HIST 422 is a seminar course focusing on Canada’s relations with the United States. The Canada-US relationship is one of the most important bilateral relationships in the modern era in terms of trade, political, security, and cultural interactions. Both countries share a considerable degree of similarities in terms of culture, democratic values, and international views. And yet both countries also share considerable differences in a relationship that has consistently been characterized by a substantial power imbalance between the two nations. That imbalance has at times created tensions and has often led Canadians to question their own national identity. These similarities and differences profoundly affect how Canadians, and Canadian historians, view the relationship. Are ties between Canadians and Americans best described as a ‘partnership’? A ‘special relationship’? As ‘tolerant allies’ or as ‘ambivalent allies'? And can the past relationship tell us anything about the Trudeau and Trump era of bilateral relations? The seminar will explore events and themes that have been important in the development of Canada’s relations with the United States. In doing so, the seminar will examine the complicated and sometimes difficult relationship between both countries, with an emphasis on patterns of Canadian anti-Americanism as well as bilateral political, cultural, diplomatic and military interaction.

Since much of the mark will be based on participation, students must keep up with the readings and be willing to engage in the weekly discussions. In addition to participation, each student will write an 15-18 page briefing note research paper on a seminar related topic listed further below. Students are encouraged to meet with Professor Touhey to discuss their topic before submitting their briefing note proposal. For this assignment, students may choose to develop this paper in anticipation of the major research project for History 450.
**Learning Objectives:** Through the readings and seminars students are expected to develop a thorough and critical understanding of the Canada-US relationship in its many facets. The seminar will also expose students to various historiographical debates of the Canada-US relationship.

The annotated bibliography assignment and the seminar discussions are intended to sharpen how students approach written and media sources, as well as instil an understanding that all sources must be scrutinized rather than accepted at face value. Furthermore, these assignments should develop the ability of the student to understand that there are numerous approaches and debates to how the histories of the Canada-United States relationship is written and understood.

The briefing note assignment, and the instructions below for that assignment, should help foster students’ ability to write thoughtfully, undertake historical analysis, and develop their ability to undertake independent primary research.

**Evaluation:**

Seminar participation/attendance-----50%
Annotated bibliography and essay proposal----10% (3-4 pgs)
Briefing note assignment-----40% (15-18 pgs)


J.L. Granatstein, *Yankee Go Home? Canadians and Anti-Americanism* (Toronto: Harper Collins, 1996). Copies have been places on reserve at SJU but students can find very affordable copies on [www.abebooks.com](http://www.abebooks.com)

**Note:** Robert Bothwell *Alliance and Illusion* is available as an e-book through the course reserves website; George Grant *Lament for a Nation* is on reserve at the SJU library.

Additional readings for each seminar will be listed on e-reserve. Electronic items can be accessed through the course reserve feature on the UW library website. Students can always track down paper copies also at the various UW libraries.

**Seminar Schedule**

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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
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<td>Sept. 11th</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
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Sept. 18th  **A Continental Divide?**

**Readings:** Ambivalent Allies, Introduction, Chpts 2 and 3; James Woods “The Good Neighbours and their Undefended Fence.” Jacob Remes “Committed as near neighbours”: The Halifax explosion.
Sept. 25th  A North American nation?

Oct. 2nd  The Second World War: The Forked Road?

Oct. 16th  Cold War Constraints
Readings: Ambivalent Allies Chpt 6; Robert Prince: The Limits of Constraint---Canadian America Relations and the Korean War, 1950-51; Robert Bothwell Alliance and Illusion Chpts 6-7; Donald Barry “Cleared or Covered up? The Department of External Affairs investigations of Herbert Norman.” 147-169.

October 16th, 2017 proposal/annotated bibliography due in seminar

Oct. 23rd  Diefenbaker and the Americans
Readings: Bothwell Alliance and Illusion Chpt 8-9; Daniel Macfarlane “Caught between two fires”: St. Lawrence seaway and power project, Canadian-American relations, and linkage; Michael Stevenson “Tossing a match into Dry Hay”

Oct 30th.  A new nationalism?
Readings: Ambivalent Allies Chpt 7; George Grant, Lament for a Nation.

