

Dalhousie University
Department of Political Science
Defence Policy in Canada (POLI 3576)
Winter 2016
Tuesday and Thursday, 2:35pm-3:55, McCain 2118

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Office Hours: Wednesday, 1:00pm-2:30 (or by appointment)

COURSE OVERVIEW

This course provides an advanced introduction to defence policy in Canada. The first section of the course introduces key theoretical, conceptual and normative issues involving defence policy. We examine questions about grand strategy, national interests, strategic culture, and the balance between security and human rights. The second section covers domestic politics and actors. We examine the Canadian Forces, the defence budget and procurement process, the role of political parties and partisanship in defence policy, and the intelligence community. The third section of the course explores a variety of case studies in Canadian defence policy. We examine homeland security, continental security, NATO, humanitarian intervention and the Responsibility to Protect, the Afghanistan War, the Middle East, East Asia, South Asia, weapons proliferation and the arms trade, Arctic security, United Nations peacekeeping, and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief.

REQUIRED BOOK AND READINGS

There is one required book for purchase, which is available at the Dalhousie University Bookstore. Other readings will be made available online by the instructor. The required book is:

David S. McDonough, ed., *Canada's National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interests, and Threats*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

GRADE DISTRIBUTION

- 1) Mid-Term Exam (Held in class February 11): 25%
- 2) Research Paper (Due in class March 15): 40%
- 3) Tutorials (Five tutorials held throughout the course): 10%
- 4) Final Exam (Take-home exam due in class April 5): 25%

ASSIGNMENTS

1) **Mid-Term Exam:** The mid-term exam will be held in class on February 11. 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 a short 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 3,000 words (10-12 pages, double spaced, Times New Roman, 12 point font) in response to a question provided by the instructor. Students will have choice among a few questions. The paper is due in class on March 15. It is worth 40% of the course grade. Students must submit a hard copy of the paper to the instructor. Papers cannot be submitted via email. Late papers will be assessed a penalty of 5 percentage points per day. Papers submitted more than 7 days late will not be accepted.

3) **Tutorials:** There will be five tutorials held throughout the course. They will be held in the same classroom, on the same day, at the same time as regular lectures, with the following twist: In order to best facilitate seminar discussion, students will be divided into two groups, each of which will meet for 35 minutes. Group A will meet from 2:35pm-3:10. Group B will meet from 3:20pm-3:55. Attendance will be taken. The purpose of the tutorial is to provide students with an opportunity to discuss and ask questions about key issues addressed during the lectures. The instructor will help facilitate discussion, but active participation by students is very important. Tutorial participation is worth 10% of the course grade.

4) **Final Exam:** The final exam will be a take-home exam that is due in class on April 5. It is worth 25% of the course grade. Students will write one essay in response to a question provided by the instructor. The purpose of the final exam is to assess the student's understanding of the course material. As such, students should refer to, and cite, **only material covered in the readings and lectures.**

OTHER IMPORTANT INFORMATION

1) **Academic Integrity.** Students are strongly advised to familiarize themselves with Dalhousie University's policies on academic integrity, particularly the section concerning plagiarism and cheating, but also the section concerning student resources:

http://www.dal.ca/dept/university_secretariat/academic-integrity.html

Additional information about academic integrity and University policies can be found here:

<http://www.dal.ca/faculty/healthprofessions/faculty-and-staff/academic-integrity/information-for-faculty.html>

All assignments submitted may be subjected to evaluation by Turnitin.com, 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+	4.30	90-100	Excellent	Considerable evidence of original thinking; demonstrated outstanding capacity to analyze and synthesize; outstanding grasp of subject matter; evidence of extensive knowledge base.
A	4.00	85-89		
A-	3.70	80-84		
B+	3.30	77-79	Good	Evidence of grasp of subject matter, some evidence of critical capacity and analytical ability; reasonable
B	3.00	73-76		
B-	2.70	70-72		

				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 5 - Introduction

David S. McDonough, "Introduction," in *Canada's National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interests, and Threats*, edited by David S. McDonough, 3-21. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

SECTION 1 – SITUATING THE STUDY OF CANADIAN DEFENCE POLICY

January 7 – Grand Strategy and Security Interests

Charles F. Doran and David Pratt, "The Need for a Canadian Grand Strategy," in *Canada's National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interests, and Threats*, edited by David S. McDonough, 25-44. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

Don Macnamara, "Canada's National and International Security Interests," in *Canada's National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interests, and Threats*, edited by David S. McDonough, 45-56. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

Kim Richard Nossal, "Defending Canada," in *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas*, 3rd ed., edited by Duane Bratt and Christopher J. Kukucha, 295-307. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2015.

January 12 – Strategic Culture

David G. Haglund and Stéphane Roussel, "Escott Reid, the North Atlantic Treaty, and Canadian Strategic Culture," in *Escott Reid: Diplomat and Scholar*, edited by Greg Donaghy and Stéphane Roussel, 44-66. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004.

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

January 14 – Balancing Security Interests and Human Rights

*** Tutorial 1 ***

Hugh D. Segal, "The Balance of Freedoms: A Fresh Strategic Framework," in *Canada's National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interests, and Threats*, edited by David S. McDonough, 57-69. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

SECTION 2 – DOMESTIC POLITICS AND ACTORS

January 19 and 21 – The Canadian Forces

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

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.

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

David Perry, “The Privatization of the Canadian Military: Afghanistan and Beyond,” *International Journal* 64 (2009): 687-702.

January 26 and 28 – The Defence Budget and Procurement

*** Guest lecture by Dr. Kim Richard Nossal, Queen’s University (January 26) ***

*** Tutorial 2 (January 28) ***

Government of Canada, *Canada First: Defence Strategy* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2008).

