

Dalhousie University
Department of Political Science
Defence Policy in Canada (POLI 3576)
Winter 2018

Wednesday and Friday, 10:05-11:25am, Henry Hicks Building 217

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Office Hours: Thursday, 12:00-1:30pm (or by appointment)

COURSE OVERVIEW

This course provides an advanced introduction to the study of defence policy in Canada. The course is divided into three sections. The first section of the course introduces key theoretical issues and debates in the study of Canadian foreign and defence policy. It discusses key theories of International Relations and assesses their utility in explaining defence policy in Canada. The second section of the course covers some of the major domestic institutions that are involved in the making of defence policy, most notably the Department of National Defence, the Canadian Armed Forces, and the security and intelligence agencies. This section also discusses the defence budget and procurement process. The third section of the course introduces a variety of security issues and case studies. It covers border and homeland security, continental defence, arctic security, NATO, the global arms trade, the War in Afghanistan, the Middle East, Russia and Eastern Europe, China and the Asia-Pacific, United Nations Peacekeeping, and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief.

REQUIRED READINGS

There is no required book for purchase. All required readings for the course will be made available online by the instructor.

GRADE DISTRIBUTION

- 1) Mid-Term Exam (Held in class February 16): 25%
- 2) Research Paper (Due in class March 14): 35%
- 3) Final Exam (To be held during the April 12-26 Exam period): 40%

ASSIGNMENTS

1) **Mid-Term Exam:** The mid-term exam will be held in class on February 16. It is worth 25% of the course grade. The first portion of the mid-term exam will ask students to define and explain the significance of key terms. The second portion will ask students to write an essay in response to a question. Both portions will give students some choice about which terms and essay questions they wish to answer.

2) **Research Paper:** Students will write a research paper of approximately 2,500 words (8-10 pages, double spaced, Times New Roman, 12 point font). Students are free to choose their own topic provided that it relates to the subject matter of the course. The paper is due in class on March 14. It is worth 35% of the course grade. Late papers will be assessed a penalty of 5 percentage points per day. Papers submitted more than 7 days late will not be accepted. Students must submit a hard copy of the paper to the instructor. Papers cannot be submitted via email. The late penalty is administered based on the date that a hard copy was submitted.

3) **Final Exam:** The final exam will be held during the April 12-26 Exam period. The format of the final exam will be similar to the mid-term exam. It is worth 40% of the course grade.

UNIVERSITY POLICIES, STATEMENTS, GUIDELINES and RESOURCES for SUPPORT

1) **Academic Regulations.** This course is governed by the academic rules and regulations set forth in the [University Calendar](#) and the Senate.

2) **University Statements.**

a) **Academic Integrity.** At Dalhousie University, we are guided in all of our work by the values of academic integrity: honesty, trust, fairness, responsibility and respect (The Center for Academic Integrity, Duke University, 1999). As a student, you are required to demonstrate these values in all of the work you do. The University provides policies and procedures that every member of the university community is required to follow to ensure academic integrity. Click [here](#) to read more.

b) **Accessibility.** The Advising and Access Services Centre is Dalhousie's centre of expertise for student accessibility and accommodation. The advising team works with students who request accommodation as a result of: a disability, religious obligation, or any barrier related to any other characteristic protected under Human Rights legislation (NS, NB, PEI, NFLD). Click [here](#) to read more.

c) **Student Code of Conduct.** Everyone at Dalhousie is expected to treat others with dignity and respect. The Code of Student Conduct allows Dalhousie to take disciplinary action if students don't follow this community expectation. When appropriate, violations of the code can be resolved in a reasonable and informal manner—perhaps through a

restorative justice process. If an informal resolution can't be reached, or would be inappropriate, procedures exist for formal dispute resolution. Click [here](#) to read more.

d) Diversity and Inclusion – Culture of Respect. Every person at Dalhousie has a right to be respected and safe. We believe inclusiveness is fundamental to education. We stand for equality. Dalhousie is strengthened in our diversity. We are a respectful and inclusive community. We are committed to being a place where everyone feels welcome and supported, which is why our Strategic Direction prioritizes fostering a culture of diversity and inclusiveness (Strategic Priority 5.2). Click [here](#) to read more.

e) Recognition of Mi'kmaq Territory. Dalhousie University would like to acknowledge that the University is on Traditional Mi'kmaq Territory. The Elders in Residence program provides students with access to First Nations elders for guidance, counsel and support. Visit the office in the McCain Building (room 3037) or contact the programs at elders@dal.ca or 902-494-6803 (leave a message).

f) University Policies and Programs.