Nov. 6th  Canada and the Vietnam War---American chore boy or navigating national interests?
Readings: Bothwell, Chpt 12; Yankee Go Home Chpt 7; Andrew Preston "Balancing War and Peace: Canadian Foreign Policy and the Vietnam War, 1961-1965" 73-111; Victor Levant-- Quiet complicity: Canadian involvement in the Vietnam War Ch.1 Introduction; Ch. 6 Canadian arms sales to the U.S.; Ch. 13 Canada and the United States' war.
Nov. 13th  
**Trudeau and the Elephant---From Nixon to Reagan---**

*Readings:* Ambivalent Allies Chpt 8; Bothwell Chpt 17 and Chpt 20 pgs 380-388; Ivan Head and Pierre Trudeau Canadian Way: Shaping Canadian Foreign Policy, 1968-1984 Ch. 6; Yankee Go Home, Chpts 8-9

Nov. 20th  
**A Continental Country?**

*Readings:* Ambivalent Allies Chpt 9; Yankee Go Home Chpt 10; Derek Burney Chpts 10-11; North American Mingling, in Dispersed Relations by Reginald Stuart; Brian Mulroney Memoirs, The Shamrock Summit

Nov. 27th  
*******No seminar but briefing note assignment due********

Dec. 4th  
**Towards the new millennium**


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**Instructions for Seminars/Briefing note assignment, etc:**

**Discussion Component of the Course**

Through the small size, the weekly seminar is designed to provide a collegial and excellent environment to float ideas, views, and even questions of the readings for discussion. Students are fully expected to complete the readings in advance for each seminar so that they can actively participate in the discussions. The seminars are intended to illustrate to the student that historians often examine subjects differently using a variety of sources, approaches, and questions to inform their research. Marks are based on a combination of attendance and the quality of participation. Simply showing up to tutorial and offering a few vague words on the readings will not earn a student marks. Students aiming to receive top participation marks in each tutorial will be active listeners, they will consistently engage each other in discussion, and they will demonstrate through their comments that they have a solid grasp of the readings. **Note: failure to attend the majority of seminars will result in an automatic failure.**

For missed seminars---due to medical illness or another significant reason---students must, within one week of the missed discussion group, submit a 5-6 page written summary/analysis of the readings that consider the questions/discussion points
The assignment must use 12 point Times New Roman font, standard margins, and be double spaced.

There will be a variety of points to discuss but some questions to keep in mind to help prepare for tutorial discussions include:

1) What did you think of the readings? Why?
2) What surprised you?
3) What are the arguments of the readings?
4) Compare or contrast where the historians differ in the readings for that week i.e. subject emphasis, sources, arguments; political perspectives.
5) What do you think are the author’s goals?
6) What are the strengths and weaknesses of the readings?
7) Have the readings changed or added to your understanding of the topic? If so, how?
8) For readings that emphasize biography, ask what the pros and cons of that approach are to understanding/gleaning insights into the topic/period
9) For the Burney, Mulroney and Trudeau readings you should question how useful are memoirs as a source for understanding Canadian history?

Written Assignments

Briefing note topic proposal and Annotated Bibliography (10%): DUE in seminar Monday October 16th, 2017. This will encourage you to get started on your research early, and will allow me to recommend other sources and themes that may help to strengthen your Briefing note submission. Please note that final papers will not be graded without the prior submission of this proposal.

