



UNIVERSITY OF  
CALGARY

## Department of History

HTST 530/STST 611

Topics in Canadian Foreign and Defence Policy from 1919 to the Cold War Era

Winter 2021

**Instructor:** Dr. David Bercuson

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**Office Hours and Method:** By appointment (on Zoom)

**Course Delivery:** Online, Synchronous

**Synchronous Class Times:** Fridays – 1400-1600 on Zoom, via D2L

### Description

Historical Studies 530/Strategic Studies 611 is a senior undergraduate seminar, open to graduate students, which involves considerable reading and self-study as well as active class participation. Since this course is also available for credit for Masters' level candidates, the grade performance expectations are high. Students are advised to read this outline/syllabus carefully and to be thoroughly familiar with its contents. This course will trace the interplay of war, diplomacy and politics in Canada's evolution from colonial status at the end of the First World War to full independence and statehood by 1984, following the patriation of the Canadian constitution, up to the decision to participate in the War in Afghanistan.

### Reading Material

Required readings for this course are as follows. The library has electronic versions. Any versions of these books is acceptable.

C.P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict* Volume 1.

C.P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict* Volume 2.

R. Bothwell, *Alliance and Illusion*

### Suggested readings

Due to Covid 19, Many of these books will be difficult if not impossible to obtain, please try to do so:

### Canada's At the End of the First World War

Berger, Carl. *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914*. 1

Miller, Carman. *Painting the Map Red: Canada and the South African War 1899-1902*. 1993.

Bliss, Michael. *Right Honourable Men*.

Stewart, William F. Stewart, *The Embattled General: Sir Richard Turner and the First World War*.

Brown, R.C. *Robert Laird Borden: A Biography* Vols. I and II.

Eayrs, James. "The Origins of Canada's Department of External Affairs," in Keenleyside et al, *The Growth of Canadian Policies in External Affairs*

Kendle, J.E. *The Colonial and Imperial Conferences, 1887-1911*.

Penlington, Norman. *Canada and the Age of Imperialism*.

Preston, Richard A. *Canada and Imperial Defence*.

Schull, Joseph. *Laurier, the First Canadian*.

Skelton, O.D. *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier*.

Tucker, G.N. *The Naval Service of Canada, Volume I*.

Cook, Tim. *Warlords: Borden, Mackenzie King, and Canada's World Wars*. Toronto: Allen Lane, 2012.

Brown, R.C. and R. Cook. *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed*.

Brown, R.C. "Sir Robert Borden, the Great War and Anglo-Canadian Relations." In Moir, J.S. (ed), *Character and Circumstances*.

English, John. *The Decline of Politics*.

Graham, Roger. *Arthur Meighen, Volume I*.

Mansergh, N. *The Commonwealth Experience*.

Morton, D. *A Peculiar Kind of Politics*.

Smith, Gaddis. "Canadian External Affairs During World War I," in Keenleyside et al, *The Growth of Canadian Policies in External Affairs*.

### **Canada, the Peace Process and the Anglo-Japanese Treaty**

Bothwell, R. "Loring Christie: The Failure of Bureaucratic Imperialism" (Harvard PhD)

Dawson, R.M. *William Lyon Mackenzie King, Volume I*.

Eayrs, J. *In Defence of Canada, Volume I*.

Fry, Michael G. *Illusions of Security*.

Glazebrook, G.P. *Canada at the Paris Peace Conference*.

Graham, Roger. *Arthur Meighen, Volume II*.

Macmillan, Margaret. *Paris 1919*.

Meighen, Arthur. *Overseas Addresses*.

Pope, Maurice (ed). *Public Servant: The Memoirs of Sir Joseph Pope*.

Wigley, Phillip. *Canada and the Transition to Commonwealth*.

### **The Transition from Empire to Commonwealth: 1922-1931**

Brebner, J.B. *North Atlantic Triangle*.

Eayrs, James. *In Defence of Canada: From the Great War to the Great Depression*.

Stacey, C.P. *Mackenzie King and the Atlantic Triangle*.  
Harkness, D.W. *The Restless Dominion*.  
Hillmer, Norman. "The Pursuit of Peace: Mackenzie King and the 1937 Imperial Conference." In English, John and J.O. Stubbs Ed. *Mackenzie King: Widening the Debate*.  
Neatby, Blair. *William Lyon Mackenzie King: The Lonely Heights*.  
Veatch, Richard. *Canada and the League of Nations*.  
Wigley, Phillip. *Canada and the Transition to Commonwealth*.

