

University of Toronto  
St. George Campus  
2009-10

**Political Science 312Y — Canadian Foreign Policy**

Tuesday 10 a.m.–12:00 p.m., George Ignatieff Theatre

Professor John Kirton

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Office Hours: Wednesday 9:30 a.m.–12:00 p.m.,

or by appointment

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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 11 years. 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 international order and global governance, largely through the multilateral United Nations and the plurilateral Group of Eight.

**The requirements are as follows:**

1. Mid Term Quiz in the first part of the class on October 27, 2009 (10% of final grade);
2. First Term Test, last class in the first term, December 1 (25% of final grade);
3. Research Essay of 2,500 words, handed in both on paper and electronically on Turnitin.com (class ID = 2806621, enrollment password = pearson) (or with alternative arrangements), due on February 23 (first class after Reading Week) (40% of the final grade; late penalty is 1% of the assignment for each calendar day late without cause); and;
3. Final Test (on the entire course), last class of second term, March 30 (25% of the final grade).

**The required texts (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. (2007), *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas* (Toronto: Oxford University Press). The core reader.
3. Andrew F. Cooper and Dane Rowlands, eds. (2006). *Canada Among Nations 2006: Minorities and Priorities* (McGill-Queen's University Press: Montreal and Kingston, 2006). A recent policy update, which is purposely the 2006 volume.
4. 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). 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). The major cases from 1945 to 1991, serving as a history and essay referent.
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, Stephane Roussel and Stephane Paquin, *Politique internationale et defense au Canada et au Quebec*, (les Presses de l'Universite de Montreal: Montreal). The latest English version is Kim Richard Nossal (1997), *The Politics of Canadian Foreign Policy*, 3rd ed. (Scarborough: Prentice Hall). A classic textbook 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).
6. J.L. Granatstein., ed. (1993), *Canadian Foreign Policy: Historical Readings*, Revised Edition (Toronto: Copp Clark). A collection of key Canadian government documents.
7. Robert Bothwell (2006), *The Penguin History of Canada* (Penguin: Toronto). The definitive history.
8. Patrick James, Nelson Michaud and Marc O'Reilly, eds. (2006), *Handbook of Canadian Foreign Policy*, (Lexington Books: Toronto).

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 article 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)  
 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 (an empirically useful government source)

Note: Some of the current and archival issues of these publications are available online. Most are in hard copies, 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 15)

### **2. Introduction to the Field: Premises and Principles** (September 22)

Kirton, Chapters 1-2.

Kirton, John (2009), "The 10 Most Important Books on Canadian Foreign Policy," *IJ* 64 (Spring): 553-564.

Molot, Maureen Appel (1990), "Where Do We, Should We or Can We Sit? A Review of Canadian Foreign Policy Literature," Bratt and Kukucha, 62-75.

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

Sjolander, Claire Turenne (2003), "Of Playing Fields, Competitiveness, and the Will to Win: Representations of Gender and Globalization," Bratt and Kukucha, 76-93.

Gabriel, Christina (2006), "Charting Canadian Immigration Policy in the New Millennium," Cooper and Rowlands, 187-208.

Tomlin et al. (2008), 1-28.

\*Berns-McGown, Rima (2005), "Political Culture, Not Values," *IJ* 60 (Spring): 341-360.

\*Chapnick, Adam (2008-9), "The Golden Age: A Canadian Foreign Policy paradox," *IJ* 64 (Winter): 205-221.

\*Nossal, 1-18, 52-66, 138-170, \*Cooper, 1-5, 281-296.

## **PART I: THREE PERSPECTIVES ON CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY**

### **3. Canada as a Middle Power: The Liberal-Internationalist Perspective** (September 29)

Kirton, Chapter 3-4.

Dewitt, David and John Kirton (1983), "Three Theoretical Perspectives," Bratt and Kukucha, 27-45 (or Dewitt and Kirton, 17-28).

Holmes, John (1984), "Most Safely in the Middle," Bratt and Kukucha, 9-21.

Neufeld, Mark (1995), "Hegemony and Foreign Policy Analysis: The Case of Canada as a Middle Power," Bratt and Kukucha, 94-107.

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.

\*Nossal, 52-59, \*Cooper, 19-34.

#### 4. **Canada as a Small Power: The Peripheral Dependence Perspective** (October 6)

Kirton, Chapter 5.

Clarkson, Stephen (1968), "The Choice to Be Made," Bratt and Kukucha, 46-57.

Clarkson, Stephen (2007), "The Choices That Were Made and Those That Remain," Bratt and Kukucha, 57-61.

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.

\*Nossal, 60-62, \*Cooper, 13-18.

#### 5. **Canada as a Principal Power: The Complex Neo-Realist Perspective** (October 13)

Kirton, Chapter 6.

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.

\*Nossal, 62-66, \*Cooper, 6-12.

#### 6. **Assessing the Perspectives: Relative Capability and International Behaviour** (October 20)

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.

\*Nossal, 67-94, \*Dewitt and Kirton, 85-116.

### PART II: CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOUR SINCE 1945

#### 7. **St. Laurent, Diefenbaker and Pearson** (October 27)

MID TERM QUIZ, written during the first half of the class in GIT

Kirton, Chapter 8.

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.

\*Cooper 35-40, 71-82, \*Dewitt and Kirton, 47-68.

## 8. **Trudeau and Clark** (November 3)

Kirton, Chapter 9.

Thordarson, Bruce, "Cutting Back on NATO, 1969," Munton and Kirton, 174-188.

Stairs, Denis, "Reviewing Foreign Policy, 1968-70," Munton and Kirton, 189-204.

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.

Dobell, Peter, "Reducing Vulnerability: The Third Option, 1970s," Munton and Kirton, 237-258.

