

Carleton University
Fall 2019
Department of Political Science
<https://carleton.ca/polisci/>

PSCI 3606 A
Canadian Foreign Policy
2:35 p.m. – 5:25 p.m. Mondays
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Dr. Eric Van Rythoven
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1. Course Overview

When should Canada intervene militarily in other countries? Should the focus of Canada's international engagement be multilateral institutions or bilateral agreements? How should Canada manage an increasingly fraught relationship with the United States? What does the future of liberal international order hold for Canadian foreign policy objectives? And just who is responsible for making Canadian foreign policy anyways?

Each of these questions grows in significance as globalization further deepens the connections between domestic Canadian politics and its international environment. To understand these questions this course provides students with a broad introduction to the study of Canadian foreign policy. Focusing primarily on the post-Cold War and post-9/11 periods, the course examines key themes and processes including domestic and international sources of foreign policy, security, trade, and Canada-US relations.

2. Aims and Objectives

This course aims to deepen students' general knowledge of Canadian foreign policy and to provide them with the conceptual tools to critically assess contemporary developments in Canada's international affairs. The course begins with an overview of key theories of foreign policy including Liberal Internationalism, Complex Neorealism, Dependency Theories, as well as more recent approaches. The second part of the course examines the main sources of Canadian foreign policy including domestic actors, such as the role of Prime Ministers and Parliament, and external sources, such as American unipolarity and international institutions. The final part of the course engages with key issues and themes including defence and security, trade, gender, and indigenous diplomacy.

By the end of the course students will be able to:

- demonstrate factual knowledge about the historical and contemporary practice of Canadian foreign policy;
- explain central concepts and theories in the study of foreign policy;
- identify key sources of foreign policy behaviour; and
- critically analyze and assess contemporary developments in Canada's international affairs.

3. Required Texts

Duane Bratt & Christopher J. Kukucha eds., *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates & New Ideas*, 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

The textbook can be purchased at the Carleton University bookstore. A reserve copy will be available at the library. All other required readings will be posted on cuLearn.

4. Evaluation

Group Presentation	20%
Research Essay	30%
Midterm Exam	20%
Take-Home Exam	30%

Group Presentation (20%)

In small groups students will be responsible for delivering one class presentation based on an assigned academic article. Presentation readings can be found in the course schedule below. The presentation will consist of 1) a brief analytical summary of the article, 2) an assessment of the article's strength and weaknesses, 3) its significance to the broader study of Canadian foreign policy, and 4) at least two discussion questions for the class. The presentation will be **20 minutes** long, include a power point presentation, and be accompanied by a *1-page* single-spaced summary prepared for other students. At the conclusion of the presentation the group will lead a brief class discussion of the article for **10 minutes**.

The presentation will be evaluated based on content, collaboration, organization, and presentation style. Following the presentation, students will email the Instructor a brief 1-paragraph summary of each individual member's contribution to the project. Sign up for presentations begins on September 9th, and presentations will begin on September 23rd. Sign up is organized on a first-come-first-serve basis. Students who do not sign up for presentation by September 23rd will be assigned a group by the Instructor.

Beyond their selected presentation article, students are not required to read any of the other presentation articles, but they are highly recommended.

Research Paper (30%)

Students will write a research paper which explains a select issue in Canadian foreign policy. The focus of the essay will be twofold: (1) which of the theories discussed in class best explains this foreign policy, and (2) what are the key sources driving this foreign policy behaviour. The essay should incorporate course material as well as independent research. Students may pick from the following topics:

- Canada's mission against ISIL
- Canada's current diplomatic dispute with China
- The renegotiation of NAFTA
- Canada's Feminist foreign policy
- Canada's response to the global refugee crisis
- The Paris Climate Accord
- UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

This is an argumentative paper. It requires you to take a position on which theory best explains your issue, and which sources of foreign policy are the most significant. Your paper must do more than just describe what is occurring. A good paper you will (a) tersely summarize the issue; (b) identify the theory which best explains the issue; (c) identify the key sources driving this behaviour. Your grade will reflect how well you satisfy these three criteria. The research paper should be 3000 words in length (footnotes, bibliography and cover page do not count towards this total). The research papers are due on November 25th in class.

Late Paper Policy: Papers are deducted 3% for each day they are late (e.g. an 80% grade becomes 77% for 1 day late).