### **Canada and the "Low Dishonest Decade:" 1931-1939**

Auden, W.H. September 1, 1939. [www.poemdujour.com/Sept1.1939.html](http://www.poemdujour.com/Sept1.1939.html)  
Eayrs, James. *In Defence of Canada, Volume II: Appeasement and Rearmament*.  
Eayrs, James. "A Low Dishonest Decade:" Aspects of Canadian External Policy, 1931-1939" in Keenleyside et al, *The Growth of Canadian Policies in External Affairs*.  
Bothwell, Robert and John English. "Dirty Work at the Crossroads: New Perspectives on the Riddell Incident," *Canadian Historical Association Report* (1972), 263-85.  
Hillmer, Norman et al. *A Country of Limitations: Canada and the World in 1939*.  
Stacey, C.P. *The Mackenzie King Area*.  
Neatby, Blair. *William Lyon Mackenzie King: The Prism of Unity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.  
Roy MacLaren, *Mackenzie King and the Age of the Dictators*

### **Canada, the Neutrality Question and the "Limited Liability War," 1937-1940**

Case, Captain Gordon C. "The Lessons of Munich: Mackenzie King's Campaign to Prepare Canada for War." *Canadian Military Journal* Vol. 5 No. 4 (Winter 2004-2005): 73-82.  
Dalke, Bill. "Canada's Greatest Contribution—National Identity and the role of Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King in Negotiating the BCATP Agreement." *Canadian Military Journal* Vol. 9 No. 4 (2009): 81-89.  
Bercuson, David. *True Patriot: The Life of Brooke Claxton*.  
Hillmer, Norman. "The Pursuit of Peace: Mackenzie King and the 1937 Imperial Conference." *Mackenzie King: Widening the Debate*. English, John and J.O. Stubbs ed. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1977.  
Hatch, F.J. *The Aerodrome of Democracy: Canada and the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, 1939-1945*.  
Granatstein, J.L. *Canada's War: The Politics of the Mackenzie King Government, 1939-1945*.  
Stacey, C.P. *Arms, Men and Governments*.

### **Problems of National Command in the Second World War**

Delaney, Douglas E. *Corps Commanders: Five British and Canadian Generals at War, 1939-1945*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011.

- Dickson, Paul D. "Colonials and Coalitions: Canadian-British Command Relations between Normandy and the Scheldt." In Brian Farrell ed. *Leadership and Responsibility in the Second World War*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004.
- Dickson, Paul. "The Hand that Wields the Dagger: Harry Crerar, First Canadian Army Command, and National Autonomy." *War and Society* 13:2 (1995): 113-141.
- Dickson, Paul. "Harry Crerar and an Army for Strategic Effect." *Canadian Military History* Vol. 17 No. 1 (Winter 2008): 37-48.
- Dickson, Paul Douglas. *A Thoroughly Canadian General*.
- Granatstein, Jack. *The Generals*. (Crerar/McNaughton/Burns)
- Leppard, Christine, V. Leppard, *Fighting as a Colony* (U of C: PhD)
- Rickard, John. *The Politics of Command*, 2010.

### **The Fate of "Functionalism"**

- Donaghy, Greg and Stéphane Roussel, ed. *Escott Reid*.
- Granatstein, Jack. *The Ottawa Men*.
- Granatstein, Jack. *A Man of Influence*.
- Holmes, J.W. *The Shaping of Peace Vols. I and II*.
- Reid, Escott. *Radical Mandarin: The Memoirs of Escott Reid*.

### **Canada and North American Defence: 1946-1962**

- Granatstein, J.L. "From Mother Country to Far Away Relative: The Canadian-British Military Relationship from 1945." *Canadian Military History* Vol. 18 No. 1 (Winter 2009): 55-60.
- Fawcett, Michael T. "The Politics of Sovereignty—Continental Defence and the Creation of NORAD." *Canadian Military Journal* Vol. 10 No. 2 (2010): 33-40.
- Grant, Shelagh. *Sovereignty or Security? Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936-1950*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988.
- Coates, Ken S and Lackenbauer et al. *Arctic Front: Defending Canada in the Far North*. 2008.
- Grant, Shelagh D. *Polar Imperative: A History of Arctic Sovereignty in North America*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2010.
- Bercuson, David. "Continental Defence and Arctic Sovereignty, 1945-50: Solving the Canadian Dilemma." *The Cold War and Defense*. Ed. Keith Neilson and Ronald G. Haycock.
- Bland, Douglas. *The Administration of Defence Policy in Canada, 1947 to 1987*.
- Connant, Melvin. *The Long Polar Watch*.
- "Dilemmas in Defence Decision Making: Constructing Canada's Role in NORAD, 1958-1996." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 30(4) Winter 2000, 562.
- Jockel, Joseph T. *Canada in NORAD*.
- Jockel, Joseph T. *No Boundaries Upstairs*.
- McMahon, Patricia. *Essence of Indecision*.
- Richter, Andrew. *Avoiding Armageddon: Canadian Military Strategy and Nuclear Weapons, 1950-1963*.
- Smith, Denis. *The Diplomacy of Fear*.

