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POL 312Y

## **Canadian Foreign Policy**

University of Toronto, St. George Campus  
Fall 2018-Winter 2019

Tuesday 10 a.m.–12:00 p.m.  
Fall Term: Victoria College VC212  
Winter Term: Trinity College George Ignatieff Theatre (GIT)

Course websites: [www.cfp.utoronto.ca](http://www.cfp.utoronto.ca) and [www.g7.utoronto.ca/teaching](http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/teaching)

### **Fall 2018: Professor John Kirton**

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### **Winter 2019: Michael Kunz**

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### **Teaching Assistant**

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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

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each region. 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:

1. First-Term Test, on December 4, 2018 (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 (or with alternative arrangements/see end of document for Turnitin details), due on February 26, 2019 (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 2, 2019 (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 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 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>.

## Required Texts

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

John Kirton (2007). *Canadian Foreign Policy in a Changing World* (Toronto: Thomson Nelson). The core textbook.

Duane Bratt and Chris Kukucha, eds. (2015). *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 3rd edition). The core reader.

## 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.
- b. Duane Bratt and Christopher Kukucha, eds. (2011). *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas* (Toronto: Oxford University Press), second edition.

- c. Heather A. Smith and Claire Turenne Sjolander, eds. (2013). *Canada in the World: Internationalism in Canadian Foreign Policy* (Toronto: Oxford University Press). Useful for the essays.
- d. Brian Tomlin, Norman Hillmer and Fen Osler Hampson (2008). *Canada's International Policies: Agendas, Alternatives and Politics* (Toronto: Oxford University Press). Useful for the research essay.
- e. 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.
- f. Andrew F. Cooper (1997). *Canadian Foreign Policy: Old Habits and New Directions* (Scarborough: Prentice Hall). A classic textbook.
- g. David Dewitt and John Kirton (1983). *Canada as a Principal Power* (Toronto: John Wiley). The classic foundation for this course.
- h. Bothwell Bothwell (2006). *The Penguin History of Canada* (Toronto: Penguin). The best history.
- i. Patrick James, Nelson Michaud and Marc O'Reilly, eds. (2006) > *Handbook of Canadian Foreign Policy* (Toronto: Lexington Books).
- j. More will become available and 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 Readings

\* Background if time and interest allow.

### 1. Introduction to the Course (September 11)

### 2. Introduction to the Field: Premises and Principles (September 18)

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).

Sjolander, Claire Turenne and Heather A. Smith (2010), "The Practice, Purpose, and Perils of List-Making: A Response to John Kirton's "10 Most Important Books on Canadian Foreign Policy," in Bratt and Kukucha (2011), 19-27.

Michaud, Nelson (2007), "Values and Canadian Foreign Policymaking: Inspiration or Hindrance," Bratt and Kukucha (2011), 2nd ed., 341-356.

Michaud, Nelson (2011), "Soft Power and Canadian Foreign Policy-Making: The Role of Values," Bratt and Kukucha, 2nd ed..

\*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: Liberal-Internationalist Theory (September 25)

Kirton, Chapter 3-4.

Dewitt, David and John Kirton (1983), "Three Theoretical Perspectives," Bratt and Kukucha, 68-84 (or Dewitt and Kirton, 17-28).

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

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: Peripheral Dependence Theory (October 2)

Kirton, Chapter 5.

Clarkson, Stephen (1968), "The Choice to Be Made," Bratt and Kukucha, 92-108.

Bow, Brian and Patrick Lennox (2011), "The 'Independence' Debates, Then and Now: False Choices and Real Challenges," Bratt and Kukucha, 109-112.

Wegner, Nicole (2015), "(De)constructing Foreign Policy Narratives: Canada in Afghanistan," Bratt and Kukucha, 113-121.

- McMahon, Sean (2015), Hegemony in the Local Order and Accumulation in the Global: Canada and Libya,” Bratt and Kukucha, 122-135.
- 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.
- \*Neufeld, Mark (2011), “Democratization in/of Canadian Foreign Policy: Critical Reflections,” Bratt and Kukucha, 2nd ed., 109-122.