On 16th October, students will submit a proposal (3-4 pages) including:

- The historical topic, timeframe, and the main question(s) that they are asking to guide their briefing note research (in question form);

- And a preliminary annotated bibliography --including at least 12 substantive sources (i.e. monographs and scholarly/periodical articles) of which at least half must be primary sources. Primary sources relate to people and materials directly related to the topic, generally from the same time frame. Included in the list of primary documents are: any and all government publications including Royal Commission reports, Departmental reports, on-line archival material from Library and Archives Canada, the Department of Foreign Affairs historical section etc. Transcripts and tabled documents from debates of national and provincial legislatures, known as Hansards and Sessional Papers make excellent primary sources. As well, newspaper and other media coverage, such as Maclean’s magazine, from the time provide excellent primary sources. Book and articles written by those involved, including memoirs, are excellent sources.
Each annotation should include at least two thoughtful sentences for each source explaining the contents of the source and why it will be useful to your essay.

Websites such as Wikipedia are not to be used. Exceptions are the on-line Cabinet Conclusions at [http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/politics-government/cabinet-conclusions/Pages/cabinet-conclusions.aspx](http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/politics-government/cabinet-conclusions/Pages/cabinet-conclusions.aspx) or the Document Collections on External Relations series posted online at [http://www.international.gc.ca/history/histoire/documents-documents.aspx](http://www.international.gc.ca/history/histoire/documents-documents.aspx)

**Finding essay sources---some helpful tips:**

Your textbook & many of the supplemental readings have either terrific annotated ‘Further Reading’ sections or well detailed footnotes. Students are well advised to consult these for their essays.

**Useful Internet Links**

The internet can also be a valuable research tool, but use it with caution. Again---if I see Wikipedia or an encyclopedia website on any assignment the student will lose marks.

Some reliable sites for primary documents include the following:

The Library and Archives Canada has cabinet minutes online for the period 1944-1976


The Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development (DFATD) has digitized is Documents on Canadian External Relations (DCER) series on-line for the years 1946-1963 (paper copies for years 1909-1963 are available at Dana Porter Library) [http://www.international.gc.ca/history/histoire/documents-documents.aspx](http://www.international.gc.ca/history/histoire/documents-documents.aspx)

The US State Department also has an impressive range of material from its Foreign Relations of the US (FRUS) series online from the Truman to the Nixon presidencies: [http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments](http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments)

For biographies of prominent Canadians including many key diplomats and Prime Ministers, see the Dictionary of Canadian Biography online at: [http://www.biographi.ca/index-e.html?PHPSESSID=05mvu9l5arc0glmeu91h71ekr7](http://www.biographi.ca/index-e.html?PHPSESSID=05mvu9l5arc0glmeu91h71ekr7)
The House of Commons debates from 1867 to 2010 are another terrific resource to gauge public debates on bilateral matters and are online at: http://parl.canadiana.ca

For international primary sources specific to the Cold War era a brilliant website to consult is the Cold War International History Project. This website provide recently declassified materials from a variety of Cold War era states: http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org

The National Security Archive in Washington D.C. has an impressive and useful collection of declassified American material: http://nsarchive.gwu.edu

**Briefing note assignment (40%): DUE November 27, 2017**

For their main written assignment each student will write an 15-18 page briefing note based on historical research (double-spaced, Times New Roman 12pt font) on a topic of listed below their choice. For this assignment, students may choose to develop this paper in anticipation of the major research project for History 450. Each student will choose her or his topic in consultation with the instructor.

**I. Background Section:** This is a “relevant history” section. The question you need to answer is: What background is absolutely necessary for the reader of your brief to understand this issue? Remember: s/he is busy and will likely ignore a too brief note or one that contains unnecessary information.

Elements that should go in the background section:

- How did this issue come about? History often casts a long shadow over events and influences the way we think about an issue. But remember that space is limited and that you must select the most useful information. What, for example, have the historical attitudes been of the United States and Great Britain, Canada’s principal allies?

- When outlining international history, ALWAYS highlight the past Canadian position! Be specific, but not in excessive detail! Why did Canada take this position? Do those interests/impulses still apply? What has government policy been over the years? Are there legal agreements (treaties, trade agreements, etc) that should be considered? For example, is Canada legally committed to do something as a member of an alliance, or by virtue of having a trade agreement?

