

**PSCI 5601F**  
**Analysis of Canadian Foreign Policy**  
**Wednesday 8:35-11:25 a.m.**  
**Please confirm location on Carleton Central**

Instructor: Dr. Stephen Gallagher  
Office: B646 Loeb  
Office Hours: Wednesday: 12-1 PM  
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**I. Course Description:**

My objective is to analyze the theory, development, context and current state of Canadian foreign policy. I have also selected three policy issues for examination in greater detail. Students should be aware that this is a research seminar therefore a significant level of student participation and initiative is required. In addition, students are provided an opportunity to undertake focused research on an issue or case of their choosing related to Canada's contemporary foreign policy.

**II. Required Readings:**

**Required readings** are marked with an asterisk (\*). Other relevant texts are noted. In most cases the required readings will be available on Webct. Note: adjustments may be made to the reading list to reflect the evolution of seminar discussion.

**III. Evaluation/Course Requirements:**

Class Participation/Presentation	20%
Paper presentation and discussant role	20%.
Research Paper (Requirements set out below)	40% (Due two weeks after presentation)
Final in class review examination	20% (December 2)

1. Class Participation/Presentation 20%  
Students will be expected to participate in class discussion. In addition students will be assigned a reading or readings for which they are responsible for presenting and leading discussion. Students will be expected to lead discussion on at least one reading during the course.

2. Paper presentation and discussant role 20%.  
In the dates for paper presentations students will be required to fulfil the basic requirements of giving a paper at a simulated academic conference. Students will be expected to give a paper on one panel and act as a discussant on another. Students may also choose to chair a

panel. Panel chairs and discussants are responsible for providing a short written critique of the papers they review.

3. Research Paper (Requirements set out below) 40% (Due two weeks after presentation)
4. Final in class review examination 20% (December 2)

#### **IV. Research Paper:**

Your research paper should number approximately 5000 words (7000 maximum) and may focus on a topic of your choice. The paper must be presented to the seminar on a date which will be determined early in the course. A draft must be presented to your 'panel' chair and your discussants at least one week before it is presented. The student then must submit to me the final version not more than two weeks after it is presented. Students must take into consideration the comments made by the panel chair and discussants in the final draft of the paper. The paper should provide an analysis of a specific issue or case of Canada's foreign policy (Note: research effort is the primary criteria of evaluation). Papers must contain all the elements expected in an academic paper (e.g., a title page, footnotes, bibliography, etc.).

### **COURSE OUTLINE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY**

#### **PART 1: THEORY, DEVELOPMENT AND NATURE OF CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY**

##### **1. Introduction (September 16)**

-\*Paul Gecelovsky and Christopher J Kukucha, "Canadian Foreign Policy: A Progressive or Stagnating Field of Study?" *Canadian Foreign Policy* (Spring 2008).

##### **2. Theoretical Interpretations of the Nature of Canadian Foreign Policy (September 23)**

-\*John Kirton, *Canadian Foreign Policy in a Changing World*. (Thomson-Nelson, 2007), Part 1.

-\*Kim Richard Nossal, *The Politics of Canadian Foreign Policy*. 2nd edition (Prentice-Hall, 1989) Chapter 3.

-\*Adam Chapnick, "The Canadian Middle Power Myth," *International Journal* (Spring 2000).

-Andrew Cooper, Introduction. *Canadian Foreign Policy: Old Habits and New Directions*. (Prentice Hall Can., 1997).

-Steven Holloway, *Canadian Foreign Policy: Defining the National Interest*. (Broadview 2006) Chapter 1.

-Brian Tomlin, Norman Hillmer and Fen Hampson, *Canada's International Policies Agendas, Alternatives, and Politics*, (2008) Chapter 1.

