

**PSCI 3606 A**  
**Canadian Foreign Policy**  
Thursdays 8:35 a.m. – 11:25 a.m.  
In-person (confirm location on Carleton Central)

**Instructor:** Dr. Eric Van Rythoven

**Office Hours:** By Zoom appointment on Wednesdays between 10:00am – 12:00pm

**Email:** ericvanrythoven@cmail.carleton.ca

**Contact Policy:** Email is the best way to contact me. I will normally reply within 24-48 hours, weekends excluded. Please include the course code in the subject line of the email. For longer questions I recommend scheduling a zoom appointment. All email must be through official Carleton university email accounts and not personal email.

## 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, Canada-US relations, as well as Canada-China 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, gender, indigenous diplomacy, as well as Canada-China relations.

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 via the Carleton University bookstore or the online retailer of your choice. Unfortunately, due to current library restrictions a physical copy will not be available on reserve. Electronic copies are also not available. All other required readings will be posted on Brightspace.

### 4. Evaluation

<u>Item</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Timeline</u>
Group Presentation	20%	According to the Presentation Schedule
Social Reading	20%	Weekly Starting on September 15 <sup>th</sup>
Midterm Exam	25%	November 3 <sup>rd</sup>
Research Essay	35%	December 9 <sup>th</sup> at 11:59pm

#### Group Presentation (20%)

In small groups students will be responsible for delivering a class presentation based on an assigned academic article. Presentation articles can be found in the course schedule below. The presentation will be **20 minutes** long and 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
4. at least two discussion questions for the class.

At the conclusion of the presentation the group will lead a brief class discussion of the article for **10 minutes**. This means the entire presentation will last **30 minutes**. The presentation must also include power point slides and be accompanied by a \*1-page\* single-spaced summary handout for other students.

The presentation will be evaluated based on content, collaboration, organization, and presentation style, as well as the quality of their power point and summary handout. Following the presentation, students will email the Instructor a brief 1-paragraph summary of each member's contribution to the project. These responses will help inform my decision as to whether a group member will receive a different grade from the rest of the group.

Sign up for presentations begins on September 8<sup>th</sup>, and presentations will begin on September 22<sup>nd</sup>. Sign up is organized on a first-come-first-serve basis. Students who do not sign up for presentation by September 29<sup>th</sup> 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 recommended.

### Weekly Social Reading (20%)

Starting on September 15<sup>th</sup>, students will cover a portion of the class reading through the social annotation platform Perusall each week. In an assigned group students will asynchronously read, highlight, raise questions, post comments, and interact with each other in a conversation anchored to a class reading. Other students in your group, as well as the Instructor, will be able to see your annotations and respond directly to them. You can use annotations to:

- Highlight key definitions, concepts, and arguments
- Flag passages you find interesting or relevant to international politics or contemporary events more broadly
- Raise questions over material you do not understand
- Insert criticism of an author's argument (e.g. evidence, logic, conclusiveness)
- Connect a reading to other texts and material we have covered in class
- Respond to another students comments (e.g. signaling points of agreement or disagreement)

The goal of social reading is to approach challenging academic texts in a cooperative manner, rather than have students read them in isolation. Students will be graded on their contribution to social reading based on the rubric posted on Brightspace. Grading will occur at **four random times** during the semester. You can see the social reading schedule, grading rubric, and instructions for logging into Perusall on the Brightspace course page. We will cover sign-up for Perusall on our first class.

**Due dates:** Your annotations to a reading must be completed before we discuss that reading in class.

### Midterm Exam (20%)

The midterm exam will be written in class and covers readings and lectures from classes 1 - 6. The exam will be divided between multiple choice and short answer

questions. Students will have two hours to write the exam. The midterm exam will be held on November 3<sup>rd</sup>.

### Research Essay (35%)

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 response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine
- Canada's diplomatic dispute with China
- Canada's Feminist foreign policy
- Canada's response to the global refugee crisis
- 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 - 3500 words in length (footnotes, bibliography and cover page do not count towards this total). Papers are due on December 9<sup>th</sup> at 11:59pm and must be submitted via Brightspace.

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

## **5. Schedule and Assigned Readings**

*Please note: Readings listed as 'in Bratt & Kukucha' are from the textbook*

### **Class 1 – September 8<sup>th</sup> | *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.

*No presentations this week.*

### **Part 1 – Theories of Canadian Foreign Policy**

### **Class 2 – September 15<sup>th</sup> | *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

### **Class 3 – September 22<sup>nd</sup> | *Peripheral Dependence & Critical Perspectives***

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

Wegner, N. (2017). "Discursive battlefields: Support(ing) the troops in Canada." International Journal 72(4): 444-462.

