

CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY
POLSCI 4CF3
Winter 2024-25

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Course Description

The 21st century has brought new opportunities and challenges. Today, the world is beset by several interrelated crises: an American withdrawal, Sino-American rivalry, a climate crisis, Russian aggression, instability and injustice in the Middle East, to name a few examples. Canada is in a unique position. Canada is not a superpower and is often subject to the whims of larger states, organizations and capital. As a country, we rely upon rules-based institutions and a partnership with the United States to navigate this uncertainty. This foreign policy posture has persisted for decades. Is it still fit for purpose today? In this course, we historicize Canadian foreign policy, survey its logics and sources, and contemplate its potential contradictions. We undertake this work especially cognizant of the racialized, gendered and otherwise marginalized people disproportionately affected by Canada's foreign policy.

Course Objectives

By the end of the course students should be able to:

- Historicize Canadian foreign policy alongside its political economy;
- Survey and contextualize key debates over Canadian foreign policy and its influence;
- Enumerate tensions between Canadian foreign policy and its domestic sources;
- Examine Canadian foreign policy through the lenses of gender and race;
- Describe and problematize the ideas that shape Canadian foreign policy;
- Explain how Canadian foreign policy is responding to this moment of polycrisis.

Required Materials and Texts

All course materials will be available online through McMaster's database and journal access, or will otherwise be made available to students.

I believe the political science canon must expand to include perspectives traditionally marginalized within the academy (and more broadly). Diversifying course syllabi is *one* aspect of this effort. This aspect is especially important given my positionality as a lecturer (White, male, cis-gendered and Anglophone) and the risk of reproducing harmful narratives. Accordingly, I have made a concerted effort to include marginalized voices in the required materials. For transparency's sake, the sources breakdown as follows: roughly 63% of sources are (co-)authored by women and gender minority researchers, and 32% of sources are (co-)authored by racialized researchers.

Class Format

Seminars are generally discussion-based courses. As such, the class will only take place in person. If a student has any issue preventing them from consistently attending, this should be raised early. Institutional accommodations will be honoured. Most days,

seminars will begin with the “Spill the Tea” conversation on recent events. We will then discuss the readings with a mid-way break.

Course Evaluation – Overview

1. Spill the Tea Activity – 5%, TBD
2. Op-Ed – 20%, February 18
3. Research Assignment – 45%, April 8
4. Participation – 30%, ongoing
5. BONUS: New Perspective Blurb – up to 2% on final grade, TBD

Course Evaluation – Details

Spill the Tea (5%), due on assigned seminar day

For one week, you (as a group of 2 or 3) will be asked to lead a short discussion on the week’s recent events at the start of seminar. As a function of this leadership, you will be asked to pick a tea and explain why. This tea will be steeped while we discuss recent events. (Note: you must give your selection to the instructor by the Tuesday before seminar.) You will be graded on your capacity to engage with your colleagues during the discussion and justification for your tea selection. Be clever! Tie your selection to the topic. Your group will receive one grade unless extraordinary circumstances.

Op-Ed (20%), due February 18

For one course topic prior to reading week, you will write a 750 word op-ed. The op-ed should have a clear point of view and hyperlink its sources. Typically, op-eds either explain recent events, contextualize debates, or offer normative guidance on how someone should act. For information on how to write op-eds, review [this source](#). During week 2, there will be an op-ed workshop. Throughout the course, there are assigned op-eds you can also consult as examples.

You will be graded on the following:

- Precision and accessibility (readable to wider audience) of communication;
- Distinction of point of view;
- Sourcing; and
- Relevance to course topic(s).

Research Assignment (45%), due April 8

As the course description outlines, the 21st century has introduced new uncertainties. Eric Helleiner (2024) calls this moment “polycrisis” How should Canada respond to this moment? Where can or should Canadian foreign policy go? For your final paper, you have two options.

