



Memorial

University of Newfoundland

Department of Political Science
Autumn 2011

PS 3280: Canadian Foreign Policy

Oswaldo Croci

Room SN 2036, Tuesday and Thursday: 10.30 – 11.45

Office hours: SN 2034

Tuesday and Thursday 12: 00 – 14:00

Wednesday: 11:00 – 14:00

Description and objectives: This course introduces students to the study of Canadian foreign policy. The course first examines the international and domestic variables influencing the process of foreign policy-making. It then surveys the major issues-areas in Canadian foreign policy since the end of World War II, such as security and defence, trade and investment, and relations with the US and the EU. By the end of the course students should be able to discuss current Canadian international policies using appropriate concepts and theoretical tools as well as appreciate the politics that lead to their adoptions.

Prerequisites: Students should have already taken Political Science 2200 and 2800. Please note that this is not a correspondence or web-based course. Students are therefore expected to attend classes regularly (they will sign an attendance sheet), make their presentations as directed and participate in class discussions.

Textbooks

1. Kim Richard Nossal, Stéphane Roussel and Stéphane Paquin, *International Policy and politics in Canada*, Toronto: Pearson, 2011.
2. Janice Gross Stein and Eugene Lang, *The Unexpected War: Canada in Kandahar*, Toronto: Penguin, 2007

Course Requirements

Mid-term exam	20%
Final exam	30%
Report on the book <i>The Unexpected War: Canada in Kandahar</i> (Nov. 29)	20%
Reports on assigned readings	20%
Participation	10%

Report on *The Unexpected War: Canada in Kandahar*, due on November 29 at the beginning of class. This book describes the Canadian decision(s) to become involved in Afghanistan. Since the book is written for the general public, it does not contain any theoretical discussion of, or even reference to, foreign policy making, but provides a very detailed and rich description of all the variables that affected the Canadian decision-process concerning the various stages of involvement in Afghanistan. In your report (**a maximum of**

five carefully written and re-read double spaced pages) you should bring out the theoretical aspects of the book i.e. you should go from the empirical evidence presented in the book back to the underlying theory which strings the evidence together. You have, in other words, to uncover the theoretical aspects of the Canadian decision-making process on Afghanistan by identifying and discussing the relative role of the most relevant variables (individual, institutional, bureaucratic, systemic) which affected the decision-making process as well as characterize the latter (rational, bureaucratic, cognitive, etc.). The following are some, only some, of the questions you might wish to address when writing the report: What role did systemic factors play in the Canadian decision-making process? What was the role of domestic political considerations (elections, parliament, political parties, civil servants, various government departments, public opinion, etc.). What, if any, was the role of the belief systems of key individuals? How would you characterize the decision-making process? Was it rational? Was it affected by cognitive biases? Was it routine? Was it affected by rival bureaucracies?

Mid-term and final exams: a good exam addresses the question(s) asked in a direct manner and provides a logical, coherent, and well-organized answer which makes connections to theory when necessary and uses relevant empirical evidence to back up the points it makes.

Reports on assigned readings: These will serve as a guide to class discussion and **shall be handed in at the beginning of each class. Later submissions will not be accepted.** In one double-spaced typewritten page you are supposed to provide a concise summary of the main argument developed in the article you have read. The readings will be assigned in class.

The Department of Political Science likes to treat its students as responsible adults. That means that you are responsible for submitting assignments when they are due, making presentations when you are requested to do so, taking tests and exams when they are scheduled. If there are extenuating circumstances and you have a legitimate **documented** excuse I will be happy to make adjustments as prescribed in university regulations and following a request submitted in written form and including all relevant documentation. See also <http://www.mun.ca/posc/undergraduate/planning/policies.php> as well as <http://www.mun.ca/posc/courses/policies.php>

Course Outline

Sept. 8: Introduction

Sept. 13: Systemic or external constraints on foreign-policy

- Textbook: pp. 1-49

Sept. 15: The relative power position of Canada in the international system

- Textbook: pp. 50-83
- Adam Chapnick, "The Canadian middle-power myth", *International Journal*, spring 2000, pp. 188-206
- Paul Gecelowsky, "Constructing a middle-power: ideas and Canadian foreign policy", *Canadian Foreign Policy*, 15 (1), 2009: 77-93

Sept. 20: Canadian society and foreign policy

- Textbook: pp. 84-116

Sept. 22: Shifting central ideas in Canadian foreign policy

- Textbook: pp. 117-153
- Allan Gotlieb, “Romanticism and realism in Canada’s foreign policy”, *Policy Options*, 26 (2) February 2005: 16-27