Midterm Exam (20%)

The midterm exam will be written in class and covers readings and lectures from weeks 1 - 8. The exam will be divided between multiple choice, short answer, and long-form essay questions. Students will have three hours to write the exam. The midterm exam will be held on November 4th.

Take-Home Exam (30%)

The final exam for this course will be an open book take-home exam. The exam will be focused on long-form essay questions and will cover material from the entire course. Sources must be cited appropriately in either Chicago or APA styles. Students will be issued the examination questions at the end of the final class on Friday, December 6th. The exams are due on December 21st at 9:00am and must be submitted electronically via cuLearn. It is acceptable to participate in group discussions as you prepare for the written exam, but your exam must be written by you alone.

5. Schedule and Assigned Readings

Week 1 – September 9th | *What is Canadian Foreign Policy?*

Nossal, K. R., S. Roussel and S. Paquin (2015). Introduction: Analyzing Canadian Foreign Policy. *The Politics of Canadian Foreign Policy*, 1-15.

Momani, Bessma (2017). "Canadian Foreign Policy from the roaring 1990s." International Journal 72(2): 192-202.

No presentations this week.

Part 1 – Theories of Canadian Foreign Policy

Week 2 – September 16th | *Liberal Internationalism & Complex Neorealism*

Holmes, J.W. "Most Safely in the Middle" in Bratt & Kukucha, 42-67.

Paris, R. (2014). "Are Canadians still liberal internationalists? Foreign policy and public opinion in the Harper era." International Journal 69(3): 274-307.

Dewitt, D.B. & J. Kirton "Three Theoretical Perspectives" in Bratt and Kukucha, 68-91.

No presentations this week.

Week 3 – September 23rd | *Peripheral Dependence & Critical Perspectives*

Clarkson, S. "The Choice to Be Made" in Bratt and Kukucha, 92-112.

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

McMahon, S. "Hegemony in the Local Order and Accumulation in the Global: Canada and Libya" in Bratt and Kukucha, 122-135.

Presentation Reading:

de Larrinaga, M. & M.B. Salter (2014). "Cold CASE: a manifesto for Canadian critical security studies" Critical Studies on Security 2(1): 1-19.

Part 2 – Sources of Canadian Foreign Policy

Week 4 – September 30th | *Prime Ministers, Parliaments, and Parties*

Gecelovsky, P. "Of Legacies and Lightning Bolts: An Updated Look at the Prime Minister and Canadian Foreign Policy" in Bratt and Kukucha, 213-223.

Schmitz, G.J. "Parliament and Canadian Foreign Policy: Between Paradox and Potential" in Bratt and Kukucha, 224-238.

Bow, B. & D. Black (2009). "Does Politics Stop at the Water's Edge in Canada? Party and Partisanship in Canadian Foreign Policy." International Journal 64(1): 7-27.

Presentation Reading:

Hillmer, N. and P. Lagassé (2016). "Parliament will decide: An interplay of politics and principle." International Journal 71(2): 328-337.

Week 5 – October 7th | *Domestic Institutions & the International Environment*

Dutil, P. "The Institutionalization of Foreign Affairs (1909-2013)" in Bratt and Kukucha, 239-258.

Kirkey, C. and Hawes, M. "Canada in an Age of Unipolarity: Structural Change and Canadian Foreign Policy." in Bratt and Kukucha, 144-154.

Drolet, J.F. and M.C. Williams (2019) "The view from MARS: US paleoconservatism and ideological challenges to the liberal world order." International Journal 74(1): 15-31.

Presentation Reading:

Charbonneau, B. and W.S. Cox (2008). "Global Order, US Hegemony and Military Integration: The Canadian-American Defense Relationship." International Political Sociology 2(4): 305-321.

Week 6 – October 14th | *Thanksgiving Holiday – No Class*****

Week 7 – October 21st | *Reading Week – No Class*****

Week 8 – October 28th | *History, Ideas, and Identity*

Turenne Sjolander, C. (2014). "Through the looking glass: Canadian identity and the War of 1812." International Journal 69(2): 152-167.

Nossal, K. R. (2011). "Don't talk about the neighbours: Canada and the regional politics of the Afghanistan mission." Canadian Foreign Policy Journal 17(1): 9-22.

Chapnick, A. (2005). "Peace, Order, and Good Government: The "Conservative" Tradition in Canadian Foreign Policy." International Journal 60(3): 635-650.

Presentation Reading:

Massie, J. (2009). "Making sense of Canada's "irrational" international security policy: A tale of three strategic cultures." International Journal 64(3): 625-645.