Remember: Be Specific! If an agreement was signed: which countries signed it? Vague allusions are not at all persuasive. If there was a past war: when was the war? Why did it happen?
II. Options Section: The goal is to delineate, as clearly and succinctly as possible, what options are available. Although this will be your shortest section, it might take the most time to do.

- Be sure to outline clearly the differences between your options. For example, your options may be as stark as whether to go to war or not. Alternatively, although you may suggest supporting a war, you may decide to participate in a limited way. In the latter case, to what degree? Here numbers or distinct policy configurations should be outlined very clearly and precisely.

- Try to demonstrate a nuanced understanding of the issue in this section. Aim to be realistic and practical. For example, a Canadian decision to end all trade with the US is probably not a realistic option. Try to remember that good policy is frequently about subtlety: therefore, if there are subtle (but important) differences between policy options, then clearly explain the differences. These distinctions should be clear to your reader.

III. Considerations Section: This will be your longest section. It is the section where you really present evidence for the recommendation you will make. In this section, you should answer two questions: (1) What is in Canada’s national interest? Why, precisely, is this so? (2) What are the potential implications of the options outlined? Don’t state your recommendation yet. In this section you will lay the groundwork for the recommendation that you will present in the final section. When describing implications, be sure to note the drawbacks of all options. No option is perfect.

- In terms of the Canadian interest, be sure to explain how you think a particular interest could be threatened (or is being threatened). Is it national security? Could a Canadian trade relationship be imperiled? What implications does each option have for global stability or for international institutions, such as the United Nations? Are there values that should be taken into account alongside the interests? Are there values that rise to the level of interests? And what constraints are there on the policy process or policy actors that the reader ought to know about, limiting action or making it impossible?

- In determining potential implications, make a realistic and disciplined case. Although you are not outlining your recommendations yet, your consideration of implications should not contradict your recommendations. Having said that, you may be able to enrich your analysis by outlining some of the drawbacks of the option you will eventually recommend. There may be reasons why, despite these drawbacks, your suggested option is the least bad option.

IV. Recommendations: This will be the section where you clearly state the option you recommend. By the time you reach this section, the reader should not be in doubt about the option you have selected. If you have made the case effectively in the previous section, the logic for your choice should be clear. Try to limit the repetition in this section
(although some will be necessary). You will wish to suggest a means of implementing this recommendation as a final point.

**Final Structural Considerations:**

- **Consult the sample briefing notes closely for advice on format.** Although the assignment is not primarily concerned with format, it is a briefing note and should resemble one.

- Be conscious of how your briefing note flows as a piece of writing. A good brief will flow almost seamlessly between sections.

- **Please be sure to include a standard title page with your name, student number, the name of the professor, and the date.** Also note the topic on the cover page.

- **Be sure not to forget the bibliography at the end of the note.** You may consolidate some of your sources under a single heading in the bibliography, as in putting all *Globe and Mail* articles or *Documents on Canadian External Relations* documents together for a single comment.

- Your briefing note **MUST use footnotes or endnotes that are consistent and conform to a major style system such as Chicago.**

- **Consult no fewer than 12 substantive sources, at least half of them primary sources.** The use of several newspaper articles or documents from a single source obviously will add up to more than one of the eight sources you must cite; however, seek a variety of primary and secondary sources for your list. Do not over-use the internet.

- Be sure not to manipulate the margins and use 12 pt. Times New Roman font.

**Grading Criteria:** Although your briefing note will be graded as a whole, each section should speak to the suggestions above. When you are editing your piece, consider the questions below:

- **Background Section:** Was the background information presented relevant? Were there important issues that should have been presented in greater detail? Were there details that were omitted altogether?