- Important Dates in the Academic Year (including add/drop dates)
http://www.dal.ca/academics/important_dates.html
- University Grading Practices: Statement of Principles and Procedures
https://www.dal.ca/dept/university_secretariat/policies/academic/grading-practices-policy.html
- Scent-Free Program
<https://www.dal.ca/dept/safety/programs-services/occupational-safety/scent-free.html>

g) Learning and Support Resources.

- General Academic Support - Academic Advising:
https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/academic-support/advising.html
- Copyright and Fair Dealing: <https://libraries.dal.ca/services/copyright-office/fair-dealing/fair-dealing-guidelines.html>
- Libraries: <http://libraries.dal.ca>
- Student Health Services: https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/health-and-wellness/health-services.html
- Counselling and Psychological Services:
https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/health-and-wellness/counselling.html
- Black Student Advising: https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/communities/black-student-advising.html
- Aboriginal Student Centre:
https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/communities/native.html
- ELearning Website: <https://www.dal.ca/dept/elearning.html>
- Student Advocacy Services: <https://www.dsu.ca/services/community-student-services/student-advocacy-service>
- Dalhousie Ombudsperson: https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/safety-respect/student-rights-and-responsibilities/where-to-get-help/ombudsperson.html

- Writing Centre: https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/academic-support/writing-and-study-skills.html
- Studying for Success program and tutoring: https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/academic-support/study-skills-and-tutoring.html

OTHER IMPORTANT INFORMATION

1) **Academic Integrity.** All assignments submitted may be subjected to evaluation by a University approved a computer service that checks assignments for plagiarism. Students are required to retain an electronic copy of all papers in addition to the hard copy submitted to the professor.

2) **Academic Accommodation.** Students may request accommodation as a result of barriers experienced related to disability, religious obligation, or any characteristic protected under Canadian human rights legislation.

Students who require academic accommodation for either classroom participation or the writing of tests and exams should make their request to the Advising and Access Services Center (AASC) prior to or at the outset of the regular academic year. Please visit www.dal.ca/access for more information and to obtain the Request for Accommodation form.

A note taker may be required as part of a student's accommodation. There is an honorarium of \$75/course/term (with some exceptions). If you are interested, please contact AASC at 494-2836 for more information or send an email to notetaking@dal.ca

3) **Grade Appeals.** Students who wish to appeal their grade must produce a brief written statement (approximately 250 words) explaining why they feel that the assignment/exam was not graded correctly. Appeals must be made within one week from the date on which the assignment/exam was returned. The appeal process will produce a revised grade that may be raised, unchanged, or lowered. The revised grade is final and cannot be appealed.

4) **Use of Electronic Devices.** Students are not permitted to use any electronic devices during the mid-term exam. Students are asked to turn off their cell phones during lectures. Laptops, tablets and other electronic devices may be used during lectures for note taking, but not for any purpose that, in the judgement of the instructor, is distracting to class (i.e. listening to music, streaming videos, etc).

5) **Email Communication with the Instructor.** Emails to the instructor must be sent from the student's official Dalhousie University Email Account. The instructor will not respond to emails sent from any other account except to inform students of this policy. Grades will not be discussed over Email.

6) **Grade Scale and Definitions.** All course assignments will be graded according to the following grade scale, which was approved by the Dalhousie University Senate in 2014:

Grade	Grade Point Value		Definition	
A+ A A-	4.30 4.00 3.70	90-100 85-89 80-84	Excellent	Considerable evidence of original thinking; demonstrated outstanding capacity to analyze and synthesize; outstanding grasp of subject matter; evidence of extensive knowledge base.
B+ B B-	3.30 3.00 2.70	77-79 73-76 70-72	Good	Evidence of grasp of subject matter, some evidence of critical capacity and analytical ability; reasonable understanding of relevant issues; evidence of familiarity with the literature.
C+ C C-	2.30 2.00 1.70	65-69 60-64 55-59	Satisfactory	Evidence of some understanding of the subject matter; ability to develop solutions to simple problems; benefitting from his/her university experience.
D	1.00	50-54	Marginal Pass	Evidence of minimally acceptable familiarity with subject matter, critical and analytical skills (except in programs where a minimum grade of "C" or "C+" is required).
FM	0.00		Marginal Failure	Available only for Engineering, Health Professions and Commerce.
F	0.00	0-49	Inadequate	Insufficient evidence of understanding of the subject matter; weakness in critical and analytical skills; limited or irrelevant use of the literature.
INC	0.00		Incomplete	
W	Neutral and no credit obtained		Withdrew after deadline	
ILL	Neutral and no credit obtained		Compassionate reasons, illness	
P	Neutral		Pass	

TR	Neutral		Transfer credit on admission	
Pending	Neutral		Grade not reported	

WEEKLY READINGS AND TOPICS

January 10 - Introduction

No readings

SECTION 1 – THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF DEFENCE POLICY IN CANADA

January 12 – Realism and the National Interest

Philippé Lagasse and Paul Robinson, *Reviving Realism in the Canadian Defence Debate*, Kingston: Centre for International Relations, Queen’s University, 2008, 1-39.

