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 each region. The fifth part considers Canada’s approach to world order and global governance, largely through the multilateral United Nations and the plurilateral Group of Eight (G8) and Group of Twenty (G20).
Requirements

Each student will be responsible for:

1. First-Term Test, on December 8, 2015 (the last class in the first term), written in Room UC 266 (for 25% of the final grade);
2. Research Essay of 2,500 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 23, 2016 (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 5, 2016 (the last class of second term), written in Room UC 266 (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 ROSI. 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:


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.


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 READING

On reserve in Trinity College Library. Read each week in the order listed. * Background if time and interest allow.

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,” Bratt and Kukucha, 10-18 (Also in IJ 64 (Spring): 553-564).
*Tomlin et al. (2008), 1-28.

PART I: THREE PERSPECTIVES ON CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY

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

Kirton, Chapter 3-4.

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

Kirton, Chapter 5.

5. Canada as a Principal Power: Complex Neo-Realist Perspective (October 13)
Kirton, Chapter 6.

6. Assessing the Perspectives: Relative Capability and International Behaviour (October 20)
Kirton, Chapter 7.
Lyon, Peyton and Brian Tomlin (1979), Canada As An International Actor, 56-93, 163-187.

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 the George Ignatieff Theatre
Kirton, Chapter 8.

8. Trudeau and Clark (November 3)
Kirton, Chapter 9.
Stairs, Denis, “Reviewing Foreign Policy, 1968-70,” Munton and Kirton, 189-204.
*Thordarson, Bruce, “Cutting Back on NATO, 1969,” Munton and Kirton, 174-188.
*Dewitt and Kirton, 68-84.

Fall Break: November 10: NO CLASS

9. Mulroney (November 17)
Kirton, Chapter 10.

10. Chrétien and Martin (November 24)
Kirton, Chapters 11 and 12, 155-194).
*Canada (2003), *A Dialogue on Foreign Policy: Report to Canadians* (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade).

11. Harper (December 1)

12. Term Test (December 8, written during class time in Room UC 266)

PART III — THE CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS

13. The Governmental Process (January 12)
Kirton, Chapter 13. 
*Dewitt and Kirton, 16-17, 195-234.

14. The Societal Process (January 19)

Kirton, Chapter 14.
Hale and Gattinger, eds., *Borders and Bridges*, 41-58.
*Dewitt and Kirton, 167-194.*

15. The External Process (January 26)

Kirton, Chapter 15.
Hale and Gattinger, eds., *Borders and Bridges*, 21-40.
*Lyon, Peyton and Brian Tomlin (1979), *Canada As An International Actor*, 77-94.
*Dewitt and Kirton, 117-166.

**PART IV — CANADA’S REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS**

Kirton, Chapters 16-17.
Hale and Gattinger, eds., *Borders and Bridges*, 82-99.

**17. The New North American Community (February 9)**
Kirton, Chapter 18.
Hale and Gattinger, eds., *Borders and Bridges*, 1-18, 59-76, 139-157, 158-176

**February 16: Reading Week: No Class. No Office Hours.**

**18. Europe (February 23) ESSAY DUE IN CLASS AT START**
Kirton, Chapter 19.
Hale and Gattinger, eds., Borders and Bridges, 120-137, 177-193
*Cooper 110-172, 248-256.

19. Asia Pacific (March 1)
Kirton, Chapter 20.

20. The Americas (March 8)
Kirton, Chapter 21.
*Cooper, 261-280.

**21. Africa and the Middle East (March 15)**

Kirton, Chapter 22.


*Dewitt and Kirton, 355-402.

**PART V: INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND ORDER**


Kirton, Chapter 23.


**25. Global Governance and the G8-G20 System (March 29)**

Kirton, Chapter 24.


26. FINAL TEST (April 5, written during class time in Room UC 266)

**Essay due on February 23: 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, 1993-2010
- NAFTA Chapter 11 Investor State Dispute Settlement, 1994-
- The G20, 1997-
- Post 911 Homeland Security, 2001-
- 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/NALM), 2004-
- Arctic Sovereignty, 2006-
- Climate Change, 2006-
- Energy Policy 2006-
- Middle East Diplomacy, 2006-
- Global Financial Crisis, 2007-
- G8 Muskoka Summit, 2010
- Free Trade with Europe, 2010-
- The War in Libya 2011
- Ukraine 2014-
Essay Guidelines

Note: Select and start your essay from the topics listed above early (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 2015.

a. 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 the your answers to the first two questions, 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%.

11. 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.

12. 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.

13. 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.

14. 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, 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.

15. 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. 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.

16. 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).

17. 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, in a style 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 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.

**Turnitin Details**

Class ID = 10350097
Enrolment password = pearson

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