Craig Stone, “Defence Procurement and Industry,” in *Canada’s National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interests, and Threats*, edited by David S. McDonough, 73-97. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

David Perry, “A Return to Realism: Canadian Defence Policy after the Great Recession,” *Defence Studies* 13 (3) 2013: 338-360.

James Fergusson, “Time For a New White Paper?” *On Track* August 2015: 46-49.

February 2 – Political Parties and Partisanship

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

February 4 – The Intelligence Community

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

Craig Forcese and Kent Roach, "Bill C-51: The Good, the Bad ... And the Truly Ugly," *The Walrus*, February 13, 2015. Accessed: <https://thewalrus.ca/bill-c-51-the-good-the-bad-and-the-truly-ugly/>

Craig Forcese and Kent Roach, "Why Can't Canada Get National-Security Law Right?" *The Walrus*, June 9, 2015. Accessed: <https://thewalrus.ca/why-cant-canada-get-national-security-law-right/>

February 9 – Mid-Term Exam Review Class (And Research Paper Information Session)

No readings

February 11 – Mid-Term Exam

No readings

February 16 and 18 – Reading Week (No Classes)

No readings

SECTION 3 – SECURITY ISSUES AND CASE STUDIES

February 23 – Homeland Security and Continental Defence

*** Mid-Term Exams returned ***

Elinor Sloan, "Homeland Security and Defence in the Post-9/11 Era," in *Canada's National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interests, and Threats*, edited by David S. McDonough, 98-113. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

Joseph T. Jockel and Joel J. Sokolsky, "Continental Defence: 'Like Farmers Whose Lands Have a Common Concession Line,'" in *Canada's National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interests, and Threats*, edited by David S. McDonough, 114-137. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

February 25 – NATO

Alexander Moens, "NATO and the EU: Canada's Security Interests in Europe and Beyond," in *Canada's National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interests, and Threats*, edited by David S. McDonough, 141-159. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

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 1 – Kosovo, Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect

*** Tutorial 3 ***

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect*, Ottawa, International Development Research Centre, 2001, 1-27.

Kim Richard Nossal 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.

David L. Bashow *et al.* "Mission Ready: Canada's Role in the Kosovo Air Campaign," *Canadian Military Journal* 1 (1) 2000: 55-61.

March 3 – The War in Afghanistan

David J. Bercuson and J. L. Granatstein, "From Paardeberg to Panjwai: Canadian National Interests in Expeditionary Operations," in *Canada's National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interests, and Threats*, edited by David S. McDonough, 193-208. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

Ann M. Fitz-Gerald, "Stabilization Operations in Afghanistan and in the Future: The Need for a Strategic Canadian Approach," in *Canada's National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interests, and Threats*, edited by David S. McDonough, 209-224. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

Duane Bratt, "Afghanistan: Why Did We Go? Why Did We Stay? Will We Leave?" in *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas*, 2nd ed., edited by Duane Bratt and Christopher J. Kukucha, 316-328. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2011.

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

March 8 – The Middle East

Kim Richard Nossal, “The Use—and Misuse—of R2P: The Case of Canada,” in *Libya, the Responsibility to Protect and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by Aidan Hehir and Robert Murray, 110-129. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Thomas Juneau, *Canada’s Policy to Confront the Islamic State*. Calgary: Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute. May 2015.

Ann Griffiths, *Another Take on ‘Canada’s Policy to Confront the Islamic State’ by Thomas Juneau*, Canadian Global Affairs Institute. June 2015.

March 10 – The War in Afghanistan and the Middle East

*** Tutorial 4 ***

Jean-Christophe Boucher, “Evaluating the “Trenton Effect”: Canadian Public Opinion and Military Casualties in Afghanistan (2006-2010),” *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 40 (2) 2010: 237-258.

Nicole Wegner, “(De)constructing Foreign Policy Narratives: Canada in Afghanistan,” in *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas*, 3rd ed., edited by Duane Bratt and Christopher J. Kukucha, 113-121. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Lindsay Coombs, “Canada’s Role in the anti-ISIS Campaign: Quo Vadis?” *Conference of Defence Associations Institute*, July 29, 2015. Accessed: <https://www.cdainstitute.ca/en/blog/entry/canada-s-role-in-the-anti-isis-campaign-quo-vadis>

March 15 – Weapons Proliferation and the Arms Trade

*** Research Paper due in class ***

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.

Middle East Eye Staff, “Canada Rejects Treaty to Control Global Arms Trade,” *Middle East Eye*, February 13, 2015. Accessed: <http://www.middleeasteye.net/in-depth/features/canada-rejects-treaty-control-global-arms-trade-1248631401>

Cesar Jaramillo, “Ten Facts about Canada’s Arms Deal with Saudi Arabia,” *OpenCanada*, September 25, 2015. Accessed: <https://www.opencanada.org/features/ten-facts-about-canadas-arms-deal-with-saudi-arabia/>

March 17 – East Asia

Thomas Adams, “Shift to the Pacific: Canada’s Security Interests and Maritime Strategy in East Asia,” in *Canada’s National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interests, and Threats*, edited by David S. McDonough, 160-173. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

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 22 – South Asia

*** Tutorial 5 ***

Douglas Goold, “South Asia: Growing Risks, Growing Importance, and Canada’s Evolving Role,” in *Canada’s National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interests, and Threats*, edited by David S. McDonough, 174-189. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

March 24 – 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 29 – United Nations Peacekeeping

*** Research Papers submitted on March 15 returned. Others may or may not be returned ***

A. 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 Byers, “After Afghanistan: Canada’s Return to UN Peacekeeping,” *Canadian Military Journal* 13 (1) 2012: 33-39.

March 31 – 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.

April 5 – Take-Home Exam due in Class Today

No readings