

PSCI 3606 A
Canadian Foreign Policy
Wednesday 11:35 a.m. – 2:25 p.m.

Instructor: Dr. Eric Van Rythoven

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

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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 an official Carleton University email account.

1. Course Overview

This course takes place during an unprecedented rupture in Canada-U.S. relations. The United States, Canada's longstanding ally and trade partner, has launched a costly trade war and repeatedly threatened Canada with annexation. Canadian Foreign Policy, normally a niche topic, is now a national preoccupation. From leaders whose days are dominated with questions of how to respond to the Trump administration, to everyday citizens who check the country-of-origin on grocery store products, the question of what is Canada's foreign policy—and what should it be—has attracted more attention than it has in decades.

Much of this course will offer a conventional introduction to the study of Canadian Foreign Policy, focusing primarily on the post-Cold War and post-9/11 periods. In doing so, it will cover many of the same theories, themes, and processes as any other course in Canadian Foreign Policy. A newer, more experimental part of this course, however, will be focused on the current deterioration of Canada-U.S. relations, and what it means for the field. How do the Trump administration's actions, as well as the Canadian response, challenge or support the central theories, ideas, and arguments in the study of Canadian Foreign Policy? What did scholars get right, what did they get wrong, and what does this current episode mean for the future of Canadian Foreign Policy?

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 classic theories of Canadian 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. The course closes with an examination of some of the initial impacts of the second Trump administration.

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. Course Format

This course will be held synchronously online using Zoom.

4. Required Texts

Duane Bratt & Christopher J. Kukucha eds., *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates & New Ideas*, 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. (\$151.99 for hardcopy, \$57.99 for eBook)

The textbook can be purchased via the Carleton University bookstore or the online retailer of your choice. All other required readings will be posted on Brightspace free of charge.

5. Statement on Generative AI

The use of generative AI for any assignment for this course—with the exception of Grammarly—is expressly forbidden and will be treated as an academic integrity issue.

It is highly recommended students do not use generative AI to create class notes, study guides, practice questions, summarize readings, outline assignments, or for any other academic exercise in this course. I recommend this for two reasons. First, large language models like ChatGPT are notoriously inaccurate. Some people call these errors 'hallucinations' but this reflects a misunderstanding of how these models work. ChatGPT is not designed to tell you what is accurate. It can only tell you what is the statistically likely next word in a string of text based on the data it was trained on.

Second, you are taking this course to develop your own skills and knowledge. Having ChatGPT read an article for you is not going to make you a better reader, expand your vocabulary, or make you more informed about the world. You would not pay to go to

the gym and then have someone else exercise for you. You should not pay to take a class and then have an AI do assignments for you.

I reserve the right to ask students to submit evidence of their own research and/or call-in students for an oral defense of any submitted assignment to test their familiarity with the arguments and sources that they have presented.

6. Evaluation at a Glance

<u>Item</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Timeline</u>
Group Presentation	20%	According to the presentation schedule
Social Reading	20%	Graded at random four times during the semester
Midterm Exam	25%	October 15 th
Research Essay	35%	December 5 th 11:59pm

7. Evaluation in Detail

Group Presentation (20%)

In small groups students will be responsible for delivering an in-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 including its central argument
2. an assessment of the article's strengths 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 of the key points of the presentation.

The presentation will be evaluated based on content, collaboration, organization, and presentation style, as well as the quality of their power point and summary. Students who do not contribute equitably to the group project will receive a reduced grade.

Sign up for presentations begins on September 3rd, and presentations will begin on September 17th. Sign up is organized on a first-come-first-serve basis. Students who do not sign up for a presentation by September 10th will be automatically assigned a group. Beyond their selected presentation article, students are not required to read any of the other presentation articles, but they are recommended.

Social Reading (20%)

Starting on September 10th, students will cover a portion of each class reading through the social annotation platform Perusall. 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 other 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 in our first class.

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

Midterm Exam (25%)

The midterm exam will be written in-class using Brightspace and covers readings and lectures from classes 1 - 6. The exam will be divided between multiple choice, true or false, and short answer questions. Students will have two hours to write the exam. The midterm exam will be held on October 15th.

While students may use their class notes during the exam, the use of any other sources or online services is prohibited.