Presentation Reading:

Midzain-Gobin, L. & H. Smith (2021). "Debunking the Myth of Canada as a Non-Colonial Power." American Review of Canadian Studies 50(4): 479-497.

## **Part 2 – Sources of Canadian Foreign Policy**

### **Class 4 – September 29<sup>th</sup> | *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.

**No Class – October 6<sup>th</sup> | \*\*\**Instructor is Travelling*\*\*\***

### **Class 5 - October 13<sup>th</sup> | *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.

**Class 6 – October 20<sup>th</sup> | *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.

**No Class – October 27<sup>th</sup> | \*\*\*Fall Break\*\*\***

**Class 7 – November 3<sup>rd</sup> | Midterm Exam**

Review all readings to this point

**Part 3 – Key Issues in Canadian Foreign Policy**

**Class 8 – November 10<sup>th</sup> | *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.

Greaves, W. (2020). "Democracy, Donald Trump and the Canada-US Security Community." Canadian Journal of Political Science 53(4): 800-820.

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.

**Class 9 – November 17<sup>th</sup> | 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.

Greaves, W. (2021). "Climate change and security in Canada." International Journal 76.2 (2021): 183-203.

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.

**Class 10 – November 24<sup>th</sup> | 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.

Smith, H. and T. Ajadi (2020). "Canada's feminist foreign policy and human security compared." International Journal 75(3): 367-382.

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.

**Class 11 – December 1<sup>st</sup> | 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.

**Class 12 – December 8<sup>th</sup> | *Canada-China Relations***

Paris, R. (2019). "Alone in the world?: Making sense of Canada's disputes with Saudi Arabia and China." International Journal 74(1): 151-161.

Massot, P. (2019). "Global order, US–China relations, and Chinese behaviour: The ground is shifting, Canada must adjust." International Journal 74(4): 600-611.

Calvert, P. (2018). "Justin Trudeau's China Challenges." in *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy*. Eds, N. Hillmer and P. Lagassé, 145-164.

Presentation Reading

Nossal, K.R. and L. Sarson (2014). "About face: explaining changes in Canada's China policy, 2006–2012." Canadian Journal of Foreign Policy 20(2): 146-162.

## **6. Appendix**

### **Covid-19 Pandemic Measures**

It is important to remember that COVID is still present in Ottawa. The situation can change at any time and the risks of new variants and outbreaks are very real. There are [a number of actions you can take](#) to lower your risk and the risk you pose to those around you including being vaccinated, wearing a mask, staying home when you're sick, washing your hands and maintaining proper respiratory and cough etiquette.

**Feeling sick?** Remaining vigilant and not attending work or school when sick or with symptoms is critically important. If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms do not come to class or campus. If you feel ill or exhibit symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately. In all situations, you should follow Carleton's [symptom reporting protocols](#).

**Masks:** Masks are no longer mandatory in university buildings and facilities. However, we continue to recommend masking when indoors, particularly if physical distancing cannot be maintained. We are aware that personal preferences regarding optional mask use will vary greatly, and we ask that we all show consideration and care for each other during this transition.

**Vaccines:** While proof of vaccination is no longer required to access campus or participate in in-person Carleton activities, it may become necessary for the University to bring back proof of vaccination requirements on short notice if the situation and public health advice changes. Students are strongly encouraged to get a full course of vaccination, including booster doses as soon as they are eligible and submit their booster dose information in [cuScreen](#) as soon as possible. Please note that Carleton cannot guarantee that it will be able to offer virtual or hybrid learning options for those who are unable to attend the campus.

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow requirements and guidelines regarding health and safety which may change from time to time. For the most recent information about Carleton's COVID-19 response and health and safety requirements please see the [University's COVID-19 website](#) and review the [Frequently Asked Questions \(FAQs\)](#). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact [covidinfo@carleton.ca](mailto:covidinfo@carleton.ca).

## **Student Mental Health**

As a university student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

**Emergency Resources (on and off campus):** <https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

- **Carleton Resources:**

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>
- Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
- Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>
- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

- **Off Campus Resources:**

- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
- Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>

- Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

## **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 accommodation:*** 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](https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf).

***Religious accommodation:*** 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](https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf).

***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](mailto: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, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more details, please visit [carleton.ca/pmc](https://carleton.ca/pmc).

***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 engage in student activities 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](https://students.carleton.ca/course-outline).

## **Sexual Violence Policy**

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated. 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](https://carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support).

## **Plagiarism**

Carleton's [Academic Integrity Policy](#) defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This includes 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. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include, but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, websites, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one’s own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

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.

More information on the University’s Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: <https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>.

## **Intellectual property**

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. The departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

### **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

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 Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

### **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/>.

## **Official Course Outline**

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