1. Consultation Response Document

Global Affairs Canada has invited consultations over a new foreign policy strategy to match this moment. They invite researchers, think-tanks and citizens generally to provide feedback of any of the following themes:

- Global supply chains and re-shoring (or friend-shoring);
- Modernizing free trade;
- Building new and lasting partnerships;
- Advancing global equity and inclusion; and
- Ensuring global and domestic security.

Write a consultation document responding to one or more of these themes. You may want to focus on a specific issue within a theme. Make sure to situate the discussion with a brief introduction and an overview of Canadian policy to date. The primary purpose is to propose policy ideas for how the Canadian government should shift (or not). Make sure to cite extant research using Chicago footnotes. The documents should be no more than 4,000 words. Ideally, it will be designed to be attractive to readers. This may include cited images, tables and/or figures. A rubric will be available on A2L.

2. Research Note

Author a 4,000 word research note on a topic approved by the course instructor. This topic must have a clear connection to Canadian foreign policy in the 21st century. The note must have a minimum of 8 peer-reviewed sources. It should be Chicago author-date (in-text citations). This note must have a literature review and offer either:

- a unique perspective to a research puzzle;
- new data (e.g., summary of available data); or
- a broader comment on the literature's gaps with suggestions for improvement.

Participation (30%), ongoing

Participation is critical in seminars. Seminars are discussion-based. Each week, students are expected to do the readings and discuss them in depth. Good participation is when you respond to questions, raise your own insights and questions, problematize and challenge the readings, apply readings to world events and personal experience, and listen to your colleagues. It is not about monopolizing the conversation but stimulating it. Written submissions are allowed but cannot replace in-class participation.

BONUS: New Perspective Blurb (up to 2% on final grade), due Tuesdays following selected week

For a week of your choosing, you will advocate for the inclusion of a reading or multi-media piece (eg. youtube essay) for that week's content. You are encouraged to think about perspectives that are missing from the course content. Who needs to be heard? What are we missing? How can this particular Canadian identifier be problematized further? This bonus assignment is intended to be **short** (300 words or less). A full **correct** citation is expected alongside your justification. You can receive a maximum of 2% for this assignment.

Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings

Week 1 (January 10): Introduction to Canadian Foreign Policy

No readings. Consult syllabus. Optional:

Heather A. Smith, 2017, "Unlearning: A messy and complex journey with Canadian foreign policy," *International Journal* 72, no. 2: 203-16.

Week 2 (January 17): Historicizing Canadian Foreign Policy

Readings:

Adam Chapnick and Asa McKercher, 2024, "Ideas and Antecedents," In *Canada First, Not Canada Alone: A History of Canadian Foreign Policy* (Marquis: Oxford University Press), 9-30.

Lorraine Eden and Maureen Appel Molot, 1993, "Canada's National Policies: Reflections on 125 Years," *Canadian Public Policy* 19 no. 3: 232–51.

Stephen McBride, 2020, "Canada's Continental Political Economy," In *Canadian Political Economy*, ed. Heather Whiteside (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 69–85.

Week 3 (January 24): Canada as an (Upper) Middle Power

Readings:

Jennifer M. Welsh, 2004, "Canada in the 21st Century: Beyond Dominion and Middle Power," *The Round Table* 93, no. 376: 583-93.

Paul Kellogg, 2015, "Introducing the Argument," In *Escape from the Staple Trap: Canadian Political Economy after Left Nationalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 3-22.

Veldon Coburn and David P. Thomas, 2022, "Corporate Canada, Capitalism, and Dispossession," In *Capitalism & Dispossession: Corporate Canada at Home and Abroad*, ed. David P. Thomas and Veldon Coburn (Black Point: Fernwood).

Sadia Mariam Malik, 2020, "Canada must use its 'soft power' to champion global human rights," *The Conversation*, <https://theconversation.com/canada-must-use-its-soft-power-to-champion-global-human-rights-132177>.

Week 4 (January 31): Foreign Policy-Making from Home

Readings:

Grace Skogstad, 1992, "The State, Organized Interests and Canadian Agricultural Trade Policy: The Impact of Institutions," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 25, no. 2: 319–47.