January 17 – Political Parties and Partisanship

Brian Bow and David Black, “Does Politics Stop at the Water’s Edge: Party and Partisanship in Canadian Foreign Policy,” *International Journal* 64 (1) 2008: 7-27.

Brian Bow, “Parties and Partisanship in Canadian Defence Policy,” *International Journal* 64 (1) 2008: 67-88.

January 19 – Constructivism and Strategic Culture(s)

Justin Massie, “Making Sense of Canada’s “Irrational” International Security Policy: A Tale of Three Strategic Cultures,” *International Journal* 64 (3) 2009: 625-645.

Srdjan Vucetic, “Why did Canada Sit Out of the Iraq War? One Constructivist Analysis,” *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 13 (1) 2006: 133-153.

January 24 – Situating Canada in the Global Structure

Michael K. Hawes and Christopher J. Kirkey, “Understanding the Significance of Structure on Foreign Policy Behaviour: The Unipolar World’s Impact on Canadian International Engagement,” in *Canadian Foreign Policy in a Unipolar World*, edited by Michael K. Hawes and Christopher J. Kirkey, 3-12. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Adam Chapnick, "The Middle Power," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 7 (2) 1999: 73-82.

Donald Barry and Duane Bratt, "Defense against Help: Explaining Canada-U.S. Security Relations," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 38 (1) 2008: 63-89.

SECTION 2 – DEFENCE, SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES

January 26 – The Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces: Institutional Overview

Sydney F. Wise *et al*, "Armed Forces," *The Canadian Encyclopedia* 14 September 2016.

Government of Canada, "Canadian Armed Forces 101 for Civilians. Ottawa: Government of Canada, n.d., 10-22, 26-43.

Daniel Gosselin, "Hellyer's Ghosts: Unification of the Canadian Forces is 40 Years Old – Part One," *Canadian Military Journal* 9 (2) 2009: 6-15.

Daniel Gosselin, "Hellyer's Ghosts: Unification of the Canadian Forces is 40 Years Old – Part Two," *Canadian Military Journal* 9 (3) 2009: 6-16.

January 31 - The Canadian Armed Forces: Demographics, Diversity and Discrimination

Jungwee Park, "A Profile of the Canadian Forces," *Statistics Canada: Perspectives* July 2008: 17-30.

Hans Jung, "Can the Canadian Forces Reflect Canadian Society?" *Canadian Military Journal* 8 (3) 2007: 27-36.

Donna Winslow and Jason Dunn, "Women in the Canadian Forces: Between Legal and Social Integration," *Current Sociology* 50 (5) 2002: 641-667.

OPTIONAL: Marie Deschamps, "External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces," 27 March 2015.

OPTIONAL: Jonathan Vance, "The Chief of the Defence Staff, General Jonathan Vance, Addresses Sexual Misconduct in the Canadian Armed Force," *Canadian Military Journal* 16 (3) 2016: 6-15.

February 2 – Munro Day (No Class)

No readings

February 7 – The Defence Budget and Procurement

Government of Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged - Highlights*. Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2017.

Kim Richard Nossal, “Late Learners: Canada, the F-35, and Lessons from the New Fighter Aircraft Program,” *International Journal* 68 (1) 2013: 167-184.

Eric Lehre, “The National Shipbuilding Procurement Strategy: An Update,” Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute, February 2013.

February 9 – The Security and Intelligence Community

Craig Forcese, “Canada’s Security and Intelligence Community after 9/11: Key Challenges and Conundrums,” *University of Ottawa Faculty of Law Working Paper No. 2016-35*, October 2016.

OPTIONAL: David Collins, “Spies Like Them: The Canadian Security Intelligence Service and Its Place in World Intelligence,” *Sydney Law Review* 24 (2002): 505-528.

February 14 – Mid-Term Review Class (And Research Paper Information Session)

No readings

February 16 – Mid-Term

No readings

February 21 and 23 – Reading Week (No Classes)

No readings

SECTION 3 – SECURITY ISSUES AND CASE STUDIES

February 28 – Border and Homeland Security

Jason Ackleson, “From ‘Thin’ to ‘Thick’ (and Back Again?): The Politics and Policies of the Contemporary US–Canada Border,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 39 (4) 2009: 336-351.