- **Options Section:** Are the options clearly presented and distinct? Has the writer given adequate consideration to all of the options presented? Are they all realistic? Do the options suggest a nuanced understanding of the material?
- **Considerations Section:** Has the writer clearly outlined all of the important considerations? Is the national interest clearly presented? Has the briefing note clearly outlined what the implications are? Does this section make the recommendations in the following section seem like a natural conclusion? Are your considerations sufficiently persuasive?

- **Recommendations:** Is the reader absolutely clear on the reasons why you have selected your suggested policy option? Does the reader still have lingering doubts? Is your recommendation realistic and practical?

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**Canadian - American Relations**

**Briefing Note Topics**

1) It is 1876 and you are an advisor to Minister of Justice Edward Blake. You have received reports from the North West Mounted Police that Sioux followers of Sitting Bull have crossed the border in flight from the American Army. There is the possibility that American forces may attempt to cross the border to apprehend the Sioux. Advise the Minister on the best course of action.

2) It is 1877, and you are an advisor in the office of the leader of the Opposition, Sir John A. Macdonald, who is concerned by the Canadians who are leaving for the United States. Advise him on what he should propose to stop the drain of talent to the US.

3) It is 1895, and the United States is embroiled in a controversy with Great Britain over a boundary dispute in Venezuela. There are rumours of war between the United States and Great Britain, and even of an American takeover of Canada. As a policy adviser to the Canadian prime minister, brief him on the crisis and recommend what he and his government ought to say and do.

4) It is 1909, and you are an advisor to US President William Howard Taft, who wants to know why the *USS Nashville* is such an irritant in Canada-US relations and what to do about it. How would you advise the president?

5) It is 1923, and Prime Minister Mackenzie King is contemplating the dispatching of a permanent Canadian diplomatic representative (a junior ambassador) to the United States. Advise him about whether this would be a good idea, what the drawbacks and alternatives are, and clearly outline a course of action.
6) It is 1936, and US President Franklin Roosevelt is pressuring Canada to do something about its weak coastal defences. Write a briefing note advising the Canadian prime minister on how specifically he ought to react.

7) It is 1943, and you are an advisor to Prime Minister Mackenzie King. The British High Commissioner is warning of a too-large American footprint in the Canadian North. How do you recommend that the prime minister proceed?

8) It is 1947. As head of the Royal Canadian Air Force, write a briefing note to Prime Minister Mackenzie King advising him what the level and nature of peacetime military cooperation between Canada and the US ought to be.

9) It is 1957, and a John Diefenbaker government has come to power on a platform expressing skepticism about the United States. As a policy aide to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, advise the president on the nature of the danger to Canada-US relations and recommend a specific policy or set of policies to respond to the new Canadian government.

10) It is 1965, and you are an advisor to United States President Lyndon Johnson. Canadian Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson has just given a speech in Philadelphia that is critical of US policy in Vietnam. Advise the president on how to respond.

11) It is 1967, and a group of university professors have approached Canadian Prime Minister L. B. Pearson with the suggestion that Canadian weapons ought not to be sold to the United States until its intervention in Vietnam ceases. Advise the prime minister on how to respond to the professors.

12) It is 1972 and you are an advisor to Minister of External Affairs Mitchell Sharp. Preparation is underway to receive President of the United States Richard Nixon in Ottawa. Prepare Mr. Sharp for the meeting by outlining a specific proposal or package of proposals that will respond to Washington’s recent assertions of America First.

13) It is 1976, and a separatist government has been elected in the Canadian province of Quebec. You are an advisor to President-Elect Jimmy Carter of the United States. What should the United States do and say about this startling turn of events?

14) It is 1984, and you are a policy advisor to Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who is committed to repairing the strained relationship with the United States. Make and justify a proposal or set of proposals to repair the relationship with the Ronald Reagan administration.

15) It is 1984, and you are the Canadian expert in the State Department. The new Canadian prime minister, Brian Mulroney, is coming to Washington to meet
President Ronald Reagan. Make and justify a proposal or set of proposals that will respond to a new Canadian prime minister committed to “good relations, super relations” with the United States.

