

**CANADIAN FORCES COLLEGE 2019–20**  
**JOINT COMMAND AND STAFF PROGRAMME 46**  
**DS/CF 536 — CASE STUDIES IN CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL POLICY**

**Instructor**

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**Texts:** There is no core textbook for this course. Participants who lack a background in the history of Canadian foreign policy are encouraged to consult:

- *Empire to Umpire* by Norman Hillmer and Jack Granatstein (IRC 327.71 H5 2008); and/or
- *Alliance and Illusion* by Robert Bothwell (IRC 327.71009045 B68 2007).

In addition, there are a series of **optional** introductory articles and book chapters that establish the historical context for the lecture in Session 1.

**Required** readings are available online. Supplementary readings are available through the instructor and/or the IRC. **Beginning in Session 2 and through Session 8, participants are also expected to read/listen to at least two newspaper, journal, or magazine articles, reputable blogs, or podcasts per session on contemporary Canadian international policy issues (readings for other JCSP courses are acceptable) from two different sources.** Participants are exempted from this requirement on the day that they defend their action memorandum. See the end of this outline for assistance in locating readings/podcasts.

**Course Description:** This course is designed to introduce participants to the study of Canada's international policy. It uses history as a lens to assess contemporary issues and struggles. The early sessions of the course introduce historical case studies to facilitate the discussion and analysis of issues brought up in the assigned readings, as well as to explore linkages between previous Canadian experiences and contemporary international policy themes. Towards the end of the course, participants research, design, and present their own contemporary cases. To understand the context of the international policy decisions taken in Canada, this course considers both the domestic situation and politics abroad, with specific reference to the policies of Canada's most significant allies.

**Teaching and Assessment Strategy:** The course is made up of two lecture/seminars and ten standard seminars. (To enable greater opportunities for personal engagement, participants might be divided into two syndicates for the seminars.) The lectures provide broad historical and historiographical context. They also serve as transitions between the historical and contemporary sections of the course. The seminars are used to discuss and analyze the issues brought up in the weekly readings, to debate and evaluate participants' action memoranda and briefing notes, and

to discuss the value that history and context can bring to the analysis of contemporary Canadian international policy themes.

This course is designed to enable participants to develop their own ideas about the constraints and continuities that characterize the history of Canada's international policy. It challenges participants to think critically about the nature of Canadian conduct on the world stage and to develop their own individual interpretations of Canada's evolving place in global affairs.

### **Grade Allocation for DS 536**

- 30% Seminar participation — throughout
- 20% Action memorandum — due one week after its defence
- 10% Action memorandum defence — in one of Sessions 3 through 8
- 30% Briefing note — research question due prior to Session 4; drafts of at least 2 sections due prior to Session 8; final submission due one week after its discussion in seminar
- 10% Briefing note discussion facilitation — in one of Sessions 10 through 12

### **(Alternative) Grade Allocation for CF 536**

- 40% Take-Home Examination — due immediately before Session 9
  - Non-MDS-stream participants will replace the briefing note assignment (in its two-part entirety) with a take-home examination.

### **Deliverables**

**Seminar Participation:** The CFC's approach to seminar participation is described on the College's website. For participants who lack recent (or any) experience attending graduate-level seminar discussions based on a comprehensive reading list, there follow some suggestions for preparation:

When reading the assigned material, aim to be prepared to answer the following questions:

- What is the author's intent in writing the article, book chapter, etc.?
- Is the author making an argument? If so, can you summarize it in a single sentence?
- What are the (one to three) most convincing points in the reading?
- What are the (one to three) least convincing points in the reading?
- How does the reading contribute to your understanding of the main themes of the session?

- How does your understanding of the main themes of the session as a whole affect your thinking about Canadian international policy more generally?

Participants who are able to answer these questions with regards to each of the assigned readings should have little difficulty participating fully in the ensuing seminar.

### **Action Memorandum**

This assignment is designed to challenge participants to develop and defend practical policy options and recommendations in an academic yet still policy-relevant historical environment. It requires clear and concise analytical and writing skills, along with an ability to construct a clear, straightforward, and persuasive argument.

The (**absolutely no more than**) **six-page** (1½-spaced) action memorandum will be drawn largely, although not necessarily exclusively, from the course readings.

The first (cover) page will state the issue in question and list a summary of recommendations.

The remaining five pages will be divided into the following sections: background (1-1½ pages); options (½ page); considerations (2-2½ pages); and recommendations (one page).

