

POL 313S

Revised on January 5, 2022

Canadian Foreign Policy Process

University of Toronto, St. George Campus

Winter 2022

Tuesday 12:00–2:00 p.m.

Location: Claude Bissell 325 (BL 325)

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

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This course explores the process of making Canadian foreign policy, and the policy behaviour that results, in regard to the world's major geographic regions, global governance institutions and the defining issues of our time.

The first part explores the individual, governmental, societal, and external determinants of Canada's international behaviour. The second part examines trends in Canada's policy toward the United States, North America, Europe, the Pacific, the Americas, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East and the major institutions, issues and instruments (such as military force, free trade and environmental agreements, economic sanctions, peacekeeping, and development assistance) used in each. The third part considers Canada's approach to world order and global governance, largely through the plurilateral Group of Seven (G7) and Group of Twenty (G20) and the multilateral United Nations. Throughout, the focus is on the central contemporary issues, (which are the topics for the major research essay in the course), the Canadian federal government's major decisions on them, and their individual, governmental, societal and external determinants.

Format and Requirements

A two-hour lecture course, once a week, with no tutorials. In January, the course will be delivered exclusively on-line, through Zoom. Log in information will be provided through Quercus.

Each student will be responsible for the following:

1. A Term Test of two hours, written in person on paper, from 12:00 pm (noon) to 2:00 pm on March 1, 2022, for 33% of the final grade. If the University prohibits an in-

person test, it will be conducted on-line at the same time, with your typed answers submitted through Quercus immediately at the end of the test;

2. A Research Essay of 2,500 words plus bibliography and references, handed in both on paper and electronically, due on April 5, 2022, at 5 pm for 67% of the final grade, to be handed in on paper to the instructor in the class or in his office, and entered electronically into Ouriginal through Quercus.

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; b. 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, available for purchase at the University of Toronto Bookstore, are: John Kirton (2007). *Canadian Foreign Policy in a Changing World* (Toronto: Thomson Nelson). This is the core textbook. An updated version in Chinese, published in 2019 by the Shanghai People's Publishing House, is available on reserve at the Trinity College Library.

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.

Other Key Works

1. Don Munton and John Kirton, eds. (1992). *Canadian Foreign Policy: Selected Cases* (Toronto: Prentice Hall). It helps show what early versions of subject-specific case studies look like.

2. Robert W. Murray and Paul Gecelovsky, eds. (2021) *The Palgrave Handbook of Canada in International Affairs* (Palgrave Macmillan). For essays.
3. Duane Bratt and Christopher Kukucha, eds. (2011). *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas* (Toronto: Oxford University Press), second edition.
4. Norman Hillmer and Philippe Lagasse (2018), *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy: Canada Among Nations 2017* (PalgraveMacmillan). 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. The more recent version of this book is Kim Richard Nossal, Stéphane Roussel and Stéphane Paquin (2015). *The Politics of Canadian Foreign Policy* 4th ed. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press). 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. 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.

PART I: THE CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS

1. Introduction and the Governmental Process (January 11)

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.

2. The Societal Process (January 18)

Kirton, Chapter 14.

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

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

*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.

*Smith, Heather (2008-9), "Political Parties and Canadian Climate Change Policy," *IJ* 64 (Winter): 47-66.

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

3. The External Process (January 25)

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.

*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.

PART II: CANADA'S REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS**4. Canada–U.S. Relations: Partnership, Absorption and Adjusting America (February 1)**

Kirton, Chapters 16-17.

Hale, Geoffrey (2015), "Canada-US Relations: Proximity and Distance in Perspective," Bratt and Kukucha, 155-170.

Blank, Stephen and Monica Gattinger (2018), "Canada-US Relations Under President Trump: Stop Reading the Tweets and Look to the Future," in Norman Hillmer and Philippe Lagassé, eds., *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy: Canada Among Nations 2017* (Palgrave MacMillan), 83-102.

*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.

5. The New North American Community (February 8)

Kirton, Chapter 18.

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

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

*Fagan, Drew (2003), "Beyond NAFTA: Toward Deeper Economic Integration," *CAN* 2003: 32-53.

*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.

6. Europe, Russia and the Arctic (February 15)

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, *SECOND EDITION*, 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.

READING WEEK: No class or office hours: February 22**7. TERM TEST (March 1)****8. Asia (March 8)**

Kirton, Chapter 20.

Burton, Charles (2015), "The Dynamic of Relations between Canada and China," Bratt and Kukucha, 171-185.

Calvert, Philip (2018), "Justin Trudeau's China Challenges," in Norman Hillmer and Philippe Lagassé, eds., *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy: Canada Among Nations 2017* (Palgrave MacMillan), 135-164.

Singh, Anita (2015), "The Indo-Canadian Diaspora and Canadian Foreign Policy: Lessons Learned and Moving Forward," Bratt and Kukucha, 259-276.

*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.

Paltiel, Jeremy (2016), "Resolute Ambivalence: Canada's Strategy toward China and the Asia-Pacific," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 22.1.

*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.

9. The Americas (March 15)

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, 224-234.

*Dosman, Ed (1992) "Canada and Latin America: The New Look," *IJ* 47 (Summer): 529-554.

*Cooper, 261-280.

10. Africa and the Middle East (March 22)

Kirton, Chapter 22.