Sept. 27: Prime Ministers and Canadian foreign policy

- Textbook: pp. 155-204
- N. Michaud, “The Prime Minister, PMO, and PCO: Makers of Canadian Foreign Policy?” in P. James, N. Michaud and M. O’Reilly (eds.), *Handbook of Canadian Foreign Policy*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2006, pp. 21-48. On reserve F 1029 H27 2006
- J. Noble, “PMO/PCO/DFAIT: Serving the Prime Minister’s Foreign Policy Agenda” in J. Daudelin and D. Schwanen (eds.), *Canada among Nations 2007: what room for manoeuvre?* Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2008, pp. 38-65
Electronic text at
<http://velma.library.mun.ca/uhtbin/cgiirsi/yYsCEISpF6/QEII/242230116/8/5552449/Canada+among+nations,+0832-0683+>;
- P. Gecelowski, “Of legacies and lightning bolts: the Prime Minister and Canadian foreign policy” in D. Bratt and C. Kukucha (eds.), *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy*, Toronto: OUP, 2007, pp. 196-205. On reserve F 1034.2 R433 2007

Sept. 29: Cabinet and Canadian foreign policy

- Textbook: pp. 205-226
- G. Wright, “Managers, Innovators and Diplomats: Canada’s Foreign Ministers” in R. Bothwell and J. Daudelin (eds.), *Canada among Nations 2008: 100 years of Canadian Foreign Policy*, Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2009, pp. 61-81.
Electronic text at
<http://velma.library.mun.ca/uhtbin/cgiirsi/yYsCEISpF6/QEII/242230116/8/5552449/Canada+among+nations,+0832-0683+>;

Oct. 4: DFAIT and Canadian foreign policy

- Textbook: pp. 227-254
- Patrice Dutil, “The Institutionalization of Foreign Affairs (1909-2009)” in D. Bratt and C. J. Kukucha (eds.), *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: classic debates and new ideas*, 2nd edition, Oxford: OUP, 2011, pp. 239-258 (photocopy on reserve).

Oct. 6: Parliament and Canadian foreign policy

- Textbook: 255-279
- J. English, “The Member of Parliament and Foreign Policy”, in D. Bratt and C. Kukucha (eds.), *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy*, Toronto: OUP, 2007, pp. 206-213. On reserve F 1034.2 R433 2007

Oct. 13: Foreign policy in a federal system: the provinces and Canadian foreign policy

- Textbook: pp. 280-303
- C. Kukucha and T. Keating, “Of ‘Bad Boys’ and ‘Spoiled Brats’: Alberta in Canadian Foreign Policy” in J. Daudelin and D. Schwanen (eds.), *Canada among Nations 2007: what room for manoeuvre?*, Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2008, pp. 108-127 (photocopy on reserve).
- Denis Stairs, “The Conduct of Canadian Foreign Policy and the Interests of Newfoundland and Labrador”, Royal Commission on renewing and strengthening our place in Canada, 2003 <http://www.exec.gov.nl.ca/royalcomm/research/pdf/Stairs.pdf>

Oct. 18: Québec and Canadian foreign policy

- Textbook: pp. 304-323
- J.-C. Boucher and S. Roussel, “From Afghanistan to ‘Quebecistan’: Quebec as the pharmakon of Canadian foreign and defence policy” in J. Daudelin and D. Schwanen (eds.), *Canada among Nations 2007: what room for manoeuvre?*, Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2008, pp. 128-156 (photocopy on reserve).

Oct. 20: Mid-term exam

Oct. 25: Models of Foreign Policy-Making

- Brian W. Tomlin, Norman Hillmer and Fen Osler Hampson, *Canada’s International Policies: Agendas, Alternatives and Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 1-28. On reserve in the library. F 1034.2 T65 2008

Oct. 27: Canada’s security and defence policy

- Brian W. Tomlin, Norman Hillmer and Fen Osler Hampson, *Canada’s International Policies: Agendas, Alternatives and Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 101-154. On reserve in the library. F 1034.2 T65 2008
- Kim Richard Nossal, “Understanding Canadian Defence Policy” in D. Bratt and C. J. Kukucha (eds.), *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: classic debates and new ideas*, 2nd edition, Oxford: OUP, 2011, pp. 303-315 (photocopy on reserve).
- O. Croci, “Canada: facing up to regional security challenges” in E. Kirchner and J. Sperling (eds.), *National Security Cultures: Patterns of Global Governance*, London: Routledge. 2010, pp. 127-151 (photocopy on reserve).
- *Canada’s International Policy Statement. A Role of Pride and Influence in the World: Defence* http://merln.ndu.edu/whitepapers/Canada_Defence_2005.pdf
- *Canada First Defence Strategy* http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/pri/first-premier/June18_0910_CFDS_english_low-res.pdf

Nov. 1: Canadian foreign policy and human security

- Brian W. Tomlin, Norman Hillmer and Fen Osler Hampson, *Canada's International Policies: Agendas, Alternatives and Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 202-261. On reserve in the library. F 1034.2 T65 2008
- L. Axworthy, *Navigating a New World: Canada's Global Future*, Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003 esp. pp. 126-213 (on reserve in the library). JZ 1320 A94 2003
- R. Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm shift or hot air?" *International Security* 26 (2), Fall 2001: 87-102
- Brian W. Tomlin, "On a fast track to a ban: the Canadian policy process" in M. Cameron, R. Lawson and B. Tomlin (eds.), *To walk without fear: the global movement to ban landmines*, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 185-211 (on reserve in the library). UG 490 T62 1998 Available also as an internet resource.