## **5. Canada as a Principal Power: Complex Neo-Realist Theory (October 9)**

- Kirton, Chapter 6.
- Kirton, John (2015), “Canada as a Principal Power 2010,” in Bratt and Kukucha, 85-91.
- 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. Testing the Theories: Relative Capability & International Behaviour (October 16)**

- 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, 1948-1968 (October 23)**

- Kirton, Chapter 8.
- Chapnick, Adam (2015), “Canadian Foreign Policy, 1945-1968,” Bratt and Kukucha, 28-41.
- Nossal, Kim Richard (2015), “Defending Canada,” Bratt and Kukucha, 295-307.
- Ross, Douglas Alan (2015), “Canadian International Security Policy in the 21st Century: Closing the Book on the Sunderland Era? Not at All,” Bratt and Kukucha 326-346.
- 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.

\*Norman Hillmer and J.L. Granatstein (1994), *Empire to Umpire* (Toronto: Irvin), 181-264.

### **8. Trudeau, Clark and Mulroney, 1968-1993 (October 30)**

Kirton, Chapter 9-10.

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.

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), 3-42, 290-296.

Hampson, Fen Osler (2018), *Master of Persuasion: Brian Mulroney's Global Legacy* (Toronto: Signal Editions), 1-9, 219-230.

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

\*Harbron, John, "Recognizing China, 1971," Munton and Kirton, 227-236.

\*Granatstein, J. L. and Robert Bothwell (1990), *Pirouette: Pierre Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), especially 3-38, 363-383.

\*Dewitt and Kirton, 68-84.

### **Fall Break: November 5-9 NO CLASS**

### **9. Chrétien and Martin, 1993-2006 (November 13)**

Kirton, Chapters 11 and 12, 155-194.

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.

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

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

### **10. Harper, 2006-2015 (November 20)**

- Kirton, Chapter 12, 194-199.
- Kirton, John (2006), "Harper's "Made in Canada" Global Leadership," Cooper and Rowlands, 34-57.
- Blanchfield, Mike ((2017), *Swingback: Getting Along in the World with Harper and Trudeau* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press), 3-10, 30-41.
- 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.
- \*Robertson, Colin (2016), "Rising Power: Stephen Harper's Makeover of Canadian International Policy," in Jennifer Ditchburn and Graham Fox, eds. *The Harper Factor: Assessing a Prime Minister's Policy Legacy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press), 97-115.
- \*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).

### **11. Justin Trudeau, 2015- (November 27)**

- Blanchfield, Mike (2017), *Swingback: Getting along in the World with Harper and Trudeau* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press), 187-247.
- Freeland, Chrystia (2017), "Address by Minister Freeland on Canada's foreign policy priorities."  
[https://www.canada.ca/en/globalaffairs/news/2017/06/address\\_by\\_ministerfreelandoncanadasforeignpolicypriorities.html](https://www.canada.ca/en/globalaffairs/news/2017/06/address_by_ministerfreelandoncanadasforeignpolicypriorities.html)
- Hillmer, Norman et al. (2017), "The Age of Trudeau and Trump," in Norman Hillmer and Philippe Lagassé, eds., *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy: Canada Among Nations 2017* (Palgrave MacMillan), 1-16.
- Paris, Roland (2017), "The Promise and Perils of Justin Trudeau's Foreign Policy," in Norman Hillmer and Philippe Lagassé, eds., *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy: Canada Among Nations 2017* (Palgrave MacMillan), 17-29.
- Nossal, Kim Richard (2017), "Promises Made, Promises Kept? A Mid-Term Trudeau Foreign Policy Report Card," in Norman Hillmer and Philippe Lagassé, eds., *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy: Canada Among Nations 2017* (Palgrave MacMillan), 31-53.

## 12. Term Test (December 4, location TBA)

### PART III: THE CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS

#### 13. The Governmental Process (January 8)

Kirton, Chapter 13.

Gecelovsky, Paul (2011), "Of Legacies and Lightning Bolts: The Prime Minister and Canadian Foreign Policy," Bratt and Kukucha, 213-223.

Dutil, Patrice (2015), "The Institutionalization of Foreign Affairs (1909-2009)," Bratt and Kukucha, 239-258.

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), 21-48.

\*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.