Since footnotes are not appropriate in an exercise of this sort, participants should avoid direct quotations and make sure that other individuals' ideas are paraphrased appropriately. If, in an exceptional case, a participant feels that paraphrasing would not do justice to a particular idea, s/he must ensure that the context of the quotation is clear enough that a lay reader might easily identify its origins.

An example of an action memorandum will be provided during the first session. The instructor will present and formally defend an action memorandum during the second session. **Participants with no experience writing action memoranda should use these examples as guides for appropriate formatting.** *If participants have drafted memoranda to Cabinet or other similar documents in their previous jobs, they are free to discuss alternative styles with the instructor.*

A rubric explaining the assessment strategy for the action memorandum will be provided to all participants during or before the first session of the course.

### **Action Memorandum Defence**

This assignment tests participants' ability to organize their thoughts quickly and to respond effectively to criticisms of their own writing while under stress. After hearing comments from their peers on their draft action memorandum, participants will be given no more than one minute to organize their thoughts and then provide a five- to ten-minute response. The response *may* involve a two- to three-minute clarification of the memo's intent, but must focus on responding directly to the peer critique.

A *draft* version of the action memorandum is not to be distributed until the day of the relevant class. *Participants are strongly encouraged to submit (electronically) their draft to the instructor*

*at least two working days before the defence.* The draft will be returned (electronically), with suggestions for improvement, by the following working day. Participants are encouraged to revise these drafts before the date of the defence and then again, in light of their peers' feedback, before their final, formal submission.

A rubric explaining the assessment strategy for the defence will be provided to all participants before the second session of the course.

### **Briefing Note**

This assignment is designed to enable participants — typically working in pairs — to examine a contemporary issue in Canadian international policy to a significant degree of depth.

To ensure the project's success, **before the fourth session of the course**, participants should have met with the course instructor (1) to identify an issue that is of interest to them; and (2) to translate that interest into the question that will form the basis of the briefing note. For example, one year, participants interested in the future of NORAD asked **whether** Canada should advocate that NORAD assume responsibility for security in the Arctic. Alternatively, participants might ask **how** Canada should respond to a particular global challenge or crisis, such as maritime piracy. **The proposed research question is to be submitted to the instructor, via email, prior to Session 4.**

**Drafts of at least 2 sections of the briefing note (as described below) must be submitted to the instructor, via email, prior to Session 8.**

The complete briefing note will be 2500-3500 words long (plus an additional 250- to 500-word reflection) and will be divided into seven sections (again, plus the reflection), none of which should be longer than 600 words (footnotes excluded). Although participants should document their sources with footnotes, **absolutely no tangential notes are permitted. Furthermore, direct quotations are actively discouraged and should be used only if they are deemed critical.**

The sections of the note should be labelled as follows:

- History — provide a concise summary of the historical context of the case.
- Issues — briefly articulate the major issues at stake for Canada as they relate to international policy.
- Canadian policy — outline the current policy of the Canadian government based, whenever possible, on relevant primary evidence. Include references to previous policy where appropriate.
- International actors, interests, and implications — note the relevant international actors (be they individuals, states, other non-state actors, institutions, etc.), their interests in the case, and how their interests and involvement (or lack thereof) might affect Canadian policy.

- Domestic actors, interests, and implications — note the relevant domestic actors (be they individuals, levels of government, non-state actors, institutions, etc.), their interests in the case, and how their interests and involvement (or lack thereof) might affect Canadian policy.
- Political dilemmas — identify the key dilemmas facing Canadian decision-makers and the challenges that these dilemmas create. The focus should be on political, rather than purely partisan, issues.
- Policy options and decisions going forward — propose a series of policy options (two or more) available to the Canadian government, and identify the one deemed to be the most favourable.

Participants are also to append a 250- to 500-word reflection on the elements of their research that were left out of the note and why. In other words, participants should explain why they framed the issue the way that they did and, in doing so, they should make clear what alternative frames were available and why those frames were rejected.

The briefing note will be assessed using the CFC rubric for research papers (45% argument; 40% evidence; 10% writing; and 5% format).

An example of a briefing note will be provided during or before the first session. **Participants with no experience writing briefing notes should use the example as a guide for appropriate formatting.** *If participants have drafted a similar document in a previous job, they are free to discuss alternative styles with the instructor.*

### **Process Advice for the Briefing Note Assignment**

Former participants in DS 536 have noted that producing written assignments with co-authors is a significantly different experience from writing alone. Conversations with them have resulted in the following advice:

- Joint-authored assignments often take more time than anticipated, so be sure to consult with the course instructor as early as possible in the research process.
- While the “divide and conquer” strategy of allocating individual sections of the briefing note to different authors is almost inevitable, it is not advisable to *begin* the assignment that way. Consider drafting a preliminary outline together and consult regularly on sources and editorial decisions (e.g., information that will *not* be included in the regular note and discussed instead in the reflection section).
- If/when the “divide and conquer” strategy is instituted, it is worth doing so in as deliberate a manner as possible (i.e., there should be a logic to the combination of sections for which each author is responsible).