Kim Richard Nossal, Stéphane Roussel and Stéphane Paquin, 2015, "Society and Foreign Policy," In *The Politics of Canadian Foreign Policy*, 4th edition (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press), 97-129.

Laura Macdonald, "Canada goes global: building transnational relations between Canada and the world, 1968-2017." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 24, no. 3: 358-71.

Week 5 (February 7): Projecting Canada Abroad

Readings:

Lana Wylie, 2017, "Revising Memories and Changing Identities: Canadian Foreign Policy under the Harper Government," In *Mapping Nations, Locating Citizens: Interdisciplinary Discussion on Nationalism and Identity*, ed. Daniel Hambly (Toronto: Humber Press), 108-120.

Lucie Edwards, 2018, "Doing well *and* doing good: scholars and diplomats in the making of Canadian foreign policy," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 24, no. 3: 378-81.

Allison Howell, 2005, "Peaceful, tolerant and orderly? A feminist analysis of discourses of 'Canadian values' in Canadian Foreign Policy," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 12, no. 1: 49-69.

David Webster, 2020, "Un Security Council: Actually, the world doesn't need more Canada," *The Conversation*, <https://theconversation.com/un-security-council-actually-the-world-doesnt-need-more-canada-141092>.

Week 6 (February 14): Canadian Continentalism

Readings:

John Herd Thompson and Stephen Randall, 2008, "The Ambivalent Ally, 1968-1984," In *Canada and the United States: Ambivalent Allies*, 4th edition (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press), 228-260.

Stephen Clarkson, 2002, "The Peripheral State: Globalization and Continentalism," In *Uncle Sam and Us: Globalization, Neocoversatism, and the Canadian State* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 14-34.

Christina Gabriel and Laura Macdonald, 2003, "Beyond the Continentalist/Nationalist Divide: Politics in a North American 'without Borders,'" In *Changing Canada: Political Economy as Transformation*, ed. Wallace Clement and Leah F. Vosko (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press), 213-40.

Notes: Op-ed due February 18

Week 7 (February 21): Reading Week

Mid-term recess, No Class

Week 8 (February 28): Canada and the Rules-Based Order

Readings:

Noah Fry, 2023, "Dairy Concessions in Canadian Trade: A Discursive Institutional Account," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 29, no. 1: 73–92.

Stuart Trew, Manuel Pérez-Rocha and Karen Hansen-Kuhn, 2023, *NAFTA's Shadow of Obstruction*, New York: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung.

Stephen McBride and Noah Fry, 2022, "Locked In: Canadian Trade Policy and the Declining Liberal Order," In *Canada and Great Power Competition*, ed. David Carment, Laura Macdonald, and Jeremy Paltiel (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan), 25–47.

Week 9 (March 7): Canada and Hegemonic Dissidents

Readings:

Tsuyoshi Kawasaki, 2021, "Hedging against China: formulating Canada's new strategy in the era of power politics," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 27, no. 2: 175-93.

Mahima Duggal, "India in Canada's Indo-Pacific Strategy," *Defence and Diplomacy* 12, no. 2: 75-88.

Ye Xue and Karel Brandenburg, 2024, "Why domestic politics will prevent a thaw in China-Canada tensions in 2024." *The Conversation*, <https://theconversation.com/why-domestic-politics-will-prevent-a-thaw-in-china-canada-tensions-in-2024-220450>.

Shaun Narine, 2023, July 9, "U.S. allies should rethink their allegiance to an aggressive but declining superpower," *The Conversation*, <https://theconversation.com/u-s-allies-should-rethink-their-allegiance-to-an-aggressive-but-declining-superpower-207786>.

Week 10 (March 14): Defence, Militarization and Security

Readings:

Jeffrey Rice and Stéfanie von Hlatky, "Learning the Hard Way: Harper, Canadian Defence Policy and Combatting International Terror," in *Harper's World: The Politicization of Canadian Foreign Policy, 2006-2015*, ed. Peter McKenna (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 124-141.

