

PSCI 3607 A
North American Security and Defence Policy
Monday & Wednesday 6:05 pm – 8:55 pm
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Michael Dawson
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Course Description

Canada and the United States have cooperated in the defence of North America since the Second World War. The defence relationship between the two countries finds its political roots in the Ogdensburg Agreement and the Permanent Joint Board on Defence and over the decades many treaties (such as that establishing the North American Air Defence Command – NORAD) and agreements have given it structure and clearly understood mutual obligations. For the most part, these arrangements have worked well and have allowed Canada, as the smaller power, adequate input into decisions on North American defence. Moreover, the organisations and agreements that have framed Canada-US defence cooperation have proven flexible enough to evolve with the changing context of international security and the evolution of the strategic threats to North America. Nevertheless, the relationship has not always been smooth. Through the decades, the two countries have taken different positions on key foreign and defence policy issues with complications for both the bilateral defence relationship and the larger Canada-US relationship.

The aim of this course is to examine the development and formulation of Canadian and US defence policies relating to the defence of North America. These developments will be assessed in the broader context of the international situation, with specific focus in the first section of the course on the Second World War years and the Cold War era. The second part of the course will examine the relationship after the Cold War and the changes resulting from the attacks of September 11, 2001. The Mexican dimension to North American security and defence will be covered, mainly in the post-9/11 period. The course will also situate the defence relationship in the overall Canada-US relationship. The objective of the course is to provide students with a comprehensive understanding of the major themes and developments in the Canada-US bilateral defence relationship, as well as insight into the factors that influence national policy.

Course Requirements

Class Participation	5%
Mid-term Exam (July 22)	25%
Analytical Essay (due August 5)	30%
Final Exam (to be scheduled during formal exam period, August 20 – 25, including Saturday)	40%

Class Participation: The last hour of each class will be given over to questions and discussion, primarily focussed on the topic of that week's lecture. Students' participation will be graded based on their involvement in these specific discussion sections, as well as attendance.

Mid-term Exam: This exam will test students' comprehension of the material presented in the first half of the course. The exam will be 60 minutes long and will consist of several identifications and three short answers. The exam will be held during class on July 22. In accordance with Early Feedback Guidelines, the mid-term will be returned on July 29.

Analytical Essay: Students are required to examine a historical or contemporary issue related to North American defence. The grade will be based upon the depth, balance and clarity of their analysis and it should be based upon sources other than the assigned text and suggested supplementary readings. Essays should be written in proper grammar in accordance with accepted standards for style and citation of works consulted. These standards can be found in Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses and Dissertations*, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993). The essay must be 10 pages in length, in Times New Roman, twelve point font, with one inch margins. The essay topics will be introduced on July 13 and papers will be due on August 5.

Final Exam: This will be given during the university's formal exam period (August 20 – 25, including Saturday), and will test students' understanding of the material covered by the *entire* course. It will consist of a set of identifications, three short answer questions and two essay questions and will last for three hours.

Course Materials

There are two texts for this course:

Joseph Jockel, *Canada in Norad, 1957-2007: A History*, (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007)

Elinor Sloan, *Security and Defence in the Terrorist Era*, (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

Both should be available in the Carleton University Bookstore. All other assigned readings will be available either on-line or on reserve.

Materials marked with an asterisk (*) are required readings and will be on the mid-term and final examinations. Required readings should be read before attending lectures. Other readings are recommended for those students who wish to broaden their knowledge.

Note that the mid-term and final examinations will cover material not covered in the required readings but presented only during lectures.

IV Other Guidelines

WebCT: This course will be supported by the WebCT Course Management System. ALL correspondence with the Instructor must be carried out via the WebCT e-mail system ONLY. Resources and supplementary reading will be made available through the WebCT site. Students will be responsible for reading and responding appropriately to all Information distributed to students through the WebCT Course page. Information provided on this page will be considered to have been provided to all registered students within 24 hours of posting.

Papers sent by e-mail or facsimile to the Department of Political Science or the instructor will not be accepted. Hard copy must be submitted directly to the instructor or via the Department of Political Science Drop-Box. The departmental drop box cut off time is 4pm. Any assignments submitted after 4pm will be date stamped for the following weekday.

Return of essays: please submit a stamped, self-addressed envelope with your paper to facilitate return of marked essays.

Plagiarism and Cheating: It is not acceptable to hand in the same assignment for two or more courses. It is an instructional offence to use or pass off as one's own idea or product which is the work of another without expressly giving credit to that other person. Copying another student's work is also an instructional offence. Incidents of plagiarism and cheating will be referred to the Dean's Office for appropriate action.

To obtain credit for this course, students must complete all of the course requirements. Failure to complete all of the requirements will result in a failing grade in this course.

Late papers will be downgraded one letter-grade category per day. For example a B+ paper, one day late, will receive a B.