- There is value in assigning one member of the writing team to “hold the pen” at the end of the writing process. In other words, the briefing note will be significantly stronger if one member (or each member of the group individually) reads through the completed draft a number of days before it is provided to the class to ensure that it reads as if it were written by a single author.
- Many former participants in DS 536 have spoken positively of software such as Google-Docs as a means of facilitating the collaborative writing process.

### **Briefing Note Discussion Facilitation**

Participants will typically work in pairs to engage their peers in a 90-minute discussion of a contemporary Canadian international policy topic of their choosing (upon which they will also write their briefing note).

In anticipation of the discussion, participants are to assign their syndicate no more than four articles totalling no more than 30 pages of background reading (the equivalent in non-print sources would be no more than 90 minutes of viewing / listening material), accompanied by a draft of their briefing note. **The reading / viewing / listening material should be made available at least one week prior to the date of the seminar.**

The aim of the seminar will be twofold: to engage the syndicate in a general discussion of a contemporary Canadian international policy issue; and to examine in detail the policy options available to the Canadian government as they relate to that issue.

For the purposes of this activity, there is no single, prescribed way to facilitate the 90-minute discussion. What is most important is the expected learning outcome: that syndicate members emerge from the class with a better understanding of the issues and themes explored in the assigned briefing note than they had beforehand.

In previous years, some participants have opened their session with short presentations. Others have provided syndicate members with a set of questions for discussion in advance. Some have organized the session around the structure of the briefing note. Others have taken a more holistic approach.

The CFC’s rubric for seminar chairs will be used to assess the discussion.

Finally, please note that participants are **strongly encouraged** to consult with the instructor throughout the preparation process. They are welcome to submit drafts of their briefing note for review in advance of their seminar, and they are equally welcome to discuss facilitation strategies with the instructor in advance of the seminar discussion of their research.

In addition to these participant-initiated meetings, **all participants will meet formally with the instructor to discuss their progress after the Session 9 lecture.**

### **Take-Home Examination**

The examination is intended to evaluate whether participants have understood the main issues and themes covered in the course, as well as to assess participants' ability to use what they have learned to form thoughtful, convincing, and relevant arguments.

Participants will produce a 1500- to 2000-word answer to a single essay question — based on the course readings and seminar discussions — to be chosen from a list that will be provided by the instructor. The list will be made available to participants seven days before Session 9. The essay must be written, and edited, alone. It must be submitted within seven days.

The essay will be assessed using the CFC rubric for research papers (45% argument; 40% evidence; 10% writing; and 5% format).

## **Course Schedule:**

### **Pre-course Preparation (OPTIONAL)**

These readings have been selected to make participants concerned with their lack of background knowledge in the history of Canadian external relations more comfortable with the scholarship of the pre-Second World War period. These readings complement the lecture in Session 1.

### **Preparatory Readings**

- Hillmer, Norman. “[The Canadian Diplomatic Tradition](#).” In *Towards a New World: Readings in the History of Canadian Foreign Policy*, edited by J.L. Granatstein, 6-16. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1992.
- Stacey, C.P. “[The New ‘Nation’ 1867](#).” Chapter 1 in *Canada in the Age of Conflict: A History of Canadian External Policies, Vol. 1, 1867–1921*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984, 1-16.
- Hillmer, Norman, and J.L. Granatstein. “[Introduction](#).” In *Empire to Umpire: Canada and the World into the Twenty-first Century*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Toronto: Thomson Nelson, 2008, 1-10.
- Nossal, Kim Richard, Stéphane Roussel, and Stéphane Paquin. “Dominant Ideas in Foreign Policy.” In *The Politics of Canadian Foreign Policy*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015, 139-146.
- Hillmer, Norman. “[National Independence and the National Interest: O.D. Skelton’s Department of External Affairs in the 1920s](#).” In *In the National Interest: Canadian Foreign Policy and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 1909-2009*, edited by Greg Donaghy and Michael K. Carroll, 11-26. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2011.