Nicole Wegner, "Militarization in Canada: myth-breaking and image-making through recruitment campaigns," *Critical Military Studies* 6, no. 1: 67-85.

Andrea Lane, 2017, "Special men: the gendered militarization of the Canadian Armed Forces," *International Journal* 72, no. 4: 462-83.

Week 11 (March 21): Canada and the Middle East

Readings:

Stephanie Carvin, 2007, "Make law not war? Canada and the challenge of international law in the age of terror," *International Journal* 62, no. 3: 608-19.

Amelia C. Arsenault and Costanza Musu, 2021, "Canada, the United Nations, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 27, no. 1: 98-116.

Farzan Sabet, "Sleeping beside the Elephant: The United States in Canada's Middle East Policy," In *Middle Power in the Middle East: Canada's Foreign and Defence Policies in a Changing Region*, ed. Thomas Juneau and Bessma Momani (Toronto: University of Toronto), 14-30.

Week 12 (March 28): Canada's Inclusive Agenda

Readings:

Patricia Goff, 2021, "Inclusive Trade: Justice, Innovation, or More of the Same?" *Ethics & International Affairs* 35, no. 2: 273-301.

Lily Sommer and David Luke, 2019, "Canada's Progressive Trade Agenda: Engaging with Africa to Support Inclusive Gains under the African Continental Free Trade Area," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 25, no. 3: 241-53.

Taryn Husband-Ceperkovic and Rebecca Tiessen, 2020, "Beyond the Binary: Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in Canadian Foreign Policy," In *Palgrave Handbook of Gender, Sexuality, and Canadian Politics*, ed. Manon Tremblay and Joanna Everitt (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan), 401-20.

Lily Schricker, 2024, "Indigenizing Canada's foreign policy – why it is time to put an end to tokenism," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 30, no. 2: 221-26.

Week 13 (April 4): Conclusion - Polycrisis

Readings:

Eric Helleiner, 2024, "Economic Globalization's Polycrisis," *International Studies Quarterly* 68, no. 2: 1-9.

Stephen McBride and Joy Schnittker, 2021, "Taking Institutions Seriously: Alternatives for a Public Purpose," *Alternative Routes: A Journal of Critical Social Research* 32, no. 1: 60-85.

Patricia Goff, 2024, "A new trade policy for the 'geopolitical turn,'" *Policy Options*, <https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/september-2024/canada-trade-geopolitical-turn/>

Notes: Research Assignment due April 8

Course Policies

Submission of Assignments

All assignments will be submitted on Avenue to Learn unless otherwise specified. You are recommended to upload as both PDF and docx. You are also recommended to check the files uploaded properly. Failure to do so may result in a late penalty.

Grades

Grades will be based on the McMaster University grading scale:

MARK	GRADE
90-100	A+
85-90	A
80-84	A-
77-79	B+
73-76	B
70-72	B-
67-69	C+
63-66	C
60-62	C-
57-59	D+
53-56	D
50-52	D-
0-49	F

Late Assignments

The general late penalty will be 2% per day. Students will also receive three 'free days' without penalty to be used across the course assignments. These 'free days' are used automatically and chronologically. No e-mails are needed to communicate this.

Absences, Missed Work, Illness

McMaster Student Absence Form (MSAF): In the event of an absence for medical or other reasons, students should review and follow the Academic Regulation in the Undergraduate Calendar "Requests for Relief for Missed Academic Term Work".

Courses With An On-Line Element

Some courses may use on-line elements (e.g. e-mail, Avenue to Learn (A2L), LearnLink, web pages, capa, Moodle, ThinkingCap, etc.). Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of a course using these elements, private information such as first and last names, user names for the McMaster e-mail accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in a course that uses on-line elements will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

Online Proctoring

Some courses may use online proctoring software for tests and exams. This software may require students to turn on their video camera, present identification, monitor and record their computer activities, and/or lock/restrict their browser or other applications/software during tests or exams. This software may be required to be installed before the test/exam begins.

