

POL 312F

Version of September 1, 2021

Canadian Foreign Policy Performance

University of Toronto, St. George Campus

Fall 2021

Tuesday 12:00–2:00 p.m.

Location: Sid Smith 2127

Course website: www.g7.utoronto.ca/teaching

Office: 1 Devonshire Place, Room 209N

Office Hours: Tuesday 2:00-4:00 p.m.

Email: john.kirton@utoronto.ca [*include "POL312" in subject line*]

Telephone: 416-946-8953, Twitter @jjkirton

Teaching Assistant

Taylor Jackson

Email: taylorj.jackson@mail.utoronto.ca [*include "POL312" in subject line*]

THEMES: 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 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 which 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. The course assesses how each theory describes and explains CFP from 1945 to the present, first by outlining the three theories, then assessing their accuracy by applying them to successive Canadian governments' major doctrines, resource distributions, and decisions.

Format and Requirements

A two-hour lecture course, once a week, with no tutorials.

Each student will be responsible for the following:

1. Term Test written in class on October 26, 2021, for 33% of the final grade.
2. Research Essay of 2,000 words plus bibliography and references, handed in both on paper and electronically, due on December 7, 2021, at 4pm for 67% of the final grade.

Ouriginal

The University of Toronto no longer uses Turnitin as its plagiarism detection tool. Papers must now be uploaded using Ouriginal, accessible through Quercus.

Plagiarism

Normally, students will be required to submit their course assignments to the University's plagiarism detection tool website for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their material to be included as source documents in the University's plagiarism detection tool reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the University's plagiarism detection tool service are described on the company website.

Late Penalty and Policy

The late penalty is 2% of the assignment grade per calendar day, including weekends (without eligible causes, as approved by the instructor or teaching assistant in advance). Eligible causes for extension are unforeseen: a. medical and dental; non-curricular paid work-related; or c. 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 offence 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:

John Kirton (2007). *Canadian Foreign Policy in a Changing World* (Toronto: Thomson Nelson). This is the core textbook, which may be available at the University of Toronto Bookstore, but should be at second hand bookstores. An updated version in Chinese, published in 2019 by the Shanghai People's Publishing House, is available on reserve at the Trinity College Library. The latest version for the required reading each week will be made available virtually if need be.

Duane Bratt and Chris Kukucha, eds. (2015). *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 3rd edition). This is the core reader. It is available for purchase at the University of Toronto Bookstore

Other Key Works

1. Don Munton and John Kirton, eds. (1992). *Canadian Foreign Policy: Selected Cases* (Toronto: Prentice Hall). It discusses the major cases from 1945 to 1991, covered in the historical overviews.
2. Duane Bratt and Christopher Kukucha, eds. (2011). *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas* (Toronto: Oxford University Press), second edition.
3. Norman Hillmer and Philippe Lagasse (2018), *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy: Canada Among Nations 2017* (PalgraveMacmillan). For essays.

4. Robert W. Murray and Paul Gecelovsky, eds. *The Palgrave Handbook of Canada in International Affairs* (Palgrave Macmillan). For essays.
5. Heather A. Smith and Claire Turenne Sjolander, eds. (2013). *Canada in the World: Internationalism in Canadian Foreign Policy* (Toronto: Oxford University Press). For essays.
6. Brian Tomlin, Norman Hillmer and Fen Osler Hampson (2008). *Canada's International Policies: Agendas, Alternatives and Politics* (Toronto: Oxford University Press). For essays.
7. 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.
8. Andrew F. Cooper (1997). *Canadian Foreign Policy: Old Habits and New Directions*. (Scarborough: Prentice Hall). A classic textbook.
9. David Dewitt and John Kirton (1983). *Canada as a Principal Power* (Toronto: John Wiley). The classic theoretical foundation for this course.
10. Robert Bothwell (2006). *The Penguin History of Canada* (Toronto: Penguin). The best history.
11. Patrick James, Nelson Michaud and Marc O'Reilly, eds. (2006). *Handbook of Canadian Foreign Policy* (Toronto: Lexington Books).
12. Dubinsky, Karen, Sean Mills and Scott Rutherford (2016), *Canada and the Third World: Overlapping Histories*. (University of Toronto Press: Toronto).

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 14)

2. Introduction to the Field: Premises and Principles (September 21)

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.

*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 28)

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 (2007) first edition, 9-20.

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.

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

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.

5. Canada as a Principal Power: Complex Neo-Realist Theory (October 12)

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.

Earys, 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 19)
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.

7. TERM TEST (October 26)

PART II: CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOUR SINCE 1945

8. St. Laurent, Diefenbaker and Pearson, 1948-1968 (November 2)
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.

READING WEEK: No class or office hours (November 9)

9. Trudeau, Clark and Mulroney, 1968-1993 (November 16)
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.

- 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.
10. Chrétien and Martin, 1993-2006 (November 23)
- Kirton, Chapters 11-12, 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.
11. Harper, 2006-2015 (November 30)
- Kirton, Chapter 12, 194-199.
- Kirton, John (2006), "A Made in Canada Foreign Policy for Harper's First Year," in Andrew Cooper and Dana Rowlands, *Canada Among Nations: Minorities and Priorities 2006* (Montreal: McGill Press) 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.
<http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?category=2&id=1247>.

12. Justin Trudeau, 2015-/ESSAY DUE (December 7)

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.

Klassen, Jerome and Yves Engler (2018), "What's Not to Like? Justin Trudeau, the Global Disorder, and Liberal Illusions," in Norman Hillmer and Philippe Lagassé, eds., *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy: Canada Among Nations 2017* (Palgrave MacMillan), 55- 83.

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

*Blanchfield, Mike (2017), *Swingback: Getting along in the World with Harper and Trudeau* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press), 187-247.

*Coulon, Jocelyn," *Canada is Not Back: How Justin Trudeau Is In Over His Head on Foreign Policy* (Lorimer: Toronto).

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, 2001-2021
- African Development, 2002-
- The War in Iraq, 2003-
- International Health, 2003-2019
- Arctic Sovereignty, 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-
- Climate Change, 2015-

- Indigenous Peoples, 2015-
- Feminist International Policy, 2015-
- Negotiating CUSMA, 2017-
- Coping with China over Huawei, 2018-
- Combatting COVID 19, 2019-

Note: Select and start your essay from the topics listed above in the first few weeks to give yourself maximum time and to avoid any last-minute shortage of high-demand works on popular topics as the deadline approaches in December. The Instructor or Teaching Assistant will provide you with a list of key sources to start with when you ask.

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.

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). Refer especially 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 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 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 2,000 words or about pages double spaced in Times New Roman, font size 12, with embedded (author-date) citations, endnotes only as necessary, and a list of at least ten scholarly references, in a style similar to those in the Kirton text. Proofread your essay before you hand it in.