

PSCI 3607B
North American Security and Defense Policy
6:05 p.m. – 8:55 p.m.; Tuesday (Southam Hall, # 518)*
*Please confirm location on Carleton Central

- *All cell phones are to be put away during class. There will be a break midway through class when you can check your phone.*
- *All laptops are to be put on airplane mode.*

Instructor: Satish Joshi

Office: B641

Office Hours: Tuesday 4:30 p.m. – 5:30 p.m. or by appointment

Phone: 613-520-2600 ext. 3052

Email: satish.joshi@carleton.ca

Email is for administrative purposes only. For any substantive issues, please see me during office hours.

*Please also note: Do not e-mail me your policy-issue or briefing-note papers. Submission of written assignments and papers via e-mail is not allowed. **Those are to be submitted in a printed, hard-copy format in class on the due date.***

Overview and Objectives

This course introduces a range of historical and contemporary issues in North American security, foreign, and defence policy. It aims to provide an understanding of the evolution of Canadian and US security and defence policy as it pertains to North America.

This course follows a lecture format. Your thoughtful questions and contributions are welcome at any time.

Texts

- 1) Leuprecht, Christian, Joel J. Sokolsky, and Thomas Hughes; (Eds.), *North American Strategic Defense in the 21st Century: Security and Sovereignty in an Uncertain World*, Springer International Publishing, 2018.....(*Required text; Available for purchase in Univ. Bookstore*)
- 2) Paquin, Jonathan and Patrick James (Eds.), *Game Changer: The Impact of 9/11 on North American Security*, UBC Press, 2014.....(*Required text; Available for purchase in Univ. Bookstore*)
- 3) Sloan, Elinor C.; *Modern Military Strategy: An Introduction, 2nd Edition*, Routledge: New York, 2017.....(*Recommended background reading; Available for purchase in Univ. Bookstore*)

Other readings, noted below, are either available through the electronic journal databases at the Carleton University library, or through the library's reserve system, or are accessible online.

Evaluation summary

- 1) In class, mid-term examination.....25% (on February 12, 2019)
- 2) 2-page *Briefing Note* assignment.....15% (due in class, March 5, 2019)
- 3) 1500-word *Policy Issue Paper*.....30% (due in class, March, 26 2019)
- 4) Final examination.....30% (during the formal examination period in April 2019)

All components of the class must be completed to receive a grade other than F.

Evaluation and Grading details:

1) In class, mid-term examination (on February 12, 2019)

A 2 hour mid-term examination will be held in class on Tuesday - February 12, 2019. The examination will include four to five short-answer essay type questions.

A deferred mid-term examination, time and location TBA, will be allowed only for medical reasons. You must present a medical or counselling certificate.

2) 2-page, Briefing Note Assignment (due in class; on March 5, 2019)

Students are to write a 2-page *Briefing Note* (excluding Bibliography), 12 point, Times New Roman font with one inch margins and **single-line spacing**.

The *Briefing Note* is written for a high-level official of the Government of Canada, like: the Prime Minister of Canada, the Minister of National Defence, the Deputy Minister of National Defence or the Chief of the Defence Staff of the Canadian Forces. The objective of the *Briefing Note* is to inform the reader of the document about an important **tactical** issue pertaining to the security and defence of Canada.

Both pages of the *Note* should not include any foot-notes or bibliographical notes. Simply use numbers for end-notes. The end-notes, if any, should appear on the third page with the last page of the assignment used for listing bibliographical resources.

At least *six references drawn from refereed journal articles, books or official government documents and reports* should be used. An emphasis should be on official government documents and reports. So much so that all six references can be **official government documents and reports**. This is valid for the *Briefing Note* assignment only. Poor spelling and grammar will be reflected in your grade.

The *Briefing Note* assignment will be graded on: (1) **Succinctness**: this is not an academic paper. This is a document aimed at informing one very busy, high-level Government of Canada decision-maker about the key details of an important issue. (2) **Structure**: based on the format below; (3) **Grammar**.

Use the format given below for the Briefing Note:

Summary
Issue
Background
Considerations
Conclusion and Recommendations/Advice/ Or Recommended Position
End-notes & Bibliography

More information **will be provided during the term** regarding the *Briefing Note* assignment.