\*Bratt, Duane (2011), "Afghanistan: Why Did We Go? Why Did We Stay? Will We leave? Bratt and Kukucha, 2nd ed., 316-328.

\*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 15)

Kirton, Chapter 14.

Schmitz, Gerald (2015), "Parliament and Canadian Foreign Policy: Between Paradox and Potential," Bratt and Kukucha, 224-238.

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

Carment, David and Joe Landry (2015), "Civil Society and Canadian Foreign Policy," Bratt and Kukucha, 277-289.

\*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.

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



\*Dewitt and Kirton, 167-194.

\*Roussel, Stéphane and Jean-Christophe Boucher (2015), "The Myth of the Pacific Society: Quebec's Contemporary Strategic Culture," Bratt and Kukucha, 308-321.

## 15. The External Process (January 22)

Kirton, Chapter 15.

Kirkey, Christopher and Michael Hawes (2015), "Canada in an Age of Unipolarity: Structural Change and Canadian Foreign Policy, Bratt and Kukucha, 144-155.

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. North America (January 29)

Kirton, Chapters 16, 17, 18.

Hale, Geoffrey, "Canada-US Relations: Proximity and Distance in Perspective," Bratt and Kukucha, 155-170.

Macdonald, Laura (2010), "Trading Places" (aka "A Fine Balance: Multilateralism and Bilateralism in Canadian Policy in the North American Region") *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 16(2): 111-124.

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

\*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.

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

\*Paquin, Jonathan (2018), "US Partisan Perceptions of Stephen Harper's Shift in Foreign Policy," *IJ* 73:2

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

- \*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.

## 17. Europe, Russia and the Arctic (February 5)

Kirton, Chapter 19.

- Huebert, Rob (2015), "Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security in a Transforming Circumpolar World," Bratt and Kukucha, 347-371.
- 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, 2nd ed., 193-212.
- Wilson, Gary N and Heather A. Smith. 2011. "The Inuit Circumpolar Council in an era of global and local change." *International Journal* 66.4: 909-921.
- \*Smith, Heather (2015), "Choosing Not to See: Canada, Climate Change and the Arctic," Bratt and Kukucha, 459-466.
- \*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.

## 18. Asia (February 12)

Kirton, Chapter 20.

- Paltiel, Jeremy (2016), "Resolute Ambivalence: Canada's Strategy toward China and the Asia-Pacific," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 22.1.
- Burton, Charles (2015), "The Dynamic of Relations between Canada and China," Bratt and Kukucha, 171-185.
- Singh, Anita (2015), "The Indo-Canadian Diaspora and Canadian Foreign Policy: Lessons Learned and Moving Forward," Bratt and Kukucha, 259-276.
- \*Bratt, Duane (2015), "The Energy Triangle: Canada, the United States and China," Bratt and Kukucha, 434-451.
- \*Mulroney, David (2015), *Middle Power, Middle Kingdom: What Canadians Need to Know about China in the 21st Century* (Penguin Random House), Introduction.
- \*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), 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.

**Reading Week: February 18-22 NO CLASS. NO OFFICE HOURS.**

## **19. Latin America, Africa and the Middle East (February 26)**

### **ESSAYS DUE AT START OF CLASS**

Kirton, Chapter 21, 22.