### **3. Historical Development of Canadian Foreign Policy Part 1: From the founding of DEA to Mulroney (September 30)**

- \*James Eayrs, "A Low Dishonest Decade": Aspects of Canadian External Policy, 1931-1939," in *The Growth of Canadian Policies in External Affairs*. H. Keenleyside, et al., eds. (Duke University Press, 1960).
- \*Peyton V. Lyon, "The Evolution of Canadian Diplomacy since 1945." *In From Mackenzie King to Pierre Trudeau* edited by Paul Painchaud, (Les Presses De L' University Laval, 1989).
- \*Jack Granatstein, "Preparing for the Millennium: The Trudeau and Mulroney Defence and Foreign Policy Reviews," in *Canada on the Threshold of the 21st Century*, C. Remie and J.-M. Lacroix, eds., (John Benjamins Publishing, 1991)
- Government of Canada, DEA, *Competitiveness and Security*. (May 1985).
- J.L. Granatstein and R. Bothwell, *Pirouette in Power*. (1990).
- John Holmes, *The Shaping of Peace: Canada and the Search for World Order, 1943-57*. 2 Vol., (1979, 1982).
- C.P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict*. 2 Volumes.

### **4. Historical Development of Canadian Foreign Policy Part 2: Chrétien's Foreign Policy (October 7)**

- \*Denis Stairs, "The Public Politics of the Canadian Defence and Foreign Policy Reviews," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 3:1 (1995).
- \*Graham Fraser, "Liberal Continuities: Jean Chrétien's Foreign Policy 1993-2003," in *Canada Among Nations, 2004* Edited by D. Carment, F. Hampson and N. Hillmer, (McGill-Queens, 2005).
- \*Denis Stairs, "Canada in the 1990s: speak loudly and carry a bent twig," *Policy Options* (IRPP, January-February 2001).
- E. Potter, "Niche Diplomacy and Canadian Foreign Policy," *International Journal* 52:1 (1996-7).
- Government of Canada, DFAIT, *Canada in the World*. (1995).

### **5. Policy Inputs: Parliament, Parties, Interest Groups and Public Service (October 14)**

- \*Gerald Schmitz and James Lee, "Split Images and Serial Affairs: Reviews, Reorganizations, and Parliamentary Roles," *Canada Among Nations 2006*. Edited by Andrew F. Cooper and Dane Rowlands (McGill-Queens Press, 2006).
- \*James M. McCormick, "Democratizing Canadian Foreign Policy," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 13.1 (2006): 113-33
- \*Daryl Copeland, "New Rabbits, Old Hats: International Policy and Canada's Foreign Service in an Era of Reduced Diplomatic Resources," *International Journal* 60.3 (2005): 743-64
- James Bartleman, *On Six Continents: A Life in Canada Foreign Service 1966-2002*

(McClelland and Stewart, 2004).

-Robert Wolfe, *Diplomatic Missions: The Ambassador in Canadian Foreign Policy*. (1998).

-C. Hantel-Fraser, *No Fixed Address*. (1993).

-D. Story, *The Canadian Foreign Service in Transition*. (1993).

-Marcel Cadieux, *The Canadian Diplomat*. (1963).

## **6. Recent Trends in Government Policy: The New World of Minority Governments, Declinism and Public Diplomacy (October 21)**

-\*Hogg, William. "Plus ça change: Continuity, change and culture in foreign policy white papers," *International Journal* (Summer 2004).

-\*Thomas Axworthy, "New Bottles for Old Wine: Implementing the International Policy Statement," in *Canada Among Nations, 2005* Edited by A. Cooper and Dane Rowlands (McGill-Queens Press, 2005).

-\*John Kirton, "Harper's "Made in Canada" Global Leadership," in *Canada Among Nations, 2006*

-Government of Canada, *Canada's International Policy Statement: A Role of Pride and Influence in the World, Overview*. (2005).

-Government of Canada, *Securing An Open Society: Canada's National Security Policy*. (April 2004).

-Even Potter, *Branding Canada*. (2009)

-Daryl Copeland, *Guerrilla Diplomacy: Rethinking International Relations*. (2009).

