

**POL312: Canadian Foreign Policy Performance  
Fall 2022**

Michael Kunz

University of Toronto, St. George Campus  
Faculty of Arts and Science  
Department of Political Science

Schedule: Tuesdays, 18:10 to 20:00  
Location: SS 1070  
Email: michael.kunz@mail.utoronto.ca  
Office Hours: Tuesdays, 17:00 to 18:00, SS3007

**Course Description**

This course examines Canadian foreign policy, with a focus on how Canada navigates changes in world order. Canada's postwar foreign policy has strived to create and support a liberal rules-based international system that constrains powerful states from unilateral action. Along with this orientation toward the world, a national identity has emerged that depicts Canada as a "helpful fixer" and "middle power", though these framings have been continuously contested. Contemporary changes in the international system are placing foreign policy makers under pressure to maintain Canadian values while charting a course for Canada in an increasingly divided, conflictual global environment.

The first half of the course examines ideas about Canadian foreign policy, Canada's approach to diplomacy and engagement with other states and global institutions, the structures of foreign policy decision making and action within the Canadian federal government, and other locations of foreign policy influence within Canadian society.

The second half of the course addresses issues facing Canadian foreign policy decision makers in the Justin Trudeau government as they navigate changing environmental and technological conditions and relations with and between powerful states.

**Learning Objectives**

This course is intended to confer a broad knowledge about Canadian foreign policy history, structures, theories, and issue areas. By the end of the course, students should be able to thoughtfully engage with questions about the proper role of Canadian foreign policy institutions and the strategies Canada should pursue in service of its foreign policy goals.

## **Quercus Use**

This course uses Quercus for classroom management, facilitating discussion, and the submission of all assignments.

## **Communication with the Instructor**

All email communication should be courteous and professional. Please include your full name in all communication.

I will endeavor to respond within 24 hours during the work week. It is appropriate to send a polite reminder email after that period elapses if you have not received a reply.

Office hours are Tuesdays, 17:00 to 18:00, in SS3007. You may drop in to discuss assignments or topics from the course. You may also email me to schedule an appointment via Zoom.

## **Course Materials**

There is no textbook for this course. All readings are either available through the university library or will be posted to Quercus.

## **Assignments**

1. Midterm test (20%):
  - a. Tests understanding of lectures and readings from the first section of the course.
  - b. 18:10-19:00 on November 1st.
2. Foreign policy resolution (20%):
  - a. Propose a change to Canadian foreign policy.
  - b. Maximum 275 words (citations excluded)
  - c. Submit through Quercus by start of class November 29th.
  - d. Please note, resolutions will be made visible to other students.
3. Class question (10%):
  - a. Submit a response to a question posed in the previous class.
  - b. Due before the start of the next week's class.
  - c. Submit through Quercus and email to instructor.
  - d. One-page double-spaced maximum (citations excluded).
  - e. Each student must submit one response during the course.
4. Research paper (50%):
  - a. Choose a decision in Canadian foreign policy since 2015.
  - b. Research the policy options available to decision makers, the factors leading to the decision, the parts of government that enacted the decision, and the effects of the policy decision.
  - c. Assess the decision based on its alignment to Canadian values and national interest relative to other options that were available to decision makers.

- d. Use journalistic sources while applying Canadian foreign policy scholarly theories.
- e. 8-page double-spaced maximum (citations excluded).
- f. Submit through Quercus by 23:59, December 9th.

### **Assignment Policy**

Assignments are submitted through Quercus. Late penalties accrue at a rate of 2% a day, weekends and holidays *included*.

Chicago endnote style is preferred.

#### *Extensions*

Reasonable accommodation can be made for student requesting extensions for personal reasons, provided the request is made prior to the due date. Extensions for illness require medical documentation.

#### *Academic Integrity*

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism please see Writing at the University of Toronto <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>.

### **Course Materials**

There is no textbook for this course. All readings are either available through the university library or will be posted to Quercus.

### **Course Schedule**

#### Week 1: September 13th, 2022: Introduction

Paris, Roland. "Opinion: With Tectonic International Shifts, Our Foreign Affairs Strategy Shouldn't Be an Afterthought." *The Globe and Mail*, October 6, 2019.

<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-with-tectonic-international-shifts-our-foreign-affairs-strategy/>

Juneau, Thomas, Canada will pay the price for neglecting our foreign policy, *The Globe and Mail*, June 7, 2020.

<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-canada-will-pay-the-price-for-neglecting-our-foreign-policy/>

#### Week 2: September 20th: Ideas about Canadian Foreign Policy

Gecelovsky, Paul & Robert W. Murray (2019) Toward an Understanding of Canada's International Identity, *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 49:4, 530-546, DOI: 10.1080/02722011.2019.171468

Dolata, Petra. "Canada and/in the World." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 1 (2017): 351–67.

Ayed, Nahlah, 2019. "Canada as a middle power in an upended world: Time for a foreign policy reset," *CBC*. <https://www.cbc.ca/radio/ideas/canada-as-a-middle-power-in-an-upended-worldtime-for-a-foreign-policy-reset-1.5372192>

### Week 3: September 27th, 2022: Multilateralism vs. Plurilateralism

Kirton, John. "Canada's G20 Entrepreneurship," *International Journal* 73:4 (2018): 554–72.

Gillies, Jamie, and Shaun Narine. "The Trudeau government and the case for multilateralism in an uncertain world." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 26, no. 3 (2020): 257-275.