### **Session 1: Introduction: “Canadian foreign policy before there was Canadian foreign policy” (LE/SM)**

This session is designed with three goals in mind: (1) to introduce participants to the aims, mechanics, and expectations of the course (to be discussed primarily during the seminar); (2) to provide the historical backdrop that will frame the case studies covered in Sessions 1 through 8; and (3) to explore a case study on foreign policy leadership during the pre-Second World War period. The lecture will provide an overview of the evolution of Canada's international posture up to and including the passage of the Statute of Westminster in 1931. The seminar will examine Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King's strategic decision-making process between 1935 and 1939.

### Required Readings

- Eayrs, James. “[‘A Low Dishonest Decade’: Aspects of Canadian External Policy, 1931-1939.](#)” Chapter 23 in *Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation*. 5<sup>th</sup> ed., edited by Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, 347-362. Toronto: Harcourt and Brace Canada, [1960] 1998.
- Rose, Larry D. “[Pull Down the Blinds and Hide Under the Bed.](#)” Chapter 13 in *Mobilize: Why Canada was Unprepared for the Second World War*. Toronto: Dundurn, 2003, 255-267.
- Granatstein, J.L., and Robert Bothwell. “[‘A Self-Evident National Duty’: Canadian Foreign Policy, 1935-1939.](#)” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 3, no. 2 (January 1975): 212-233.
- MacFarlane, John. “[Double Vision: Ernest Lapointe, Mackenzie King and the Quebec Voice in Canadian Foreign Policy, 1935-1939.](#)” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 34, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 93-111.

### Supplementary Readings

- Sauer, Angelika. “Goodwill and Profit: Mackenzie King and Canadian Appeasement.” In *A Country of Limitations: Canada and the World in 1939*, edited by Norman Hillmer, *et al.*, 247-269. Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1996. [IRC 971.0632 C68 1996]
- Waite, P.B. “[French Canadian Isolationism and English Canada: An Elliptical Foreign Policy, 1935-1939.](#)” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1983): 132-148.
- Bothwell, Robert, and Norman Hillmer. *The In-Between Time: Canadian External Policy in the 1930s*. Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1975, especially 147-153 and 201-212. [IRC 327.71 I52]
- Sloan, Neville. “Neville Chamberlain, Appeasement, and the Role of the British Dominions.” *London Journal of Canadian Studies* 23 (2007-08): 67-80.



- Ripsman, Norrin M., and Jack S. Levy. “[Wishful Thinking or Buying Time? The Logic of British Appeasement in the 1930s.](#)” *International Security* 33, no. 2 (Fall 2008): 148-181.
- Baros, Andrew, *et al.* “Debating British Decision-Making Toward Nazi Germany in the 1930s.” *International Security* 34, no. 1 (Summer 2009): 173-198. Three links: [here](#), [here](#), [here](#).

## Session 2: The Diplomacy of Constraint and the Korean War (SM)

This session examines Canadian-American relations during the early Cold War era. It introduces the concept of the diplomacy of constraint and allows participants to consider its legitimacy and/or effectiveness as a means of promoting the Canadian national interest.

### Required Readings

- Stairs, Denis. “[The Diplomacy of Constraint.](#)” In *Partners Nevertheless: Canadian-American Relations in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Norman Hillmer, 214-226. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1989.
- Price, John. “[The ‘Cat’s Paw’: Canada and the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea.](#)” *Canadian Historical Review* 85, no. 2 (June 2004): read only 297-300 and 321-324.
- Prince, Robert. “[The Limits of Constraint.](#)” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 27, no. 4 (Winter 1992-93): 129-152.
- Touhey, Ryan M. “[In Close and Friendly Collaboration.](#)” Chapter 4 in *Conflicting Visions: Canada and India in the Cold War World, 1946-76*. Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2015, 60-76.

### Supplementary Readings

- Sayle, Timothy Andrews. “[A Pattern of Constraint: Canadian-American Relations in the Early Cold War.](#)” *International Journal* 62, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 689-705.
- Donaghy, Greg. “Pacific Diplomacy: Canadian Statecraft and the Korean War, 1950-1953.” In *Canada and Korea: Perspectives 2000*, edited by R.W.L. Guisso and Youngsik Yoo, 81-100. Toronto: Centre for Korean Studies, University of Toronto, 2002. [Available from the instructor only]

## Session 3: The Suez Crisis and UN Diplomacy (SM)

This session examines Canada’s approach to multilateral, and specifically UN, diplomacy at the end of what is often called the “golden age” of Canadian foreign policy. It invites participants to

assess the quality of strategic decision-making that led to Lester Pearson's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize.