Frank P. Harvey, “The Homeland Security Dilemma: Imagination, Failure and the Escalating Costs of Perfecting Security,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 40 (2) 2007: 283–316.

March 2 – Continental Defence

Joseph T. Jockel and Joel J. Sokolsky, "NORAD Does Not Need Saving," *International Journal* 70 (2) 2015: 188-195.

James Fergusson, "The NORAD Conundrum: Canada, Missile Defence, and Military Space," *International Journal* 70 (2) 2015: 196-214.

March 7 – Arctic Security

Whitney Lackenbauer and Rob Huebert, "Premier Partners: Canada, the United States and Arctic Security," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 20 (3) 2014: 320-333.

Petra Dolata-Kreutzkamp, "Canada's Arctic Policy: Transcending the Middle Power Model?" in *Canada's Foreign and Security Policy: Soft and Hard Strategies of a Middle Power*, edited by Nik Hynek and David Bosold, 251-275. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010.

March 9 – NATO

Joseph T. Jockel and Joel J. Sokolsky, "Canada and NATO: Keeping Ottawa In, Expenses Down, Criticism Out ... and the Country Secure," *International Journal* 64 (2) 2009: 315-336.

John Alexander, "Canada's Commitment to NATO: Are We Pulling Our Weight?" *Canadian Military Journal* 15 (4) 2015: 4-11.

March 14 – Arms Exports and Trade

Srdjan Vucetic, "A nation of feminist arms dealers? Canada and military exports," *International Journal* 72 (4) 2017: 503-519.

Ellen Gutterman and Andrea Lane, "Beyond LAVs: Corruption, Commercialization and the Canadian Defence Industry," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 23 (1) 2017: 77-92.

OPTIONAL: Mark Bromley *et al*, "The UN Arms Trade Treaty: Arms Export Controls, the Human Security Agenda and the Lessons of History" *International Affairs*, 88 (5) 2012: 1029-1048.

March 16 – The War in Afghanistan

Jean-Christophe Boucher, "Selling Afghanistan: A Discourse Analysis of Canada's Military Intervention, 2001-08," *International Journal* 64 (3) 2009, 717-733.

Christian Breede, "Defining Success: Canada in Afghanistan 2006-2011," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 44 (4) 2014: 483-501.

Stephen M. Saideman, "What the Afghanistan Mission Teaches Canada," *International Journal* 72 (1) 2017, 131-141.

March 21 – The Middle East

Laura Pelletier and Justin Massie, "Role Conflict: Canada's Withdrawal from Combat Operations against ISIL," *International Journal* 72 (3) 2017, 298-317.

Thomas Juneau, "A Realist Foreign Policy for Canada in the Middle East," *International Journal* 72 (3) 2017: 401-412.

Aisha Ahmad, "A Twenty-First Century Foreign Policy for Canada in the Middle East and North Africa," *International Journal* 72 (3) 2017, 413-423.

March 23 – Russia and Eastern Europe

Andrew Rasiulis, "The Search for Stability in Eastern Europe: Policy Options for Canada," *Canadian Global Affairs Institute*, March 2016.

Chris Westdal, "A Way Ahead with Russia," *Canadian Global Affairs Institute*, April 2016.

Sara Fallaha, "An Understanding of the Canadian-led NATO Mission in Latvia," *NATO Association of Canada*, 23 June 2017. Available: <http://natoassociation.ca/an-understanding-of-the-canadian-led-nato-mission-in-latvia/>

March 28 – China and the Asia-Pacific

David S. McDonough, "Canada, Grand Strategy and the Asia-Pacific: Past Lessons, Future Directions," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 18 (3) 2012: 273-286.

Bernard J. Brister, "Back to the Future: Canada's Re-Engagement in the Asia-Pacific Region," *Canadian Military Journal* 14 (2) 2014: 15-24.

March 30 – Good Friday (No Class)

No readings

April 4 and 6 – Professor Seligman is away (No Classes)

No readings

April 9 – United Nations Peacekeeping

Walter Dorn, "Canadian Peacekeeping: Proud Tradition, Strong Future?" *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 12 (2) 2005: 7-32.

M. A. Rudderham, "Canada and United Nations Peace Operations: Challenges, Opportunities, and Canada's Response," *International Journal* 63 (2) 2008: 359-384.

Michael K. Carroll, "Peacekeeping: Canada's Past, But Not its Present and Future?" *International Journal* 71 (1) 2016, 167-176.

April 10 – Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief

Aaida Mamuji, "Canadian Military Involvement in Humanitarian Assistance: Progress and Prudence in Natural Disaster Response," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 18 (2) 2012: 208-224.