerged, in a more diffuse interconnected 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 how each theory describes and explains CFP, especially in the current post–Cold War, globalizing world. The first part of the course outlines the three theories. The second part assesses their accuracy by surveying successive Canadian governments’ major doctrines, resource distributions, and decisions. The third part explores the individual, governmental, societal, and external determinants of Canada’s international behaviour. The fourth part examines trends in Canada’s policy toward the United States, North America, Europe, the Pacific, the Americas, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East and the major institutions, issues and instruments (such as military force, free trade and environmental agreements, economic sanctions, peacekeeping, and development assistance) used in each. The fifth part consider Canada’s approach to world order and global governance, largely through the multilateral United Nations and the plurilateral Group of Seven (G7) and Group of Twenty (G20).
Requirements

Each student will be responsible for the:

1. First-Term Test, on December 3, 2019 (the last class in the first term) (for 25% of the final grade);
2. Research Essay of 2,500-3,000 words plus bibliography and references, handed in both on paper and electronically on Turnitin.com, due on February 25, 2020 (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, 2020 (the last class in 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 causes, as approved by the instructor or TA in advance). Eligible causes for extension are unforeseen medical and dental and 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 consult 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:


Other Key Works


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

**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)
- **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)
- **CWV** *Canada World View*, Foreign Affairs Canada (useful government source)

Note: Some current and archival issues of these are available online. Most are in print, available in Trinity College’s John Graham Library and other libraries.
Weekly Session Readings

* Background if time and interest allow.

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, 10-18 (Also in IJ 64 (Spring): 553-564).


PART I: THREE PERSPECTIVES ON CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY

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

Kirton, Chapter 3-4.


4. Canada as a Small Power: Peripheral Dependence Theory (October 1)

Kirton, Chapter 5.


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


6. Testing the Theories: Relative Capability & 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, 1948-1968 (October 22)

Kirton, Chapter 8.

8. Trudeau, Clark and Mulroney, 1968-1993 (October 29)

Kirton, Chapter 9-10.
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 5 NO CLASS

9. Chrétien and Martin, 1993-2006 (November 12)

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


Kirton, Chapter 12, 194-199.


11. Justin Trudeau, 2015- (November 26)


Freeland, Chrystia (2017), “Address by Minister Freeland on Canada’s foreign policy priorities.”


*Coulon, Jocelyn,* *Canada is Not Back: How Justin Trudeau Is In Over His Head on Foreign Policy*, (Lorimer: Toronto).
12. Term Test (December 3, location 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.


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

*De Witt and Kirton, 117-166.

PART IV: CANADA’S REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS


Kirton, Chapters 16-17.


17. The New North American Community (February 4)

Kirton, Chapter 18.

Hale and Gattinger, eds. (2010), Borders and Bridges: Canada’s Policy Relations in North America, 1-18, 59-76, 139-157, 158-176


18. Europe, Russia and the Arctic (February 11)

Kirton, Chapter 19.


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

*Cooper, 110-172, 248-256.

February 17-21: Reading Week: No Class. No Office Hours.

19. Asia (February 25)

Kirton, Chapter 20.


20. The Americas (March 3)
Kirton, Chapter 21.
*Cooper, 261-280.

21. Africa and the Middle East (March 10)
Kirton, Chapter 22.
*Dewitt and Kirton, 355-402.

PART V: INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND ORDER

22. The Multilateral United Nations System (March 17)
Kirton, Chapter 23.

25. The Plurilateral G7-G20 Summit System (March 24)
Kirton, Chapter 24.

Research Essay Guidelines
What did Canada do, why, and, in the very 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 G20, 1997-
• 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-
• Indigenous Peoples, 2015-
• Feminist International Policy, 2015-
• Negotiating CUSMA, 2017-
• Coping with China over Huawei, 2018-

Note: Select and start your essay from the topics listed above 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 February 2020.

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 perhaps) 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%. Your own normative judgments should appear very briefly and only in the final section, if at all.


Start 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, which requires you to group scholarly writings based on their common views on your topic (these are “schools” on the specific case examined in your paper NOT the three theories of CFP used for the course as a whole); the puzzles, aspects of the case that existing schools of thought do not adequately describe or explain; 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 identifying 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 major decisions works well, with each successive section covering what Canada did and why on that key decision or phase in decision-making 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 longer cases the many decisions should be grouped into major phases, defined by the dominant direction and/or degree of the decisions within them.

Hand in your essay in class in typed, proofread English or French. Your essay should be 2,500-3,000 words or about 10–15 pages double spaced in Times New Roman, font size 12, with embedded (author-date) citations, endnotes only 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.
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 for the research essay = 21696294  
Enrolment password = JohnJustin

Version of July 30, 2019