Participants not familiar with the history of this period should be advised that in the readings:

- Mike is Lester Pearson
- Dulles is John Foster Dulles, the US secretary of state
- Eden is Anthony Eden, the British prime minister
- Hammarskjöld is Dag Hammarskjöld, the UN secretary general
- Reid is Escott Reid, a Canadian diplomat
- Ike is Dwight Eisenhower, the US president

### Required Readings

- English, John. "Suez." Chapter 4 in *The Worldly Years: The Life of Lester Pearson 1949-1972*. Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992, 121-145.
- Holmes, John W. "The United Nations in the Fifties." *The Shaping of Peace: Canada and the Search for World Order, 1943-1957, Vol. 2*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982, 348-370.
- Eayrs, James. "Canadian Policy and Opinion During the Suez Crisis." *International Journal* 12, no. 2 (Spring 1957): 97-108.
- Lenarcic, David A. "Remembering History: The Suez Crisis and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 from a Canadian Perspective." *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (Summer 1996): 26-31.

### Supplementary Readings

- Pearson, Lester B. *Mike: The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson, Vol. 2, 1948-1957*, edited by John A. Munro and Alex I. Inglis, 212-278. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972. [IRC 971.0643 P437 1972 V. 2]
- Johnson, Edward. "The Diplomat's Diplomat: Sir Pierson Dixon, Ambassador to the United Nations." *Contemporary British History* 13, no. 2 (1999): 178-198.
- Carroll, Michael K. *Pearson's Peacekeepers: Canada and the United Nations Emergency Force, 1956-67*. Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2009, 3-56. [IRC 341.580971 C388 2009]
- Pearson, Geoffrey A.P. *Seize the Day: Lester B. Pearson and Crisis Diplomacy*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993, 137-155. [IRC 971.0643092 P3 1993]
- Reid, Escott. *Hungary and Suez: A View from New Delhi*. Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1986, 13-26, 133-139. [IRC 954.042 R45 1986]

- Donaghy, Greg. “‘An Unselfish Interest?’ Canada and the Hungarian Revolution, 1954-57.” Unpublished paper. [Available from the instructor only]
- Donaghy, Greg. “[The Politics of Accommodation: Canada, the Middle East, and the Suez Crisis, 1950-1956.](#)” *International Journal* 71, no. 2 (2016): 313-327.

#### **Session 4: Diplomatic Leadership and the Cuban Missile Crisis (SM)**

This session examines the relationship between politics and policy in Canada during a global crisis. It also enables participants to consider the effectiveness of a Canadian prime minister as a manager of competing domestic and international priorities.

#### **Required Readings**

- Reford, Robert W. “[Background.](#)” Chapter 1 in *Canada and Three Crises*. Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1968, 149-168.
- Lyon, Peyton V. “[Cuba — October 1962.](#)” Chapter 2 in *Canada in World Affairs, 1961-1963*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968, 27-64.
- Ghent-Mallet, Jocelyn, and Don Munton. “[Confronting Kennedy and the Missiles in Cuba 1962.](#)” Chapter 6 in *Canadian Foreign Policy: Selected Cases*, edited by Don Munton and John Kirton, 78-100. Scarborough: Prentice Hall, 1992.
- McKercher, Asa. “[A ‘Half-hearted Response’?: Canada and the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962.](#)” *International History Review* 33, no. 2 (June 2011): 335-352.

#### **Supplementary Readings**

- Molinaro, Dennis. “‘Calculated Diplomacy’: John Diefenbaker and the Origins of Canada’s Cuba Policy.” In *Our Place in the Sun: Canada and Cuba in the Castro Era*, edited by Robert Wright and Dana Wylie, 75-95. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009. [IRC 327.7107291 O97 2009]
- Gladman, Brad, and Peter M. Archambault. “[Advice and Indecision: Canada and the Cuban Missile Crisis.](#)” *Canadian Military History* 23, no. 1 (Winter 2014): 11-32.
- Dorn, A. Walter, and Robert Pauk. “[Unsung Mediator: U Thant and the Cuban Missile Crisis.](#)” *Diplomatic History* 33, no. 2 (April 2009): 261-292.
- Haydon, Peter T. *The Cuban Missile Crisis: Canadian Involvement Reconsidered*. Toronto: Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 1993, 121-148, 176-211. [IRC 973.922 H39 1993]
- Jockel, Joseph T. *Canada in NORAD 1957-2007: A History*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007, 54-60. [IRC 355.033071 J59 2007]

- Newman, Peter C. *Renegade in Power: The Diefenbaker Years*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973, 335-340. [IRC 971.0642 N48 1963]

### **Session 5: Canada, the United States, and the Third Option (SM)**

This session examines the links between and among trade policy, foreign policy, and domestic politics. It introduces the idea of the “Third Option” in Canadian trade policy, and enables participants to assess the benefits and drawbacks of efforts to strengthen the Canada-US relationship.