Sutherland, R.J. "The Strategic Significance of the Canadian Arctic." Ed. R. St.J. Macdonald, *The Arctic Frontier*.

### **Canada and Multilateralism: The UN and NATO, 1948-1984**

Formann, Michel, and Martin Larose. "An Emerging Strategic Counterculture? Pierre Elliot Trudeau, Canadian Intellectuals and the Revision of Liberal Defence Policy Concerning NATO (1968-1969)." *International Journal* 59:3 (Summer 2004).

Maloney, Sean M. *Canada and UN Peacekeeping: Cold War by Other Means*. St. Catharines: Vanwell Publishing, 2002.

Gellner, John. *Canada in NATO*.

McDougall, Barbara. *Canada and NATO: The Forgotten Ally?*

Eayrs, James. *In Defence of Canada: Growing Up Allied*.

Reid, Escott. *Time of Fear and Hope: The Making of the North Atlantic Treaty 1947-1949*.

McLin, Jon. *Canada's Changing Defence Policy, 1957-1963: The Problems of a Middle Power in Alliance*.

Maloney, Sean. *War Without Battles: Canada's NATO Brigade in Germany*.

Granatstein, J.L. and Robert Bothwell. *Pirouette: Pierre Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy*.

Reid, Escott. *Time of Fear and Hope: The Making of the North Atlantic Treaty, 1947-1949*.

Reid, Escott. *On Duty: A Canadian at the Making of the United Nations, 1945-1949*.

### **Canada and Peacekeeping: 1956-1984**

Conrad, Lt.-Col. John. *Scarce Heard Amid the Guns: An Inside Look at Canadian Peacekeeping*. Toronto: Dundurn, 2011.

Dallaire, Romeo. *Shake Hands With the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*. 2003.

Hillmer, Norman, and J.L. Granatstein. *Empire to Umpire: Canada and the World to the 1990s*. Toronto: Copp Clark, Longman's, 1994.

Mackenzie, Lewis. *Peacekeeper: The Road to Sarajevo*.

Coulon, Jocelyn. *Soldiers of Diplomacy: The United Nations, Peacekeeping and the New World Order*.

Spooner, Kevin A. *Canada, the Congo Crisis, and UN Peacekeeping, 1960-64*.

Gammer, Nicholas. *From Peacekeeping to Peacemaking: Canada's Response to the Yugoslav Crisis*.

Thakur, Ramesh. *Peacekeeping in Vietnam: Canada, India, Poland, and the International Commission*.

Sens, Allan G. *Somalia and the Changing Nature of Peacekeeping: The Implications for Canada*.

Carroll, Michael K. *Pearson's Peacekeepers: Canada and the United Nations Emergency Force, 1956-67*.

Johnston, Sheila Enslev. *Canada's Peacekeepers: Protecting Human Rights Around the World*.

### **Canada in Afghanistan**

Pigott, Peter. *Canada in Afghanistan: The War So Far*.  
 Stein, Janice Gross and Eugene Lang. *The Unexpected War: Canada in Kandahar*.  
 Brewster, Murray. *The Savage War: The Untold Battles of Afghanistan*.  
 Hillier, Rick. *A Soldier First: Bullets, Bureaucrats, and the Politics of War*.  
 Alexander, Chris. *The Long Way Back: Afghanistan's Quest for Peace*.  
 Smith, Gordon: *Canada in Afghanistan: Is it Working?*  
 Bercuson, David and Jack Granatstein. *Lessons Learned? What Canada Should Learn From Afghanistan*.  
 Tamas, Andy, *Warriors and Nation Builders*.  
 Boucher, Jean-Christophe Boucher and Kim Richard Nossal, *The Politics of War: Canada's Afghanistan Mission, 2001-1014*.

## Assessment

Class performance	40%
Class Essay	30%
Term Paper	30%

## Details on Methods of Assessment

### 1. Class performance

This grade will be assessed on the basis of: (1) quality of the seminar presentation: (2) participation in seminar discussion.

