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 multilateral United Nations and the plurilateral Group of Seven (G7) and Group of Twenty (G20). Throughout the focus is on the central contemporary issues, which are topics for the major research essay in the course.

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 of two hours in class on February 15, 2022, 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 April 5, 2022, 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 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. The 2007 book will be available at the University of Toronto Bookstore or elsewhere.
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


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.


2. The Societal Process (January 18)
Kirton, Chapter 14.

3. The External Process (January 25)
Kirton, Chapter 15.

PART II: CANADA’S REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

4. Canada–U.S. Relations: Partnership, Absorption and Adjusting America (February 1)
Kirton, Chapters 16-17.

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

6. TERM TEST (February 15)

READING WEEK: No class or office hours: February 22

7. Europe, Russia and the Arctic (March 1)
Kirton, Chapter 19.
*Hale and Gattinger, eds., Borders and Bridges, 120-137, 177-193

8. Asia (March 8)
Kirton, Chapter 20.

9. The Americas (March 15)
Kirton, Chapter 21.
*Cooper, 261-280.

10. Africa and the Middle East (March 22)
Kirton, Chapter 22.

PART III: INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND ORDER

11. The Multilateral United Nations System (March 29)
Kirton, Chapter 23.

12. The Plurilateral G7-G20 Summit System/ESSAY DUE (April 5)
Kirton, Chapter 24.
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.

- The G20, 2008-
- International Health from SARS through COVID-19, 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 term 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 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

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, your thesis is derived from the subject-specific competing schools of thought and the puzzles they leave. However, in the conclusion, you should briefly relate your argument to the larger theories and the other major relevant 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 they 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 10 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 scholarly references, in a style similar to those in the Kirton text. Proofread your essay before you hand it in.