#### **Required Readings**

- Granatstein, J.L., and Robert Bothwell. “[Missing Links: The Contractual Links with the European Community and Japan](#).” Chapter 6 in *Pirouette: Pierre Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990, 158-62.
- Sharp, Mitchell. “[Canada-U.S. Relations: Options for the Future](#).” In *Partners Nevertheless: Canadian-American Relations in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Norman Hillmer, 126-143. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1989.
- Lyon, Peyton V. “[Second Thoughts on the Second Option](#).” *International Journal* 30, no. 4 (Autumn 1975): 646-670.
- Winham, Gilbert R. “[Choice and Strategy in Continental Relations](#).” Chapter 9 in *Continental Community? Independence and Integration in North America*, edited by W. Andrew Axline, et al., 228-239. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.
- Hancock, John. “[The Third Option: An Idea Whose Time Has Finally Come?](#)” *International Journal* 70, no. 2 (June 2015): 322-338.

#### **Supplementary Readings**

- Bothwell, Robert. *Alliance and Illusion: Canada and the World, 1945-1984*. Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2007, 343-348. [IRC 327.71009045 B68 2007]
- Hart, Michael. *A Trading Nation: Canadian Trade Policy from Colonialism to Globalization*. Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2002, 278-292. [IRC 382.0971 H278 2002]
- Mace, Gordon, and Gérard Hervouet. “Canada’s Third Option: A Complete Failure?” *Canadian Public Policy* 15, no. 4 (December 1989): 387-404. [IRC PERIODICALS]
- Muirhead, Bruce. “[From Special Relationship to Third Option: Canada, the US, and the Nixon Shock](#).” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 34, no. 3 (Autumn 2004): 439-462.
- Sharp, Mitchell. *Which Reminds Me: A Memoir*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994, 177-186. [IRC 971.0643092 S52 1994]

### **Session 6: Brian Mulroney and South African Apartheid (SM)**

12/18

This session examines the Canadian response to a pressing human rights issue in the international context. It reveals the complicated relationship among the Prime Minister, the Minister of External Affairs, the Department of External Affairs, and the Canadian and international publics on an issue that attracted significant public attention in Canada and around the world.

### Required Readings

- Freeman, Linda. “[Forces for Change: The New Conjuncture.](#)” *The Ambiguous Champion: Canada and South Africa in the Trudeau and Mulroney Years*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997, 129-132.
- Mulroney, Brian. *Memoirs, 1939-1993*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2007, 398-407, 580-583.
- Adam, Heribert, and Kogila Moodley. “[The Background to Canada’s Activist Policy Against Apartheid: Theoretical and Political Implications.](#)” *Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 30, no. 3 (November 1992): 293-315.
- Black, David R. “[How Exceptional? Reassessing the Mulroney Government’s Anti-Apartheid ‘Crusade’.](#)” Chapter 12 in *Diplomatic Departures: The Conservative Era in Canadian Foreign Policy, 1984-93*, edited by Nelson Michaud and Kim Richard Nossal. 173-193. Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2001.
- Also available **in French** as Black, David. “[La politique du gouvernement Mulroney à l’égard de l’Afrique du Sud : précurseur de la « sécurité humaine durable ».](#)” *Études Internationales* 31, no. 2 (June 2000): 291-310.
- Nossal, Kim Richard. “[The Impact of Rhetoric: Running Out of Steam on South Africa?](#)” Chapter 11 in *Rain Dancing: Sanctions in Canadian & Australian Foreign Policy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994, 243-251.
- UN General Assembly. *Provisional Verbatim Record of the Forty-Seventh Meeting, A/40/PV.47*, 23 October 1985, 26-27. Cited in *Canada and South Africa: Challenge and Response*, edited by Douglas G. Anglin, 61-62. Ottawa: Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, 1986.