Authenticity / Plagiarism Detection

Some courses may use a web-based service (Turnitin.com) to reveal authenticity and ownership of student submitted work. For courses using such software, students will be expected to submit their work electronically either directly to Turnitin.com or via an online learning platform (e.g. A2L, etc.) using plagiarism detection (a service supported by Turnitin.com) so it can be checked for academic dishonesty.

Students who do not wish their work to be submitted through the plagiarism detection software must inform the Instructor before the assignment is due. No penalty will be assigned to a student who does not submit work to the plagiarism detection software.

All submitted work is subject to normal verification that standards of academic integrity have been upheld (e.g., on-line search, other software, etc.). For more details about McMaster's use of Turnitin.com please go to www.mcmaster.ca/academicintegrity.

Generative AI: Use Prohibited

Students are not permitted to use generative AI in this course. In alignment with McMaster academic integrity policy, it "shall be an offence knowingly to ... submit academic work for assessment that was purchased or acquired from another source". This includes work created by generative AI tools. Also state in the policy is the following, "Contract Cheating is the act of "outsourcing of student work to third parties" (Lancaster & Clarke, 2016, p. 639) with or without payment." Using Generative AI tools is a form of contract cheating. Charges of academic dishonesty will be brought forward to the Office of Academic Integrity.

University Policies

Copyright and Recording

Students are advised that lectures, demonstrations, performances, and any other course material provided by an instructor include copyright protected works. The Copyright Act and copyright law protect every original literary, dramatic, musical and artistic work, **including lectures** by University instructors

The recording of lectures, tutorials, or other methods of instruction may occur during a course. Recording may be done by either the instructor for the purpose of authorized distribution, or by a student for the purpose of personal study. Students should be aware that their voice and/or image may be recorded by others during the class. Please speak with the instructor if this is a concern for you.

Academic Accommodation for Religious, Indigenous or Spiritual Observances (RISO)

Students requiring academic accommodation based on religious, indigenous or spiritual observances should follow the procedures set out in the [RISO](#) policy. Students should submit their request to their Faculty Office **normally within 10 working days** of the beginning of term in which they anticipate a need for accommodation or to the Registrar's Office prior to their examinations. Students should also contact their instructors as soon as possible to make alternative arrangements for classes, assignments, and tests.

Academic Integrity Statement

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behaviour in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity. **It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty.**

Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behaviour can result in serious consequences, e.g. the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: "Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty"), and/or suspension or expulsion from the university. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the [Academic Integrity Policy](#), located at <https://secretariat.mcmaster.ca/university-policies-procedures-guidelines/>.

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:

- plagiarism, e.g. the submission of work that is not one's own or for which other credit has been obtained.
- improper collaboration in group work.
- copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

Conduct Expectations

As a McMaster student, you have the right to experience, and the responsibility to demonstrate, respectful and dignified interactions within all of our living, learning and working communities. These expectations are described in the [Code of Student Rights & Responsibilities](#) (the "Code"). All students share the responsibility of maintaining a positive environment for the academic and personal growth of all McMaster community members, **whether in person or online.**

It is essential that students be mindful of their interactions online, as the Code remains in effect in virtual learning environments. The Code applies to any interactions that adversely affect, disrupt, or interfere with reasonable participation in University activities. Student disruptions or behaviours that interfere with university functions on online platforms (e.g. use of Avenue 2 Learn, WebEx or Zoom for delivery), will be

taken very seriously and will be investigated. Outcomes may include restriction or removal of the involved students' access to these platforms.

Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities who require academic accommodation must contact [Student Accessibility Services](#) (SAS) at 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or sas@mcmaster.ca to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. For further information, consult McMaster University's [Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities](#) policy.

Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy

Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that all e-mail communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student's own McMaster University e-mail account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student's responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion.

Course Modification

The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check his/her McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.

Extreme Circumstances

The University reserves the right to change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances (e.g., severe weather, labour disruptions, etc.). Changes will be communicated through regular McMaster communication channels, such as McMaster Daily News, A2L and/or McMaster email.