

POLI 342: CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY
Winter 2024

Instructor: Mr. Harel Berger

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Lecture Series: Tuesday & Thursday, 16:05 – 17:25, Stewart Biology Building S1/3

Walk-in Office Hours: Tuesday & Thursday, 14:00 – 15:00, Leacock 521

Teaching Assistants: Ethan Clow and Sophie Gunyon

Summary and Objectives

In this class, the evolution of Canadian foreign policy will be traced from Confederation through to the present day. We shall set about identifying the salient actors and structures that shape the development and implementation of Canadian foreign policy, as well as probing the dominant ideas that have historically contoured Canada's self-image as an international actor. The legacies of post-war Canadian Prime Ministers will be analyzed in comparative perspective, with reference to key issue areas of global concern and Ottawa's bilateral relationships with major world powers. By familiarizing students with the strengths and weaknesses of established patterns and trends in Canadian foreign policy, this course aims to illuminate the contemporary challenges and opportunities that Canada faces when engaging with its external environment.

Course Delivery

This course will consist of a biweekly lecture series that is set to begin on 4 January and a weekly TA-led conference series that is scheduled to start on the week of 22 January.

Required Reading

No textbook purchases are required for this course. All the assigned reading material will either be posted on MyCourses by the instructor or can be accessed online using the McGill Library catalogue.

Assessment

- Midterm Take-Home Exam: 25%

The midterm exam will be posted as a take-home assessment on 19 February at noon. It must be uploaded to the MyCourses submission portal by 23:59 on 24 February. Five short essay prompts will be provided and you must select the two that you wish to answer. Each answer should clearly indicate the prompt being addressed and provide a clear thesis statement. Each individual answer should be approximately 500 words (+/-10% margin) in length. The course readings should be consulted and properly referenced as an evidentiary basis to substantiate your arguments.

- Term Paper: 30%

The term paper must be uploaded to the MyCourses submission portal by 23:59 on 5 April. You will be provided with five essay prompts and must select one of them to write your term paper on. The term paper should be approximately 2000 words (+/-10% margin) in length. The prompts and additional instructions will be posted on MyCourses at the start of the reading break.

- Final Take-Home Exam: 35%

The final exam will be administered as a take-home assessment on MyCourses during the exam period in the second half of April. You will have five days to complete it. The examination dates will be announced later in the semester. Additional information on the format of the final exam will be provided towards the end of the term.

- Conference Participation: 10%

Your participation will be appraised by your TA based on your physical attendance AND engagement as a discussant in the nine conferences that are scheduled for this semester. You are expected to enroll in a conference section on Minerva by Week 4.

Class Schedule

WEEK 1 – Introduction

4 January – Syllabus Discussion

WEEK 2 – Sources of Foreign Policy I: Individual Actors & National Institutions

9 January – The Canadian Prime Minister & their Cabinet

11 January – The Canadian Parliament & Global Affairs Canada

Required Reading:

McKenna, Peter. 2022. “Bullies, Busywork, and Bureaucrats: Inside ‘Fort Pearson’ during the Harper Years.” In *Harper's World: The Politicization of Canadian Foreign Policy, 2006-2015*, edited by Peter McKenna, 41-74. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Meren, David. 1999. “Destinies with Greatness or Delusions of Grandeur? Causes and Consequences of Canadian Prime Ministerial Interventions in International Crises.” *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 7, no. 2: 127-48.

WEEK 3 – Sources of Foreign Policy II: Domestic Politics & the International Environment

16 January – The Federal Parties & Canadian Civil Society

18 January – Canada’s International Environment: Structural Constraints & Opportunities

Required Reading:

Bow, Brian, and David Black. 2009. "Does Politics Stop at the Water's Edge in Canada? Party and Partisanship in Canadian Foreign Policy." *International Journal* 64, no. 1: 7-27.

Brown, Stephen. 2018. "All about that Base? Branding and the Domestic Politics of Canadian Foreign Aid." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 24, no. 2: 145-64.

Haglund, David G. 2017. "The Paradigm that Dare not Speak its Name: Canadian Foreign Policy's Uneasy Relationship with Realist IR Theory." *International Journal* 72, no. 2: 230-42.

WEEK 4 – Canadian Foreign Policy from Confederation to the Second World War (CONFERENCES START)

23 January – Canadian Confederation & the First World War

25 January – Canadian Isolationism & the Second World War

Required Reading:

Cook, Tim. 2014. "Battles of the Imagined Past: Canada's Great War and Memory." *Canadian Historical Review* 95, no. 3: 417-26

Granatstein, J.L., and Robert Bothwell. 1975. "'A Self-Evident National Duty': Canadian Foreign Policy, 1935-1939." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 3, no. 2: 212-33.