Black, David (2015), "The Harper Government, Africa Policy and the Relative Decline of Humane Internationalism," Bratt and Kukucha 482-506.

Bratt, Duane (2007), "Warriors or Boy Scouts? Canada and Peace Support Operations," Bratt and Kukucha, *SECOND EDITION*. 238-248.

Musu, Costanza (2012), "Canada and the MENA region: The foreign policy of a middle power," *CFPJ* 18 (March): 65-75.

Pederson, Jennifer (2018), "'We Will Honour Our Good Name': The Trudeau Government, Arms Exports, and Human Rights," in Norman Hillmer and Philippe Lagassé, eds., *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy: Canada Among Nations 2017* (Palgrave MacMillan), 207-232.

*Heinbecker, Paul and Bessma Momani, eds. (2007), *Canada and the Middle East: In Theory and Practice* (Wilfred Laurier University Press). Selected chapters.

PART III: INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND ORDER

11. The Plurilateral G7-G20 Summit System/ESSAY DUE (March 29)

Kirton, Chapter 24.

Heinbecker, Paul (2015), "Canada's World Can Get a Lot Bigger; The Group of Twenty, Global Governance and Security," Bratt & Kukucha, 186-209.

McBride, Stephen (2015), "Canada's Policy Response to the Global Financial Crisis," Bratt and Kukucha, 400-414.

Kirton, John (2011), "Canada as a G8 and G20 Principal Power," in Bratt and Kukucha, SECOND EDITION. 157-174.

Black, David (2011), "Canada, the G8, and Africa: The Rise and Decline of a Hegemonic Project?" Bratt and Kukucha, SECOND EDITION. 487-502.

12. The Multilateral United Nations System (April 5) ESSAYS DUE TODAY

Kirton, Chapter 23.

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, SECOND EDITION. 139-158.

Hart, Michael (2015), "Breaking Free: A Post-mercantalist Trade and Productivity Agenda for Canada," Bratt and Kukucha 375-399.

Charron, Andrea (2018), "Justin Trudeau's Quest for a United Nations Security Council Seat," in Norman Hillmer and Philippe Lagassé, eds., *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy: Canada Among Nations 2017* (Palgrave MacMillan), 247-260.

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? If you took POL 312F you must choose a different topic than the one you did for that course.*

- Arctic Sovereignty, 2006-
- G20 Summit Diplomacy, 2008-
- G7/8 Summit Diplomacy, Muskoka 2010 & Charlevoix 2018
- Ukraine 2014-
- Controlling Climate Change, 2015-
- Feminist International Policy, 2015-
- Negotiating and Implementing CUSMA, 2017-
- Coping with China, 2018-
- Combatting COVID-19, 2019-

Note: Select and start your essay from the topics listed above at the start of the course to give yourself maximum time and to avoid any last-minute shortage of high-demand works on popular topics as the deadline approaches. The Instructor will provide on Quercus a basic bibliography of scholarly sources for each of the nine cases you can choose, to get started, but you must find more, especially scholarly ones from the most recent year(s).

In your case study, address, in order, three questions: What did the Canadian government do (in its major decisions and through the phases they form)? Why did it do it (i.e., the relative importance of the key individual, governmental, societal and external determinants)? 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? Answers to the first two questions will each constitute about 40% of the essay, those to the final question (on feasible, superior policy alternatives) 10%, and the introduction (composed of the significance of the case, competing schools of thought, “puzzles” and your thesis about what Canada did and why) 10%. Your own normative judgments should appear only very briefly in the final section, if at all, even if the literature you use is full of such criticisms and condemnations of what the Canadian government did.

In conducting your case study, you are taking up a pursuit pioneered in the scholarly study of CFP by the legendary John Holmes and continued in a looser form by 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 of what your essay should look like, 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 Quercus, 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 the specific “schools” identified from the author’s writing on the specific case examined in your paper, about what the Canadian government did in its major decisions and why); the *puzzles*, aspects of the case that existing schools of thought do not adequately describe or explain; and your *thesis* or central argument, about what the Canadian government did and why.

You must clearly state in the introduction, ideally in two to four 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 puzzles) than the existing inadequate arguments offered by the competing schools of thought.

In the beginning and body of the essay, your thesis is derived from the subject-specific competing schools of thought and the puzzles they leave. In the conclusion, you must start by summarizing how the determinants you highlight changes at the right time, in the right direction and degree, to cause the changes in the key decisions you choose and the phases they create.

To organize your essay, start with a chronological treatment of the major decisions and the resulting phases works best. Follow this with a treatment of the major changes in the external, societal, governmental and individual determinants. In each section and the conclusion, you should directly connect changes in effects (what Canada did in its major decisions) and changes in the determinants (why it did it). You must relate your analysis directly to your thesis that you specify in the introduction.

Each case covers the start date indicated above through to the present, unless an earlier end date is notified above. In a few cases you might be able to focus on a handful of major decisions (and the determinants for each), but in most cases the many decisions should be grouped into major phases, defined by the dominant direction and degree of the decisions within them.

Hand in your essay in class in typed, proofread English or French. Your essay should be at least 2,500 words or about 12 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 12 core scholarly references and a total of at least 24 citations (including from popular sources such as think tank reports, and media sources), in a style similar to those in the Kirton text. Proofread your essay before you hand it in.