Week 9 – November 4th | Midterm Exam

Review all readings to this point

Part 3 – Key Issues in Canadian Foreign Policy

Week 10 – November 11th | *Canada-US Relations*

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

Kitchen, V.M. (2013). "Where Is Internationalism? Canada-US Relations in the Context of the Global and the Local." in *Canada in the World: Internationalism in Canadian Foreign Policy*. Eds, H.A. Smith and C. Turenne Sjolander, 164-182.

Cox, R. (2005). "A Canadian Dilemma: The United States or the World." International Journal 60(3): 667-684.

Presentation Reading:

Blank, S. and M. Gattinger (2018). "Canada-US Relations Under President Trump: Stop Reading the Tweets and Look to the Future." in *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy*. Eds, N. Hillmer and P. Lagassé, 83-102.

Week 11 – November 18th | *Defence and Security*

Nossal, K.R. "Defending Canada" in Bratt and Kukucha, 155-170.

Harvey, F.P. (2005). "Canada's Addiction to American Security: The Illusion of Choice in the War on Terrorism." American Review of Canadian Studies 35(2): 265-294.

Kirkey, C. and N. Ostroy (2010). "Why Is Canada in Afghanistan? Explaining Canada's Military Commitment." American Review of Canadian Studies 40(2): 200-213.

Presentation Reading:

Ettinger, A. and J. Rice (2016). "Hell is other people's schedules: Canada's limited-term military commitments, 2001–2015." International Journal 71(3): 371-392.

Week 12 – November 25th | *Trade*

*****Research Paper Due*****

Kukucha, C.J. (2016) "Canada's Incremental Foreign Trade Policy." In *The Harper Era in Canadian Foreign Policy*. Eds, A. Chapnick and C.J. Kukucha, 195-209.

Lilly, M.B. (2018). "International Trade: The Rhetoric and Reality of the Trudeau Government's Progressive Trade Agenda." in *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy*. Eds, N. Hillmer and P. Lagassé, 125-144.

Levin Bonder, J. (2018). "The threats and mirages of Canada-US trade history." *Policy Options*. <http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/june-2018/the-threats-and-mirages-of-canada-us-trade-history/>.

Presentation Reading:

McKercher, A. and L. Sarson (2016). "Dollars and sense? The Harper government, economic diplomacy, and Canadian foreign policy." *International Journal* 71(3): 351-370.

Week 13 – December 2nd | Gender and Foreign Policy

Tiessen, R. and E. Swan (2018). "Canada's Feminist Foreign Policy Promises: An Ambitious Agenda for Gender Equality, Human Rights, Peace, and Security." in *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy*. Eds, N. Hillmer and P. Lagassé, 187-205.

Vucetic, S. (2017). "A nation of feminist arms dealers? Canada and military exports." *International Journal* 72(4): 503-519.

Lane, A. (2017). "Special men: The gendered militarization of the Canadian Armed Forces." *International Journal* 72(4): 463-483.

Presentation Reading:

Tiessen R. and K. Carrier (2015). "The erasure of 'gender' in Canadian foreign policy under the Harper Conservatives: the significance of the discursive shift from 'gender equality' to 'equality between women and men'." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 21(2): 95-111.

Week 14 – December 6th | Indigenous Diplomacies?

King, H. (2017). "The erasure of Indigenous thought in foreign policy". *Open Canada*. <https://www.opencanada.org/features/erasure-indigenous-thought-foreign-policy/>.

Lightfoot, S. (2018). "A Promise Too Far? The Justin Trudeau Government and Indigenous Rights." in *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy*. Eds, N. Hillmer and P. Lagassé, 165-185.

Lackenbauer, P.W. and A.F. Cooper (2007). "The Achilles heel of Canadian international citizenship: Indigenous diplomacies and state responses." Canadian Foreign Policy Journal 13(3): 99-119.

Presentation Reading:

Bell, C. and K. Schriener (2018). "The International Relations of Police Power in Settler Colonialism: The "civilizing" mission of Canada's Mounties." International Journal 73(1): 111-128.

6. Academic Accommodations

Requests for Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Religious obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. carleton.ca/pmc

Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and is survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and

to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support

Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist.

<https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline

Plagiarism

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission and Return of Term Work

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Approval of final grades

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts

All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Carleton Political Science Society

"The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out

more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/> and our website <https://carletonpss.com/>, or stop by our office in Loeb D688!"

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.