Haglund, David G. 2003. "'Are We the Isolationists?': North American Isolationism in a Comparative Context." *International Journal* 58, no. 1:1-23.

Province of Canada. *Legislative Assembly Debates*. 7 February, 1865 (Speech by Attorney General George-Étienne Cartier).

WEEK 5 – Dominant Post-War Ideas in Canadian Foreign Policy

30 January – Pearsonianism & the Cold War

1 February – Canadian Middlepowersmanship under Trudeau and Mulroney

Required Reading:

Chapnick, Adam. 2000. "The Canadian Middle Power Myth." *International Journal* 55, no. 2: 188–206.

McKercher, Asa. 2018. "Reason over Passion: Pierre Trudeau, Human Rights, and Canadian Foreign Policy." *International Journal* 73, no. 1: 129–45.

Pearson, Lester B. 1951. "The Development of Canadian Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 30, no. 1: 17–30.

Tessier, Manon and Fortmann, Michel. 2001. "The Conservative Approach to International Peacekeeping". In *Diplomatic Departures: The Conservative Era in Canadian Foreign Policy, 1984–93*, edited by Kim R. Nossal and Nelson Michaud, 113-27. Vancouver: UBC Press.

WEEK 6 – Canada in a Unipolar World

6 February – Canadian Norm Entrepreneurship in the Post-Cold War Era

8 February – Foreign Policy Departures under Harper

Cooper, Andrew F. 2001. "Good Global Governance or Political Opportunism? Mulroney and UN Social Conferences." In *Diplomatic Departures: The Conservative Era in Canadian Foreign Policy, 1984–93*, edited by Kim R. Nossal and Nelson Michaud, 160-72. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Edgar, Alistair D. 2022. "Stephen Harper's Canada and the United Nations: A Tale Full of Sound and Fury?" In *Harper's World: The Politicization of Canadian Foreign Policy, 2006-2015*, edited by Peter McKenna, 77-98. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Prosper, Bernard Jr. 2006. "Canada and Human Security: From the Axworthy Doctrine to Middle Power Internationalism." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 36, no. 2: 233-61.

WEEK 7 – Canada's National Defense & Security Policy

13 February – The Evolution of North American Security Dynamics

15 February – Canadian Atlanticism & NATO

Fortmann, Michel, and David G. Haglund. 2002. "Canada and the Issue of Homeland Security: Does the 'Kingston Dispensation' Still Hold?" *Canadian Military Journal*: 17-22.

Leuprecht Christian, and Joel J. Sokolsky. 2015. "Defense Policy 'Walmart Style': Canadian Lessons in 'Not-So-Grand' Grand Strategy." *Armed Forces and Society* 41, no. 3: 541–62.

Morton, Desmond. 1987. "Defending the Indefensible: Some Historical Perspectives on Canadian Defence 1867-1987." *International Journal* 42, no. 4: 627–44.

Rice, Jeffrey and Stefanie Von Hlatky. 2022. "Learning the Hard Way: Harper, Canadian Defense Policy, and Combatting International Terror." In *Harper's World: The Politicization of Canadian Foreign Policy, 2006-2015*, edited by Peter McKenna, 124-41. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

WEEK 8 – Catch-Up Lecture (MIDTERM EXAM: NO CONFERENCES)

20 February – Left-Over Material

WEEK 9 – Canada-US Relations

27 February – North American Economic Integration

29 February – The Politics of Bilateral Diplomacy

Required Reading:

Anderson, Greg. 2020. “Trump’s ‘American System’ and Canada.” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 50, no. 1: 32–47.

Bratt, Duane. 2022. “Stephen Harper and the Politics of Canada-US Relations.” In *Harper's World: The Politicization of Canadian Foreign Policy, 2006-2015*, edited by Peter McKenna, 165-88. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Cooper, Andrew F. 1990. “Playing by New Rules: Allan Gotlieb, Public Diplomacy, and the Management of Canada-US Relations.” *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 14, no. 1: 93–110.

Sayle, Timothy Andrews. 2015. “Taking the Off-Ramp: Canadian Diplomacy, Intelligence, and Decision-Making before the Iraq War.” In *Australia, Canada, and Iraq : Perspectives on an Invasion*, edited by Ramesh Thakur and Jack Cunningham, 164-78. Toronto: Dundurn Press.

WEEK 10 – READING BREAK (NO CONFERENCES OR LECTURES)

WEEK 11 – The Post-Soviet Space & Arctic Geopolitics

12 March – Russo-Canadian Relations

14 March – Canadian Arctic Sovereignty

Required Reading:

Carment, David, Milana Nikolko, and Katarina Koleva. 2022. “To Russia with Love.” In *Harper's World: The Politicization of Canadian Foreign Policy, 2006-2015*, edited by Peter McKenna, 276-94. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Charron, Andrea. 2022. “The Recasting of the Arctic Sovereignty Theme: Assessing Harper’s Arctic Foreign Policy.” In *Harper's World: The Politicization of Canadian Foreign Policy, 2006-2015*, edited by Peter McKenna, 211-34. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Huebert, Rob. 2011. “Submarines, Oil Tankers, and Icebreakers: Trying to Understand Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security.” *International Journal* 66, no. 4: 809–24.