Nov. 3: Canada, the UN, and peacekeeping

- Tom Keating, *Canada and world order: the multilateralist tradition in Canadian foreign policy*, 2nd edition, Oxford: OUP, 2002, pp. 1-16. On reserve F 1029 K42 2002
- F.H. Soward and Edgar McInnis, "Forming the United Nations, 1945" in D. Munton and J. Kirton (eds.), *Canadian Foreign Policy: selected cases*, Scarborough: Prentice Hall, 1992, pp. 4-18. On reserve F 1029 M86 1992
- K. Marten, "Lending forces: Canada's military peacekeeping" in P. James, N. Michaud and M. O'Reilly (eds.), *Handbook of Canadian Foreign Policy*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2006, pp. 165-188. On reserve F 1029 H27 2006
- D. Bratt, "Warriors or Boy Scouts? Canada and Peace Support Operations", in D. Bratt and C. Kukucha (eds.), *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy*, Toronto: OUP, 2007, pp. 238-248. On reserve F 1034.2 R433 2007

Nov. 8: Canadian International Trade Policies

- Brian W. Tomlin, Norman Hillmer and Fen Osler Hampson, *Canada's International Policies: Agendas, Alternatives and Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 60-100. On reserve in the library. F 1034.2 T65 2008
- M. Lusztyg, "The evolution of liberalization in Canada's trade policy" in P. James, N. Michaud and M. O'Reilly (eds.), *Handbook of Canadian Foreign Policy*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2006, pp. 83-104. On reserve F 1029 H27 2006

Nov. 10: Canadian Foreign Investment Policies

- Brian W. Tomlin, Norman Hillmer and Fen Osler Hampson, *Canada's International Policies: Agendas, Alternatives and Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 29-59. On reserve in the library. F 1034.2 T65 2008
- E. Smythe, "Frustrated multilateralism: Canada and the negotiations of international investment rules" in D. Bratt and C. J. Kukucha (eds.), *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: classic debates and new ideas*, 2nd edition, Oxford: OUP, 2011, pp. 406-423 (photocopy on reserve).

Nov. 15: Canadian Overseas Development Aid Policies

- Brian W. Tomlin, Norman Hillmer and Fen Osler Hampson, *Canada's International Policies: Agendas, Alternatives and Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 155-201. On reserve in the library. F 1034.2 T65 2008
- J-S. Rioux, "Canadian Official development assistance policy: juggling the national interest and humanitarian impulses", in P. James, N. Michaud and M. O'Reilly (eds.), *Handbook of Canadian Foreign Policy*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2006, pp. 209-233. On reserve F 1029 H27 2006
- Stephen Brown, "Aid effectiveness and the framing of new Canadian initiatives" in D. Bratt and C. J. Kukucha (eds.), *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: classic debates and new ideas*, 2nd edition, Oxford: OUP, 2011, pp. 469-486 (photocopy on reserve).
- *Canada's International Policy Statement. A Role of Pride and Influence in the World: Development*. Ottawa <http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/ips-development>

Nov. 17: Canada and the US

- C. Doran, "Canada-US Relations: Personality, Pattern, and Domestic Politics", in P. James, N. Michaud and M. O'Reilly (eds.), *Handbook of Canadian Foreign Policy*, , Lanham: Lexington Books, 2006, pp. 389-408. on reserve F 1029 H27 2006
- O. Croci, "L'ami américain. L'image de la 'relation particulière' et le processus de prise de décision au Canada pendant la crise monétaire internationale de 1971", *Études internationales*, 30 (3), 1999: 493-519

Nov. 22: Canada and the EU

- O. Croci, and L. Tossutti, "Canada and the European Union: a story of unrequited attraction" in Finn Laursen (ed.), *The EU in the global political economy*, Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2009, pp. 149-176. Photocopy on reserve.
- Donald Barry, "The Canada-European Union turbot war", *International Journal*, 53 (2), Spring 1998: 253-284.

Nov. 24: Canada and the Arctic

- Donald McRae, "Arctic sovereignty? What is at stake?", *Behind the Headlines*, 64 (1), 2007: 1-23.
- Franklyn Griffiths, "The shipping news: Canada's Arctic sovereignty not on thinning eyes", *International Journal*, 58 (2), Spring 2003: 257-282
- Rob Huebert, "The shipping news part II: how Canada's Arctic sovereignty is on thinning ice", *International Journal*, 58 (3), Summer 2003: 295-308

Nov. 29: In-class discussion of reports on *The Unexpected War*

Dec. 1: Conclusions

- Brian W. Tomlin, Norman Hillmer and Fen Osler Hampson, *Canada's International Policies: Agendas, Alternatives and Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 262-274. On reserve F 1034.2 T65 2008