V. Course Schedule – Subject to Change

Lecture 1 July 6

Introduction to the Course and Basic Themes

North America Disputed - War and Rumours of War

Lecture 2 July 8

The Approach to World War II: The Permanent Joint Board on Defence; Joint Operations in defence of North America; defence production – Hyde Park agreement

C.P. Stacey, *Arms Men and Governments: The War Policies of Canada 1939-1945*, Ottawa, 1970 Part II B,C; Part VI

(*) James Eayrs, *In Defence of Canada: Appeasement and Rearmament*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1965, chapter VII

Lecture 3 July 13

Cold War 1: re-affirming alliance with the United States; the new Soviet threat and the US National Security state; Containment: NATO and Korea; nuclear war, problems of air defence; NORAD in detail

(*) Joseph T. Jockel, *Canada in NORAD 1957-2007: A History*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, Introduction and Chapter 1

James Eayrs, *In Defence of Canada: Peacemaking and Deterrence*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1972, chapter 6

(*) *Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America Concerning the Organization and Operation of the North American Air Defence Command (NORAD)*

http://www.treaty-accord.gc.ca/ViewTreaty.asp?Treaty_ID=101015

Joseph T. Jockel, *No Boundaries Upstairs: Canada, the United States and the Origins of North American Air Defence*, UBC Press, Vancouver, 1987. (Jockel's earlier work provides more detail on the early years and establishment of NORAD.)

Lecture 4 July 15

Cold War 2: the crisis of the 1960's; nuclear weapons and Canadian domestic politics; the Cuban Missile Crisis; Vietnam

(*) H. Basil Robinson, *Diefenbaker's World: A Populist in Foreign Affairs*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1989, chapters 28, 29

(*) Joseph T. Jockel, *Canada in NORAD*, chapter 2

Peter T. Haydon, *The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis: Canadian Involvement Reconsidered*, Canadian Institute for Strategic Studies, Toronto, 1993.

Lecture 5 July 20

Cold War 3: the ICBM revolution; from warfighting to deterrence; NORAD and strategic stability; NORAD modernisation; CANUSTEP & cruise missile testing; the ABM Treaty and strategic arms control; Missile Defence (I)

(*) Joseph Jockel, *Canada in NORAD*, chapters 3 and 4

John Anderson, "Canada and the Modernization of North American Air Defense," in David Haglund and Joel J. Sokolsky, *The US-Canada Security Relationship: The Politics, Strategy and Technology of Defense*, Westview, Boulder, 1989, pp. 167-184

(* *Exchange of Notes Constituting an Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America on the Modernization of the North American Air Defence System*

http://www.treaty-accord.gc.ca/ViewTreaty.asp?Treaty_ID=101003

(* *Exchange of Notes Constituting an Agreement between Canada and the United States of America Concerning the Test and Evaluation of U.S. Defence Systems in Canada*

http://www.treaty-accord.gc.ca/ViewTreaty.asp?Treaty_ID=100976

Lecture 6 July 22

Mid-Term Examination

Lecture 7 July 27

The End of the Cold War: New Realities and Adjustments; nuclear submarines for Canada; the 1990-91 Gulf war; the Arctic (I); landmines; failed and failing states; cleaning up the legacies of the past; social – military issues (participation of gays, women)

(* Joseph Jockel, *Canada in NORAD*, chapter 5

(* David Haglund & Joel J. Sokolsky, *The US-Canada Security Relationship; The Politics, Strategy and Technology of Defense*, Westview, Boulder, 1989. Chapters 10 to 12 by Mathurin Davis, Haglund and Sokolsky on the submarine project.

(* The Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) Program

http://www.nti.org/db/nisprofs/russia/forasst/nunn_lug/overview.htm

The Global Partnership Against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction
<http://geo.international.gc.ca/cip-pic/library/globalpartnership-en.aspx>

Lecture 8 July 29

Asymmetrical threats, proliferation and terrorism; policy responses

(* Elinor Sloan, *Security and Defence in the Terrorist Era*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, chapters 1, 2 and 6

(* *Report of the Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States: Executive Summary*; Pursuant to Public Law 201 104th Congress; July 15, 1998

<http://www.fas.org/irp/threat/missile/rumsfeld/index.html>

Theresa Hitchens, *Weapons in Space: Silver Bullet or Russian Roulette? The Policy Implications of U.S. Pursuit of Space-Based Weapons*, Center for Defense Information, Washington, DC, April 18, 2002

<http://www.cdi.org/missile-defense/spaceweapons.cfm>

August 3 Civic Holiday

Lecture 9 August 5

September 11: the scramble to adjust; Canada-US Enhanced Security Agreement of December 2002; homeland security; Northern Command; evolving US defence and security strategies

(*) Elinor Sloan, *Security and Defence in the Terrorist Era*, chapters 3 and 4 (pp. 44-54)

Lecture 10 August 10

ESSAYS DUE!

Security and prosperity post 9/11; the conflation of defence and security; Canada's National Security Policy; borders and perimeters; the Iraq decision;

(*) Elinor Sloan, *Security and Defence in the Terrorist Era*, chapter 4 (pp. 54-69)

Lecture 11 August 12

Space and Missile Defence (II); Evolution of NORAD; Canada Command and Canada First defence strategy; the Arctic (II); Mexico and North American security

(*) Joseph Jockel, *Canada in NORAD*, chapter 6

(*) Elinor Sloan, *Security and Defence in the Terrorist Era*, chapter 5

Lecture 12 August 17

Perspectives: how do we judge policy? looking forward and looking back
Review of basic themes
The defence relationship and the bilateral relationship

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Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations.** If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **June 12, 2009 for early summer examinations, and July 31, 2009 for late / full summer examinations.**

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed

to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Course Requirements: Students must fulfil all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available **ONLY** if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.