### Supplementary Readings

- Hampson, Fen. “A Light in the Window: Ending Apartheid in South Africa.” Chapter 4 in *Master of Persuasion: Brian Mulroney’s Global Legacy*. Toronto: Signal, 2018, 57-78. [IRC 971.0647 H36 2018]
- Nossal, Kim Richard. *Rain Dancing: Sanctions in Canadian & Australian Foreign Policy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994, 91-110. [IRC 327.71 N677 1994]

- Mulroney, Brian. *Memoirs, 1939-1993*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2007, 461-472, 549-554. [IRC 971.0647092 M85 2007]
- Freeman, Linda. *The Ambiguous Champion: Canada and South Africa in the Trudeau and Mulroney Years*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997, 133-282, especially 133-148, 190-211, 257-282. [IRC 327.71068 F8 1997]
- Anglin, Douglas G., Ed. *Canada and South Africa: Challenge and Response*. Ottawa: Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, 1986, 41-64. [IRC 327.71068 C333 1986]
- Wood, Bernard. “[Canada and Southern Africa: A Return to Middle Power Activism.](#)” *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs* 79, no. 315 (July 1990): 280-290.
- Brown, Chris. “Canada and Southern Africa 1989: Autonomy, Image and Capacity in Foreign Policy.” In *Canada Among Nations 1989: The Challenge of Change*, edited by Maureen Appel Molot and Fen Osler Hampson. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990, specifically 213-223. [IRC REFERENCE COLLECTION 327.71 C384 1989]

### **Session 7: NATO, Human Security, and the Kosovo Crisis (SM)**

This session examines Canadian diplomacy during the height of the Kosovo crisis. In addition to assessing the quality and impact of Canada’s diplomatic representatives and foreign policy leaders, it aims to illustrate some of the international policy challenges and opportunities that emerged in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War.

For context, see: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1989-1992/breakup-yugoslavia>.

#### **Required Readings**

- Dashwood, Hevina S. “[Canada’s Participation in the NATO-led Intervention in Kosovo.](#)” Chapter 14 in *Canada Among Nations 2000: Vanishing Borders*, edited by Maureen Appel Molot and Fen Osler Hampson, 275-302. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Keating, Tom. “[NATO’s War.](#)” *Canada and World Order: The Multilateralist Tradition in Canadian Foreign Policy*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2013, 212-215.
- Bliss, Michael, and Janice Stein. “[The Lessons of Kosovo: Interview with Michael Bliss and Janice Stein.](#)” *Policy Options* (October 1999): 7-17.
- Geislerova, Marketa. “[Report from the Roundtable on Canada, NATO, and the UN: Lessons Learned from the Kosovo Crisis.](#)” *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 7, no. 1 (1999): 13-18.

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### Supplementary Readings

- Axworthy, Lloyd. “Responsibility to Protect.” Chapter 8 in *Navigating a New World: Canada’s Global Future*. Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2003, 177-199. [IRC 327.71 A99 2003]
- Maloney, Sean M. *Operation Kinetic: Stabilizing Kosovo*. Lincoln, NE: Potomac Books, 2018, 60-101 (especially 77-79). [IRC 949.710 315 M35 2018]
- Heinbecker, Paul, and Rob McRae. “The Kosovo Air Campaign.” In *Human Security and the New Diplomacy*, edited by Rob McRae and Don Hubert, 122-133. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001. [IRC 327.71 H9 2001]
- Heinbecker, Paul. “Kosovo.” In *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, edited by David M. Malone, 537-550. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2004. [IRC 341.2323 U57 2004]
- Jolicoeur, Pierre, and Frederic Labarre. “The Kosovo Model: A (Bad) Precedent for Conflict Management in the Caucasus?” *Connections: The Quarterly Journal* 13, no. 3 (2014): 41-57.
- Nossal, Kim Richard, and Stéphane Roussel. “Canada and the Kosovo War: The Happy Follower.” In *Alliance Politics, Kosovo, and NATO’s War: Allied Force or Forced Allies?*, edited by Pierre Martin and Mark R. Brawley, 181-199. New York: Palgrave, 2000. [IRC 949.7103 A44 2001]
- Bland, Douglas L. “War in the Balkans, Canadian Style.” *Policy Options* (October 1999): 18-21. [IRC PERIODICALS]
- Peterson, Roger D. *Western Intervention in the Balkans: The Strategic Use of Emotion in Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 107-129, 147-163. [IRC 949.703 P48 2011]

### Session 8: Canada and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (SM)

This session examines Canada’s diplomatic conduct in the run-up to and aftermath of the passage of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. It considers how personalities, politics, ideology, diplomatic assumptions, and the interplay between international and domestic law all factor into Canada’s global posture. It also provides valuable evidence of how the meaning of international policy has expanded since the 1930s.