16) It is 1987, and you are the foreign policy advisor to the leader of the opposition, John Turner. The Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between Canada and the United States has been announced. How should Mr. Turner respond?

17) It is 1995, and you are a policy advisor to President of the United States Bill Clinton. The referendum on Quebec independence is nearing and there is a possibility that the Yes side could win. Prepare a briefing note that outlines what the American position should be in the event of a Yes victory.

18) It is 2005, and you are a policy advisor to Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin, who has received a request from US President George Bush to consider joining an American proposed continental Ballistic Missile Defence programme. The prime minister would like you to consider the matter and make a specific recommendation from the perspective of Canada-US relations.

Citations are essential to any historical essay. You must cite specific events and any ideas that are not your own. Direct quotes have to be cited, but that alone is insufficient for an essay. You also need to cite: paraphrased material; little known facts; statistics and primary material. Direct quotes should be used sparingly, but they can be useful if from a primary source or an author encapsulates an argument/theme in a compact fashion. Also keep in mind that short quote, three lines and less, are incorporated into the text between quotation marks “direct quote.” Footnote/Endnote Long quotes, more than three lines, get single spaced and double indented without quotation marks.

The preferred and most accepted method of citing for historical essays is using Chicago style footnotes or endnotes, in which a number is used in the text to correspond to a note either at the bottom of a page or at the end of the text. Keep in mind that page numbers are essential and if you have more than one source from the same author, the different sources must clearly be identified.
Other important details

Correspondence:

Please feel free to come to talk to me during set office hours if you have any questions at all. I encourage this. Also, please feel free to e-mail me and I will do my utmost to respond promptly. All I ask is that you observe proper etiquette with e-mails.

NOTE-----Please do not text during seminars, and out of courtesy to myself and your fellow students be punctual.

PROFESSOR’S POLICY ON LATE ASSIGNMENTS/ESSAYS

NOTE: A late mark of 5% per day will be deducted for assignments. An assignment that is 1 week late will be docked 30% and so on.

For missed seminars due to an appropriate medical reason supported with proper documentation as per UW policy students must submit a 5-6 page written summary/analysis of the readings that consider the questions/discussion points outlined in the seminar brief. The assignment must use 12 point font, standard margins, and be double spaced.

Academic Integrity: To maintain a culture of academic integrity, members of the University of Waterloo and its Affiliated and Federated Institutions of Waterloo (AFIW) are expected to promote honesty, trust, fairness, respect, and responsibility.

Academic Integrity Office (UW): A resource for students and instructors.

Discipline: A student is expected to know what constitutes academic integrity, to avoid committing academic offences, and to take responsibility for their actions. A student who is unsure whether an action constitutes an offence, or who needs help in learning how to avoid offences (e.g., plagiarism, cheating) or about “rules” for group work/collaboration should seek guidance from the course professor, academic advisor, or the Associate Dean. When misconduct has been found to have occurred, disciplinary penalties will be imposed under the St. Jerome’s University Policy on Student Discipline. For information on categories of offenses and types of penalties, students should refer to University of Waterloo Policy 71 - Student Discipline.

Grievance: A student who believes that a decision affecting some aspect of their university life has been unfair or unreasonable may have grounds for initiating a grievance. Read the St. Jerome’s University Policy on Student Petitions and Grievances.

Appeals: A student may appeal the finding and/or penalty in a decision made under the St. Jerome’s University Policy on Student Petitions and Grievances (other than regarding a petition) or the St. Jerome’s University Policy on Student Discipline if a ground for an appeal can be established. Read the St. Jerome's University Policy on Student Appeals.
Note for Students with Disabilities: The AccessAbility Services office, located on the first floor of the Needles Hall extension (1401), collaborates with all academic departments to arrange appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities without compromising the academic integrity of the curriculum. If you require academic accommodations to lessen the impact of your disability, please register with the AS office at the beginning of each academic term.