Each student will be assigned a seminar presentation topic. Some students may share topics. Those not presenting on any given day should read whatever they can that bears directly on the subject matter for that day's class. All class presentations must be analytical in nature and take up about 20 to 30 minutes.

**Class presentations must be e-mailed to all other students in class at least a day in advance of class and all students must read the presentation. A copy of the presentation must be sent to the instructor for evaluation. The quality of the presentation and class performance generally will constitute the overall "class performance" grade.**

Once the opening presentation has been made, the other students are expected to participate in the discussion which will follow. Students who feel themselves unable to engage in such seminar discussion should carefully review their grade expectations in this course.

### 2. Class Essay

Maximum length for the essay is approximately 10 pages. An analytical paper of very high quality in layout, organization, and presentation is expected. A bibliography but no footnotes is

required.

### 3. *Term paper*

This will be a “Final Term Paper” due on March 26 at 1600 (4pm) to be emailed to the instructor. Undergraduate paper must be no longer than 2500 words. Graduate papers no longer than 5000 words. **The essay must be written in strict conformance with the Department of History The History Student’s Handbook.**

### **Academic Integrity Statement**

Students may not contact each other or collaborate over D2L or use third-party sites to collaborate.

### **Learning Technologies Requirements**

In order to successfully engage in their learning experiences at the University of Calgary, students in this course will need reliable access to the following technology: A computer with a supported operating system; a current and updated web browser; a webcam (built-in or external); a microphone and speaker (built-in or external or headset); current antivirus and/or firewall software enabled; broadband internet connection.”

### **Guidelines for Synchronous Sessions**

We will use Zoom for this course. Zoom is a video conferencing program that will allow us to meet at specific times for a “live” video conference, so that we can have the opportunity to meet each other virtually and discuss relevant course topics as a learning community. Please be prepared, as best as you are able, to join class in a quiet space that will allow you to be fully present and engaged in Zoom sessions.

To help ensure Zoom sessions are private, do not share the Zoom link or password with others, or on any social media platforms. Zoom links and passwords are only intended for students registered in the course. Zoom recordings and materials presented in Zoom, including any teaching materials, must not be shared, distributed or published without the instructor’s permission.

The use of video conferencing programs relies on participants to act ethically, honestly, and with integrity; and in accordance with the principles of fairness, good faith, respect, and responsible digital citizenship (as per the Code of Conduct). Only students registered in this course are allowed to be involved in these activities. Non-compliance may be investigated under relevant University of Calgary conduct policies (e.g Student Non-Academic Misconduct Policy). If participants have difficulties complying with this requirement, they should email the instructor of the class explaining why, so the instructor may consider whether to grant an exception, and on what terms. For more information on how to get the most out of your Zoom sessions visit: <https://elearn.ucalgary.ca/guidelines-for-zoom/> .

Students whose D2L and Zoom usernames do not reflect their preferred name or identity can contact the IT Support Centre to have a display name changed in the Active Directory. This will change the name that shows in all online systems, including Zoom and D2L. It will take about

24 hours for the Support Centre to complete the request.

### **Inclusiveness, Accommodation, and Classroom Conduct**

If you have conditions or circumstances that require accommodations, you are encouraged to contact Student Accessibility Services and to contact me by email or during office hours to discuss reasonable measures that will ensure your success in this course. Such accommodation may include disability (physical or mental wellness, whether visible or not), the need to nurse or occasionally bring a child to class, the wish to be called a different name or pronoun, assistance with writing, or adjusting deadlines because of personal circumstances.

Part of creating an inclusive learning environment involves respecting your fellow classmates. In meeting any university's mandate of encouraging free and open inquiry, we will occasionally discuss topics about which you might be uncomfortable or have a set viewpoint. In such situations, it is essential that we understand that others share different experiences and perspectives, and that listening respectfully to and showing tolerance toward opposing viewpoints is part of the process of emerging as active, engaged citizens.

To protect the privacy of others, students may not record in any format any activity that occurs within the classroom or online. Permission to record lectures will only be given to students registered with Student Accessibility Services. All material in this course, including but not limited to lectures, quizzes, worksheets, handouts, and the textbook, are under the protection of copyright and may not be distributed to third parties under any circumstances.