### Required Readings

- Simeone, Tonina. “[The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples – Moving Forward](#).” *Hillnotes*. Ottawa: Library of Parliament, 25 May 2016. 1-4.
- “[‘General Assembly Adopts Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples; ‘Major Step Forward’ Towards Human Rights for All, says President](#).” *United Nations Press Release GA/10612*, 13 September 2007, 1-7. [read only to the end of the comments from the US delegate]
- Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. “[Canada’s Position: United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples – June 29, 2006](#).” [7 pages]
- Coates, Ken and Carin Holroyd. “[Indigenous Internationalism and the Emerging Impact of UNDRIP in Aboriginal Affairs in Canada](#).” In *The Internationalization of Indigenous Rights: UNDRIP in the Canadian Context*, edited by Terry Mitchell. Waterloo: CIGI, 2014, 5-9.
- Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. “[Archived – Canada’s Statement of Support on the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples](#).” 12 November 2010. [3 pages].
- Neve, Alex and Craig Benjamin. “[Canada and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Opposition Must Give Way to Implementation](#).” *Prairie Forum* 36,2 (2011): 1-8.
- [Notes for an Address by the Honourable Jody Wilson-Raybould ... to the Assembly of First Nations Annual General Assembly](#). Niagara Falls, 12 July 2016. [10 pages]
- Lightfoot, Sheryl. “A Promise Too Far? The Justin Trudeau Government and Indigenous Rights.” Chapter 9 in *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy: Canada Among Nations 2017*, edited by Norman Hillmer and Philippe Lagassé. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, 165-185.

### Supplementary Readings

- King, Hayden. “[UNDRIP’s Fundamental Flaw](#).” *OpenCanada.org*, 2 April 2019.
- Gunn, Brenda L. “[Overcoming Obstacles to Implementing the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Canada](#).” *Windsor Yearbook of Access to Justice* 31,1 (2013): 147-174.
- Hartley, Jackie, Paul Joffe, and Jennifer Preston. Eds. *Realizing the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Triumph, Hope, and Action*. Saskatoon: Purich Publishing, 2010, especially the Introduction and chs 1 and 5. [IRC ordered in summer 2019]



- Lightfoot, Sheryl L. “[Selective Endorsement Without Intent to Implement: Indigenous Rights and the Anglosphere.](#)” *International Journal of Human Rights* 16,1 (2012): 100-133.
- Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. “[Speech for the Honourable Carolyn Bennett, Minister of Indigenous and Northern Affairs at the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues 16<sup>th</sup> Session: Opening Ceremony,](#)” New York, 24 April 2017.
- Favel, Blaine and Ken S. Coates. *Understanding UNDRIP: Choosing Action on Priorities Over Sweeping Claims about the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.* Ottawa: Macdonald-Laurier Institute, May 2006.

### **Session 9: “‘Canada’s Back’ and Other Stories” / Case Study Progress Reports (LE/SM)**

This session has two parts. The first is designed to situate the previous case studies in the context of how analysts have interpreted and explained the history of Canadian international policy with particular reference to recent promises by prime ministers Martin, Harper, and Trudeau to bring “Canada back” onto the world stage. Participants should prepare for the lecture by thinking about what the idea of a “golden age” of Canadian international policy means to them.

The second part of the session provides an opportunity for participants working on their briefing note assignment to report on their progress . Each group / individual will meet with the instructor for 15-30 minutes. Meetings will be scheduled throughout the day.

***No readings are provided in anticipation of this session. DS 536 participants should be focused on their briefing notes. CF 536 participants will be writing the take-home examination.***

### **Sessions 10-12**

Participant-driven case studies.

**Appendix:** Guide to contemporary international policy articles and podcasts.

## Guide to Contemporary International Policy Articles and Podcasts

The following organizations (listed by virtue of — according to the best approximation of the course instructor — their approximate place on the political spectrum, from the furthest right to the furthest left) regularly publish material related to Canadian international policy:

- [Macdonald-Laurier Institute \(MLI\)](#)
- [Canadian Global Affairs Institute \(CGAI\) — Podcasts](#)
- [Centre for International Governance Innovation \(CIGI\) — Multimedia](#)
- [Asia-Pacific Foundation of Canada \(APFC\)](#)
- [Canadian International Council \(CIC\)](#)
- [Institute for Research and Public Policy \(IRPP\) — Multimedia](#)
- [Centre for International Policy Studies \(CIPS\), University of Ottawa — Multimedia](#)
- [OpenCanada](#)
- [The Conversation / La Conversation](#)
- [The Hill Times](#)
- [iPolitics](#)
- [Rideau Institute](#)
- [McLeod Group](#)

The following additional podcasts/multimedia sources (listed in no particular order) might also be of interest:

- [CTV \*Question Period\* Podcast](#)
- [Maclean's \*On the Hill\* Politics Podcast](#)
- [CBC At Issue Podcast](#)
- [CBC Power and Politics](#)
- [Global News Politics](#)