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 of this foreign policy behaviour. The essay should incorporate course material as well as independent research. Students may choose from the following topics:

- The Canada-U.S. trade war

- 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 will (a) briefly 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 2500 - 3000 words in length (footnotes, bibliography and cover page do not count towards this total). Papers are due on December 5th 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).

8. Schedule and Assigned Readings

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

Class 1 – September 3rd | *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 class.

Part 1 – Theories of Canadian Foreign Policy

Class 2 – September 10th | *Liberal & Realist Theories*

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 class

Class 3 – September 17th | *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 24th | *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.

Class 5 – October 1st | *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:

Gheciu, Alexandra (2019). "NATO, liberal internationalism, and the politics of imagining the Western security community." International Journal 74(1): 32-46.

Class 6 – October 8th | *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.

Class 7 – October 15th | Midterm Exam

Review all lectures and readings to this point.

No Class – October 22nd | No Class (Reading Week)

Part 3 – Key Issues in Canadian Foreign Policy

Class 8 – October 29th | 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 5th | Defence and Security

Nossal, K.R. "Defending Canada" in Bratt and Kukucha, 295-307.

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 12th | 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.

Robinson, F. (2021). "Feminist foreign policy as ethical foreign policy? A care ethics perspective." Journal of International Political Theory 17(1): 20-37.

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 – November 19th | 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 – November 26th | *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.

Class 13 – December 3rd | *Canada-U.S. Relations After Trump*

Readings TBA

8. Appendix

Political Science Course Outline Appendix

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:

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/>
ood2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

Academic consideration for medical or other extenuating circumstances: Students must contact the instructor(s) of their absence or inability to complete the academic deliverable within the predetermined timeframe due to medical or other extenuating circumstances. For a range of medical or other extenuating circumstances, students may use the online self-declaration form and where appropriate, the use of medical documentation. This policy regards the accommodation of extenuating circumstances for both short-term and long-term periods and extends to all students enrolled at Carleton University.

Students should also consult the [Course Outline Information on Academic Accommodations](#) for more information. Detailed information about the procedure for requesting academic consideration can be found [here](#).

Pregnancy: 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 accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, please contact Equity and Inclusive Communities (EIC) at equity@carleton.ca or by calling (613) 520-5622 to speak to an Equity Advisor.

Religious obligation: 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 [click here](#).

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, please request your accommodations for this course through the [Ventus Student Portal](#) at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). Requests made within two weeks will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. For final exams, the deadlines to request accommodations are published in the [University Academic Calendars](#). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally scheduled exam (if applicable).

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 its 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: <https://carleton.ca/equity/sexual-assault-support-services>.

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 will be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Write to me 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.

PETITIONS TO DEFER

Students unable to write a final examination because of illness or other circumstances beyond their control may apply within **three working days** to the Registrar's Office for permission to write a deferred examination. The request must be fully supported by the appropriate documentation. Only deferral petitions submitted to the Registrar's Office will be considered. [See Undergraduate Calendar, Article 4.3](#)

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). Permissibility of submitting substantially the same piece of work more than once for academic credit. If group or collaborative work is expected or allowed, provide a clear and

specific description of how and to what extent you consider collaboration to be acceptable or appropriate, especially in the completion of written assignments.

WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT ACADEMIC PENALTY

Please reference the [Academic Calendar](#) for each term's official withdrawal dates

OFFICIAL FINAL EXAMINATION PERIOD

Please reference the [Academic Calendar](#) for each term's Official Exam Period (may include evenings & Saturdays or Sundays)

For more information on the important dates and deadlines of the academic year, consult the [Carleton Calendar](#).

GRADING SYSTEM

The grading system is described in the Undergraduate Calendar section [5.4](#).

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

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Academic integrity is an essential element of a productive and successful career as a student. Students are required to familiarize themselves with the university's [Academic Integrity Policy](#).

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:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT);
- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, 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 that cannot be resolved directly by the course's instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts 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 can include a final grade of "F" for the course.

RESOURCES (613-520-2600, phone ext.)

Department of Political Science (2777)	B640 Loeb
Registrar's Office (3500)	300 Tory
Centre for Student Academic Success (3822)	4 th floor Library
Academic Advising Centre (7850)	302 Tory
Paul Menton Centre (6608)	501 Nideyinàn
Career Services (6611)	401 Tory