### **Schedule**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Topic &amp; Reading</b>
Jan 15	Course introduction and seminar topics
Jan 22	Laurier and Borden to 1914
Jan 29	Canada's evolving status in war; 14-18
Feb 5	Paris, and the Anglo-Japanese Treaty
Feb 12	Colony To Independence; 1921-1931
Feb 15 - 19	Term Break - No classes
Feb 26	The "low dishonest decade," 1931-1939
Mar 5	Neutrality, mobilization, and "limited liability"
Mar 12	National command in the Second World War
Mar 19	Functionalism
Mar 26	North American Defence
April 2	Canada, the UN and NATO
April 9	Canada in Afghanistan



**THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION APPEARS ON ALL DEPARTMENT OF  
HISTORY COURSE OUTLINES**

**Departmental Grading System**

The following percentage-to-letter grade conversion scheme is used in all Canadian Studies, History, and Latin American Studies courses, except for HTST 200.

Percentage	Letter Grade	Grade Point Value	Description
90-100	A+	4.00	Outstanding performance
85-89	A	4.00	Excellent performance
80-84	A-	3.70	Approaching excellent performance
77-79	B+	3.30	Exceeding good performance
73-76	B	3.00	Good performance
70-72	B-	2.70	Approaching good performance
67-69	C+	2.30	Exceeding satisfactory performance
63-66	C	2.00	Satisfactory performance
60-62	C-	1.70	Approaching satisfactory performance.
56-59	D+	1.30	Marginal pass. Insufficient preparation for subsequent courses in the same subject
50-55	D	1.00	Minimal Pass. Insufficient preparation for subsequent courses in the same subject.
0-49	F	0	Failure. Did not meet course requirements.

**Program Advising and Student Information Resources**

- For program advising in the Faculty of Arts, contact the [Arts Students Centre](#) (ASC).
- For questions about admissions, student awards, common registration issues, financial aid and student fees, contact [Enrolment Services](#)
- Sometimes unexpected circumstances may affect your time table. You can change your registration during the course change period. Please see the [Registration Changes and Exemption Requests](#) page.

*Attention history majors: History 300 is a required course for all history majors. You should normally take it in your second year.*

## **Writing**

All written assignments and written exam responses are assessed partly on writing skills. Writing skills include surface correctness (grammar, punctuation, sentence structure, etc.) and general clarity and organization. Research papers must be properly documented according to the format described in [The History Student's Handbook](#).

## **Plagiarism**

Plagiarism occurs when students submit or present the ideas and/or writing of others as if they were their own or when they submit their own work to two different classes. Please see [The History Student's Handbook](#) for more details, but to summarize, plagiarism may take several forms:

- Failing to cite sources properly
- Submitting borrowed, purchased, and/or ghostwritten papers
- Submitting one's own work for more than one course without the permission of the instructor(s) involved
- Extensive paraphrasing of one or a few sources, even when referenced properly, unless the essay is a critical analysis of those works

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence, and written work that appears to contain plagiarized passages will not be graded. All such work will be reported to the Faculty of Art's associate deans of students who will apply the penalties specified in the *University of Calgary Calendar*, [Section K: Integrity and Conduct](#).

## **Academic Accommodations**

Students needing an accommodation because of a disability or medical condition should contact [Student Accessibility Services](#) in accordance with the Procedure for Accommodations for Students with Disabilities in the [Student Accommodation Policy](#).

Students needing an accommodation based on a protected ground other than disability should contact, preferably in writing, the course instructor.

## **Copyright**

The University of Calgary has opted out of the Access Copyright Interim Tariff proposed by the Copyright Board. Therefore, instructors in all University of Calgary courses will strictly adhere to Copyright Act regulations and the educational exceptions permitted by the Act for both print and digital course material. No copyrighted material may be placed on course D2L or web sites without the prior permission of the copyright holders. In some cases, this may mean that instructors will require you to purchase a print course pack from the University of Calgary bookstore or consult books on reserve at the library. Please see the [University of Calgary copyright page](#).

## **Sexual Violence Policy**

The University recognizes that all members of the University Community should be able to learn, work, teach and live in an environment where they are free from harassment, discrimination, and violence. The University of Calgary's sexual violence policy guides us in how we respond to incidents of sexual violence, including supports available to those who have

experienced or witnessed sexual violence, or those who are alleged to have committed sexual violence. It provides clear response procedures and timelines, defines complex concepts, and addresses incidents that occur off-campus in certain circumstances. Please see the [sexual violence policy](#).

### **Other Useful Information**

Please see the Registrar's [Course Outline Student Support and Resources](#) page for information on:

- Wellness and Mental Health
- Student Success
- Student Ombuds Office
- Student Union (SU) Information
- Graduate Students' Association (GSA) Information
- Emergency Evacuation/Assembly Points
- Safewalk

**Campus Security (220-5333)**

**Department of History Twitter [@ucalgaryhist](#)**