Nossal, Kim Richard. "Canada and the General Assembly: A Global Bully Pulpit," in *Canada and the United Nations: Legacies, Limits, Prospects*, eds. Colin McCullough and Robert Teigrob (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 161–82

### Week 4: October 4th: Politics, Prime Ministers, and the PMO

Gecelovsky, Paul. 2007. Of legacies and lightning bolts: The Prime Minister and Canadian foreign policy. In Bratt, Duane & Christopher K. Kukucha (eds). *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 196–205.

Lilly, Meredith. "The Prime Minister's Office (PMO)" in Carvin, Stephanie, Thomas Juneau, and Craig Forcese, eds. *Top Secret Canada: Understanding the Canadian Intelligence and National Security Community*. University of Toronto Press, 2021.

Nossal, Kim Richard. "Domestic Politics and the Electoral Connection in Canadian Foreign Policy." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Canada in International Affairs*, pp. 41-60. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2021.

### Week 5: October 11th: Ministers, Parliament, and the Foreign Policy Bureaucracy

Copeland, Daryl. Innovation, adaptation and foreign policy in the age of globalization: is Global Affairs Canada fit for purpose?, *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 24:3, (2018): 372-377.

Freeland, Chrystia. *Address by Minister Freeland on Canada's foreign policy priorities. Global Affairs Canada*, 2017. [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).

Stairs, Denis. "Debating the Proper Role of Parliament in the Making and Conduct of Canada's International Policies," In *The Harper Era in Canadian Foreign Policy*, eds. A. Chapnick and C. Kukucha, UBC Press, 2016.

#### Week 6: October 18th: Military and Intelligence

Vincent Rigby Speech by the National Security and Intelligence Advisor to the Prime Minister to the Centre for International Governance Innovation. *National Security Challenges in the 21st Century*, June 8, 2021.

<https://www.canada.ca/en/privy-council/services/national-security-intelligence-advisor-challenges.html>

Hensler, Alistair. "Creating a Canadian foreign intelligence service: revisited 25 years later." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 26, no. 3 (2020): 360-365.

Rodman, Lindsay. "You've Got It All Backwards: Canada's National Defence Strategy." In *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, pp. 273-293. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2020.

#### Week 7: October 25th: Substate Actors in Foreign Policy

Laura Macdonald, "Canada goes global: building transnational relations between Canada and the world, 1968–2017," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 24:3, (2018): 358-371

Sarson, Leah. "'You Cannot Trade What Is Not Yours': Indigenous Governance and the NAFTA Negotiations." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 49, no. 2 (2019): 332-347.

McHugh, James T. "Paradiplomacy, protodiplomacy and the foreign policy aspirations of Quebec and other Canadian provinces." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 21, no. 3 (2015): 238-256.

#### Week 8: November 1st: Canada and the Conflict in Ukraine

\*\*\* Midterm test: 18:10-19:00 \*\*\*

Ling, Justin. "Behind the push to freeze Moscow's foreign cash." *Politico*. (2022, February 27). <https://www.politico.com/news/2022/02/27/canada-russia-cash-freeze-freeland-00012139>

#### Week 9: November 15th: Global Warming and the Arctic

David Pugliese, "Frostbite and Fuel Shortages: The Logistical Challenges of a Military Operation in Canada's Arctic," *National Post*, March 21, 2018, <https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/frostbite-fuel-shortages-and-atvs-frozen-in-the-mud-the-logistical-challenges-of-a-military-operation-in-canadas-arctic>

Rob Huebert, "Submarines, Oil Tankers, and Icebreakers: Trying to Understand Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security," *International Journal* 66:4 (2011): 809–24;

Simon Dalby, "Canada can lead on climate at NATO—but we must move quickly," 24 June 2021, <https://www.cigionline.org/articles/canada-can-lead-on-climate-at-nato-but-we-must-move-quickly/>.

MacDonald, Adam Perry. "China-Russian cooperation in the Arctic: A cause for concern for the Western Arctic States?." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 27, no. 2 (2021): 194-210.

#### Week 10: November 22nd: Rising Illiberalism

Rowswell, Ben. Populist unilateralism and the threat to Canadian power, *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 26:2, (2020) 197-206.

Grenier, Yvon. "Opportunities to Promote Human Rights and Democratic Values Abroad: The Case of Canadian Foreign Policy toward Venezuela." *International Journal* 76, no. 3 (September 2021): 446–64.

Carment, David, Jeremy Paltiel, Laura Macdonald, Federman Rodríguez, and Racheal Zara Wallace. "Conclusion: What's Ahead for Canada? Challenges to the Liberal International Order and Great Power Rivalry." In *Canada and Great Power Competition*, pp. 343-363. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2022.

#### Week 11: November 29th: A New Cold War?

\*\*\*Policy resolution assignment due at start of class\*\*\*

MacDonald, Adam, and Carter Vance. "Developing a Canadian Indo-Pacific geopolitical orientation." *International Journal* 76, no. 4 (2021): 564-593.

Fife, Robert and Steven Chase. "Ottawa draws up Indo-Pacific strategy with focus on China aggression." *The Globe and Mail*. 2021, November 5. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/politics/article-former-ambassador-to-japan-recruited-to-craft-first-indo-pacific/>

Lilly, Meredith B. "Hewers of wood and drawers of water 2.0: how American and Chinese economic nationalism influence Canadian trade policy in the twenty-first century," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 26:2, (2020):167-181.

Mike Blanchfield and Fen Osler Hampson. "Chapter 10: Spies and Backdoors", in *The Two Michaels: Innocent Canadian Captives and High Stakes Espionage in the US-China Cyber War*. Sutherland House, Toronto. 2021.

Week 12: December 6th: Where does Canada go from here?

Open Discussion Class.