Hyndman, Jennifer. 2023. “The Russian Invasion of Ukraine and Humanitarian Nationalism in Canada.” *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*: 1–21.

WEEK 12 – Canada and the Global South

19 March – Canada’s International Development Agenda

21 March – Balancing Normative and Economic Priorities in the Global South

Required Reading:

Black, David R. 2022. “The Harper Government and Sub-Saharan Africa: The End of Aspiration?” In *Harper's World: The Politicization of Canadian Foreign Policy, 2006-2015*, edited by Peter McKenna, 321-42. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Pedersen, Jennifer. 2018. “‘We Will Honour Our Good Name’: The Trudeau Government, Arms Exports, and Human Rights.” In *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy*, edited by Norman Hillmer and Philippe Lagassé, 207-32. Palgrave Macmillan.

Thérien, Jean-Philippe, Gordon Mace, and Hugo Lavoie-Deslongchamps. 2022. “Canada and the Americas: From Liberal to Conservative Internationalism.” In *Harper's World: The Politicization of Canadian Foreign Policy, 2006-2015*, edited by Peter McKenna, 235-55. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

WEEK 13 – The Rise of China & Canada’s Indo-Pacific Strategy

26 March – Sino-Canadian Relations

28 March – Canada’s Indo-Pacific Strategy

Required Reading:

Evans, Paul. 2022. “China Choices.” In *Harper's World: The Politicization of Canadian Foreign Policy, 2006-2015*, edited by Peter McKenna, 256-75. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Mustapha, Jennifer. 2023. “Rethinking Canada’s Security Interests in Southeast Asia: from ‘Asia-Pacific’ to ‘Indo-Pacific.’” *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 29, no. 2: 175-88.

WEEK 14 – Paradiplomacy and Global Indigenous Politics

2 April – Provincial Paradiplomacy

4 April – Global Indigenous Politics

Required Reading:

Bemier, Luc. 2001. "Mulroney's International 'Beau Risque': The Golden Age of Québec's Foreign Policy." In *Diplomatic Departures: The Conservative Era in Canadian Foreign Policy, 1984–93*, edited by Kim R. Nossal and Nelson Michaud, 128-141. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Lightfoot, Sheryl. 2018. "A Promise Too Far? The Justin Trudeau Government and Indigenous Rights." In *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy*, edited by Norman Hillmer and Philippe Lagassé, 165-85. Palgrave Macmillan.

Winfield, Mark, and Vanessa Scanga. 2022. "International Climate Change Policy in the Harper Era" In *Harper's World: The Politicization of Canadian Foreign Policy, 2006-2015*, edited by Peter McKenna, 99-123. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

WEEK 15 – Course Wrap-Up

9 April – Left-Over Content and Recapitulation

McGill Policy on Language of Submission

In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded. This does not apply to courses in which acquiring proficiency in a language is one of the objectives.

Conformément à la Charte des droits de l'étudiant de l'Université McGill, chaque étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté (sauf dans le cas des cours dont l'un des objets est la maîtrise d'une langue).

McGill Statement on Academic Integrity

McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see <http://www.mcgill.ca/integrity/> for more information).

L'université McGill attache une haute importance à l'honnêteté académique. Il incombe par conséquent à tous les étudiants de comprendre ce que l'on entend par tricherie, plagiat et autres infractions académiques, ainsi que les conséquences que peuvent avoir de telles actions, selon le Code de conduite de l'étudiant et des procédures disciplinaires (pour de plus amples renseignements, veuillez consulter le site <http://www.mcgill.ca/integrity/>).

Land Acknowledgement

McGill University is on land which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst Indigenous peoples, including the Haudenosaunee and Anishinabeg nations. We acknowledge and thank the diverse Indigenous people whose footsteps have marked this territory on which peoples of the world now gather.

L'Université McGill est sur un emplacement qui a longtemps servi de lieu de rencontre et d'échange entre les peuples autochtones, y compris les nations Haudenosaunee et Anishinabeg. Nous reconnaissons et remercions les divers peuples autochtones dont les pas ont marqué ce territoire sur lequel les peuples du monde entier se réunissent maintenant.

Late Submission Policy

Term papers and take-home exams that are submitted past their corresponding deadline (without a pre-authorized extension from the instructor) will incur a 5% deduction per day late.