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 10) [Note: November 12-13 is the new autumn mini-break]

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 17)

Kirton, Chapters 11 and 12 (pps. 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.

\*Cooper 79-109.

#### 11. **Harper** (November 24)

Kirton, Chapter 12 (pps. 194-199).

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.

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.

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](http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?category=2&id=1247)> (August 2007).

#### 12. **Term Test** (December 1) [not in GIT. Test location will be announced]

### PART III — THE CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS

#### 13. **The Governmental Process** (January 5)

Kirton, Chapter 13.

Gecelovsky, Paul (2007), "Of Legacies and Lightning Bolts: The Prime Minister and Canadian Foreign Policy," Bratt and Kukucha, 196-205.

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.

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.

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.

\*Nossal, 174-264, \*Dewitt and Kirton, 16-17, 195-234.

#### 14. **The Societal Process** (January 12)

Kirton, Chapter 14.

- 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.
- Nossal, Kim (1983-84), "Analyzing the Domestic Sources of Canadian Foreign Policy," Bratt and Kukucha, 163-175.
- Kukucha, Christopher (2007), "Expanded Legitimacy: The Provinces as International Actors," Bratt and Kukucha, 214-230.
- English, John (1998), "The Member of Parliament and Foreign Policy," Bratt and Kukucha, 206-213.
- Pratt, Cranford (1983-84), "Dominant Class Theory and Canadian Foreign Policy: The Case of the Counter-Consensus," Bratt and Kukucha, 176-195.
- 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.
- \*Nossal, 95-137, 265-331, \*Cooper, 41-70, \*Dewitt and Kirton, 167-194.

#### 15. **The External Process** (January 19)

Kirton, Chapter 15.

Nossal, 19-51.

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 and an Alternative** (January 26)

Kirton, Chapter 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, 117-138.

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.

- Sands, Chris (2002), "Fading Power or Rising Power: 11 September and Lessons from the Section 110 Experience," Bratt and Kukucha, 249-264.
- Sands, Christopher (2006), "The Rising Importance of Third-Country Issues in Canada's Relations with the United States," Cooper and Rowlands, 125-144.
- \*Kirton, John (1993), "Promoting Plurilateral Partnerships: Managing United States-Canada Relations in the Post-Cold War Period," *ARCS* 24 (Winter): 453-472.
- \*"The Heeneey-Merchant Report, 1965," in Granatstein (1993), 38-53.

## 17. The New North American Community (February 2)

Kirton, Chapter 18.

- Morales, Isidro (2006), "The New Strategic Positioning of Canada within North America: The Energy Factor," Cooper and Rowlands, 269-291.
- 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 9)

Kirton, Chapter 19.

- MacDonald, Douglas and Heather Smith (1999-2000), "Promises Made, Promises Broken: Questioning Canada's Commitments to Climate Change," Bratt and Kukucha, 357-367.
- Bernard-Meunier, Marie (2006), "Did You Say Europe? How Canada Ignores Europe and Why That is Wrong," Cooper and Rowlands, 109-124.
- Schwanen, Daniel (2006), "Canada and the Kyoto Protocol: When Reality Sets In," Cooper and Rowlands, 292-318.
- 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.
- \*Pentland, Charles (2003-04), "Odd Man In: Canada and the Transatlantic Crisis," *IJ* 59 (Winter): 145-166.
- \*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 15-19 No Class. No office hours will be held during reading week.

## 19. Asia Pacific (February 23)

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.
- Jiang, Wenran (2006), "Meeting the China Challenge: Developing a China Strategy," Cooper and Rowlands, 251-268.
- 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 Nigendra 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.
- \*Woods, Lawrence (1998), "In the Spirit of Nitobe and Norman: Circularity in Japanese and Canadian Approaches to Regional Institution Building," Fry et al., 277-291.
- \*Cooper, 257-260.

## 20. The Americas (March 2)

- 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, 111-154, 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 9)

- Kirton, Chapter 22.
- 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.
- 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.
- \*Heinbecker, Paul and Bessma Momani, eds. (2007), *Canada and the Middle East: In Theory and Practice* (Wilfred Laurier University Press).

- \*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.
- \*Cooper, 173-209, 210-246, \*Dewitt and Kirton, 355-402.

## PART V: INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND ORDER

### 22. **Global Governance and the Multilateral United Nations System** (March 16)

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.

\*Heinbecker, Paul (2005), "The UN in the Twenty First Century," *CAN 2004: 244-260*.

\*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 System** (March 23)

Kirton, Chapter 24.

Kirton, John (2007), "Canada as a G8 Principal Power," in Bratt and Kukucha, 298-315.

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) [Location to be announced]

**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, 1993-2008
- Anti-Personnel Landmines, 1993-
- International Financial Crises and Architecture, 1994-
- High Seas Overfishing and UNCLOS, 1995-2003

- The International Criminal Court, 1995-
- Climate Change, 1997-
- The G20/L20, 1997-
- Softwood Lumber, 2001-
- The War in Afghanistan, 2001-
- Homeland Security and 911, 2001-
- Ballistic Missile Defence, 2001-
- African Development, 2001-
- The Kananaskis G8 Summit, 2002
- The War in Iraq, 2003-
- The Responsibility to Protect (R2P), 2003-
- Sudan's Darfur, 2003-
- Infectious Disease, 2003-
- The Security and Prosperity Partnership (SPP), 2004-
- Arctic Sovereignty, 2006-
- Israel's Wars, 2006-

## 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, at the end and based on the above, "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 items 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 on page 2.
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 and governmental 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 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 in the introduction. 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 by a new perspective.
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, all 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 will be 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'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.