- Stevenson, Brian (2000), *Canada, Latin America and the New Internationalism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press), 3-21, 224-234.
- Black, David (2015), "The Harper Government, Africa Policy and the Relative Decline of Humane Internationalism," Bratt and Kukucha, 482-506.
- Musu, Costanza (2012), "Canada and the MENA region: The Foreign Policy of a Middle Power," *CFPJ* 18 (March): 65-75.
- Peter McKenna (2018), "Canada and Latin America: 150 Years Later," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 24(1): 18-38.
- \*Black, David (2011), "Canada, the G8 and Africa: The Rise and Decline of a Hegemonic Project?" Bratt and Kukucha, 487-502.
- \*Black, David (2005), "From Kananaskis to Gleneagles: Assessing Canadian 'Leadership' on Africa," *BH* 62 (May): 1-16.
- \*Shamsie, Yasmine (2006), "It's Not Just Afghanistan or Darfur: Canada's Peacebuilding Efforts in Haiti," Cooper and Rowlands, 209-232.
- \*Pratt, Cranford (2003), "Ethical Values and Canadian Foreign Aid Policies," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 37(1): 84-101.
- \*Randall, Stephen (2002), "In Search of a Hemispheric Role: Canada and the Americas," *CAN* 2002: 233-255.
- \*Brown, Stephen (2011), "Aid Effectiveness and the Framing of New Canadian Aid Initiatives," Bratt and Kukucha, 467-481.
- \*Heinbecker, Paul and Bessma Momani (2007), "Canada and the Middle East: Ambivalence or Engagement?" in Paul Heinbecker and Bessma Momani, eds., *Canada and the Middle East: In Theory and Practice* (Waterloo ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press).
- \*Sucharov, Mira (2003), "A Multilateral Affair: Canadian Foreign Policy in the Middle East," *CAN* 2003: 312-331.
- \*Macdonald, Laura (1995), "Unequal Partnerships: The Politics of Canada's Relations with the Third World," *Studies in Political Economy* 47: 111-141

## PART V: WORLD ORDER AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

### 20. Global Interconnectivity (March 5)

- Smythe, Elizabeth (2007), "Canada and the Negotiation of Investment Rules: Open for Whose Business?" Bratt and Kukucha, 415-433.
- McBride, Stephen (2015), "Canada's Policy Response to the Global Financial Crisis," Bratt and Kukucha, 400-414.
- Wilner, Alex (2018), "Cybersecurity and Its Discontents: Artificial Intelligence, the Internet of Things and Digital Misinformation," *IJ* 73:2, 308-316.

### 21. Global Governance and the Multilateral United Nations System (March 12)

- Kirton, Chapter 23.
- Malone, David (2006), "UN Reform: A Sisyphean Task," Cooper and Rowlands, 79-108.
- Keating, Tom (2015), "The Twilight of Multilateralism in Canadian Foreign Policy?" Bratt and Kukucha, 55-67.
- Riddell-Dixon, Elizabeth (2011), "Canada at the United Nations in the New Millennium," Bratt and Kukucha, 2nd ed., 139-158.
- \*Hart, Michael (2015), "Breaking Free: A Post-mercantalist Trade and Productivity Agenda for Canada," Bratt and Kukucha, 375-399.
- \*Cooper, Andrew F. (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 ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press), 1-16, 186-225.

### 22. Global Governance and the G8-G20 System (March 19)

- Kirton, Chapter 24.
- Kirton, John (2018), "Canada's G20 Entrepreneurship," *International Journal* 73 (4) December 2018
- Kirton, John (2011), "Canada as a G8 and G20 Principal Power," in Bratt and Kukucha, 2nd ed., 157-174.
- Heinbecker, Paul (2015), "Canada's World Can Get a Lot Bigger; The Group of Twenty, Global Governance and Security," Bratt and Kukucha, 186-209.
- \*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.

### 23. Navigating Changes in World Order (March 26)

- Thompson, Andrew (2018), "Canada, Human Rights and the Future of the Liberal International Order," *IJ* 73(2): 299-307

- Carment, David and Joe Landry (2016), "150 Years of Canada in the World: Claiming the Twenty-First Century?" *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 22(3): 221.
- Nixon, Stephanie A., et al. (2018), "Canada's Global Health Role: Supporting Equity and Global Citizenship as a Middle Power," *Lancet* 391(10131): 1736-1748.
- Jones, Peter and Philippe Lagassé (2012), "Rhetoric versus Reality: Canadian Defence Planning in a Time of Austerity." *Defense and Security Analysis* 28(2): 140-151.

## 24. FINAL TEST (April 2, Location TBA)

### Research Essay Guidelines

*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 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-
- Managing Migration, 2015-
- Negotiating a new NAFTA, 2017-

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 2019.

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 briefly and only in the final section, if at all.

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. Refer especially in the above to 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. For a model case for this course, see Alissa Wang (2016), “The Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement: What Did Canada Do and Why?” <http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/teaching/312/Wang-CETA-2016.pdf>.

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, which requires you to group scholarly writing based on their common views on the topic of your research paper (these are perspectives 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 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 events 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 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 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.

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.

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