## **PART 2: ISSUES/CASE STUDIES**

### **7. Canada-U.S. Relations – Towards a Continental Security Perimeter? (October 28)**

-\*Christopher Sands, *Toward a New Frontier: Improving the U.S.-Canadian Border*.<sup>6</sup> (The Brookings Institution, 2009).

-\*Christopher Sands, "The Rising Importance of Third-Country Issues in Canada's Relations with the United States," in *Canada Among Nations, 2006*.

-\*Joel J Sokolsky; Philippe Lagassé, "Suspenders and a Belt: Perimeter and Border Security in Canada-US," *Canadian Foreign Policy* (2005/2006).

-\*Christopher Rudolph, "Homeland Security and International Migration: Toward a North American Security Perimeter?" Paper prepared for the IRPP Conference on North American Integration: Migration, Trade and Security, Ottawa, April 2004.

-Charles Doran, "Canada-US Relations: Personality, Pattern and Domestic Politics," in *Handbook of CFP*, edited by P. James, N. Michaud, and M. O'Reilly (Lexington Books, 2006) 389-408.

-Charles Doran, *Forgotten Partnership: United States-Canadian Relations Today*. (Washington: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1984).

### **8. Canada's Search for Itself: The Implications of Demographic Change for Canadian**

#### **Foreign Policy (November 4)**

- \*Kyle Grayson and David Dewitt, "Global Demography and Foreign Policy: A Literature Brief and Call for Research," (York Centre for International and Security Studies, York University, YCISS Working Paper No. 24, December 2003).
- \*Stephen Gallagher, "Mass Migration and Canada: The Creation of a Global Suburb and its Impact on National Unity," in *Canadian Immigration Policy: Reassessing the Economic, Demographic and Social Impact on Canada*. edited by Herbert Grubel (Fraser Institute, Forthcoming).
- \*Rima Berns-McGown, "Redefining "diaspora" *International Journal* Vol. 63, No. 1 (Winter 2007-08) 3-20.
- \*Colin Robertson, "The true white north: reflections on being Canadian," *Policy Options* (IRPP, February 2008).
- Welsh, Jennifer. "Fulfilling Canada's Global Promise," *Policy Options*, February 2006
- Dirk Hoerder and A. Macklin, "Separation or Permeability," *International Journal* Vol. 61, No. 4 (Autumn 2006) 793-812.

#### **9. Canadian Immigration and Refugee Policy (November 11):**

- \*Christina Gabriel, "Charting Canadian Immigration Policy in the New Millennium," *Canada Among Nations 2006*.
- \*Stephen Gallagher, "Myth, Political Expediency and Rent Seeking: Understanding the Migration Policy Lacuna in Canadian Foreign Policy White Papers."
- \*Stephen Gallagher, "Canada's Broken Refugee Policy System," in *Immigration Policy and the Terrorist Threat in Canada and the United States*, edited by Alexander Moens and Martin Collacott (Fraser Institute, May 2008) 53-74.

### **PART 3: RESEARCH PAPER PRESENTATIONS**

**November 18; November 25; December 2**

#### **Academic Accommodations**

**For students with Disabilities:** Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **November 16, 2009 for December examinations** and **March 12, 2010 for April examinations**.

**For Religious Observance:** Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance ([www.carleton.ca/equity](http://www.carleton.ca/equity)).

**For Pregnancy:** Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

**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 include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of “F” for the course.

**Oral Examination:** At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

**Submission and Return of Term Work:** Papers must be handed directly to the instructor 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. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

**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.

**Course Requirements:** Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student’s performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available **ONLY** if the student is in good standing in the course.

**Connect Email Accounts:** All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

**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. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life 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 numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email [carletonpss@gmail.com](mailto:carletonpss@gmail.com), visit our website at [poliscisociety.com](http://poliscisociety.com), or come to our office in Loeb D688.

**Official Course Outline:** The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.