3) 1500-word Policy Issue Paper (due in class, March 26, 2019)

Students are to write a 1500-word *Policy Issue paper* (word limit excludes Bibliography), 12 point, Times New Roman font with one inch margins and single-line spacing.

The *Policy Issue Paper* is written for a high-level official of the Government of Canada, like: the Prime Minister of Canada, the Minister of National Defence, the Deputy Minister of National Defence or the Chief of the Defence Staff of the Canadian Forces. The objective of the *Policy Issue Paper* is to inform the reader of the document about an important strategic-level issue(s) pertaining to the security and defence of Canada.

The *Policy Issue Paper* should: (i) provide an overview and analysis of the issue or problem; (ii) a cost/benefit analysis of possible policy options; and (iii) a set of policy recommendations, including a brief rationale for the recommendation.

At least *ten references drawn from refereed journal articles, books or official government documents and reports* should be used. An emphasis should be on official government documents and reports but this is not a requirement. Poor spelling and grammar will be reflected in your grade.

The *Policy Issue Paper* assignment will be graded on: (1) Elaboration of the strategic importance of the issue: Get to the point. This is not an academic paper. This is a document aimed at informing one very busy, high-level Government of Canada decision-maker about the key details of an important strategic issue. (2) Structure: based on details that will be **provided in class and electronically**; (3) Grammar.

A list of **suggested topics for both the *Briefing Note assignment* and the *Policy Issue Paper* will be provided in class and electronically**. The list is not extensive and you can choose a topic outside of the lists, in consultation with the instructor.

Do not write both assignments on the same issue. Both assignments are aimed at different types of issues: the *Briefing Note* is about a tactical issue and the *Policy Issue Paper* is about a strategic issue.

4) Final examination (during the formal examination period in April 2019)

A 3-hour comprehensive final examination covering the entire course will be scheduled during the formal examination period in April 2019. All the material covered in class from the beginning of the term is examinable. The Final examination will consist of short answer essay questions as well as at least one substantive long-essay question.

Note regarding Political Science Drop Box for written assignments: The Political Science drop-box is emptied **every weekday at 4 p.m.** and all items collected at that time are date-stamped with that day's date. Since our assignments are due in class, you should submit those in class, at 6:05 PM on the due date when class begins. If you drop it in the drop-box on the due date, it will get delayed as it will reach the instructor much later, as the instructor and/or the Teaching Assistant may not be on campus immediately after the due date. It is in your interest to submit the assignments in class, in printed, hard-copy format, to ensure those are not delayed. **If you submit your assignment via the drop-box, you will receive a late-penalty even if it is submitted on the due date, as it will most certainly reach the instructor after the due date.**

Late penalty for late submission of written assignments: Late papers will be subject to a 1/3 grade reduction (e.g. B to B-) per day. Extensions will only be considered for medical reasons and in those cases *students must present a written medical or counselling certificate to the instructor.*

Class Schedule:

January 8, 2019 (Week 1)

Course introduction. No required readings. Class lecture will be dismissed earlier than regular time.

January 15, 2019 & January 22, 2019 – North America in Global Security & American Grand Strategy (Weeks 2 and 3)

- Joshi, Satish, "Geopolitics" in Paul Joseph (Ed.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of War: Social Science Perspectives*: Volume 2, 705-708.
- Cohen, Saul Bernard, *Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations*, 3rd Edition, New York: Rowman & Littlefield, Chapter 5 – "North and Middle America" pp. 95-159.
- **Sloan, Elinor "Introduction: Strategy and Strategic Thought" in *Modern Military Strategy: An Introduction, 2nd Edition*, Routledge: New York, 2017**
- Michael Clarke & Anthony Ricketts "US Grand Strategy and National Security: the Dilemmas of Primacy, Decline and Denial, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 71, Issue 5, (2017), pp.479-498
- Hal Brands "The Unexceptional Superpower: American Grand Strategy in the Age of Trump", *Survival*, Volume 59, Issue 6, (2017), pp. 7-40
- **Paquin, Jonathan and Patrick James (Eds.), *Game Changer: The Impact of 9/11 on North American Security*, UBC Press, 2014 – "Introduction: The Changing Contours of North American Security"**
- Harvey M. Sapolsky, "Hoping Primacy Stays Cheap: America's Grand Strategy" in Leuprecht, Christian, et al.; (Eds.), *North American Strategic Defense in the 21st Century: Security and Sovereignty in an Uncertain World*, Springer International Publishing, 2018
- National Security Strategy of the United States of America, *December 2017* – The White House, Washington DC. Available online:
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>

Videos: (1) Imperial by Design – John J. Mearsheimer (YouTube)
(2) American Grand Strategy in an age of Upheaval – Hal Brands (YouTube)

January 29, 2019 – Canada's Defence and Security Strategy (Week 4)

- Government of Canada – *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada's Defence Policy* (2017), Chapters 4 and 6 in particular. Available online:
<http://dgpaapp.forces.gc.ca/en/canada-defence-policy/docs/canada-defence-policy-report.pdf>
- Sloan, Elinor. *Security and Defence in the Terrorist Era*, 2nd Edition (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), Chapter 1: The Evolution of Canadian Security and Defence Policy since World War II
- Major-General Éric Tremblay and Dr. Bill Bentley, "Canada's Strategic Culture: Grand Strategy and the Utility of Force" *Canadian Military Journal*, Volume 15, Number 3, Summer 2015, pp. 5-17.

- Charles F. Doran, “Was 9/11 a Watershed?” in Paquin, Jonathan and Patrick James (Eds.), *Game Changer: The Impact of 9/11 on North American Security*, UBC Press, 2014
- Kim Richard Nossal, “New Wineskin, Old Wine: The Future of Canadian Contributions to North American Security” in Leuprecht, Christian, et al.; (Eds.), *North American Strategic Defense in the 21st Century: Security and Sovereignty in an Uncertain World*, Springer International Publishing, 2018
- Allen Sens, “Canada’s New Defence Policy and the Security of North America” in Leuprecht, Christian, et al.; (Eds.), *North American Strategic Defense in the 21st Century: Security and Sovereignty in an Uncertain World*, Springer International Publishing, 2018

Video: CGAI 2017 Conference – Panel on *The Evolution in North American Defence Policy* - CPAC

February 5, 2019 – Canada – US Continental Defence Cooperation (Week 5)

- Parliament of Canada – House of Commons *Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence*, “The Canada-U.S. Relationship: Perspectives on Defence, Security, and Trade” 42nd Parliament, 1st Session, May 2017, *available online*
- Department of National Defence, Government of Canada – *The Canada-US Defence Relationship*, Background, December 4, 2014. Available online <http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/news/article.page?doc=the-canada-u-s-defence-relationship/hob7hd8s>
- Sloan, Elinor. *Security and Defence in the Terrorist Era*, 2nd Edition, (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010), Chapter 5: Homeland Defense
- Anessa L. Kimball, “Future Uncertainty, Strategic Defense and North American Defense Cooperation: Rational Institutional Arguments Pragmatically Suggest NORAD’s Adaptation Over Replacement” in Leuprecht, Christian, et al.; (Eds.), *North American Strategic Defense in the 21st Century: Security and Sovereignty in an Uncertain World*, Springer International Publishing, 2018
- Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 (by Frank Harvey, Justin Massie, Mark Paradis/Patrick James, and Jonathan Paquin/Louis Bélanger respectively) from Paquin, Jonathan and Patrick James (Eds.), *Game Changer: The Impact of 9/11 on North American Security*, UBC Press, 2014

Video: Ottawa conference on Security and Defence 2017 – Panel on *Canada – US Relations* - CPAC

February 12, 2019 – IN CLASS MID-TERM EXAMINATION (Week 6)

There will be a 2 hour mid-term examination in class today. There will be no lecture after the examination.

February 19, 2019 – NO CLASS; READING WEEK

February 26, 2019 (Week 7) - What about Mexico?

- Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 12 (by Stephen Clarkson, Athanasios Hristoulas, Isabelle Vagnoux, and David Haglund respectively) from Paquin, Jonathan and Patrick James (Eds.), *Game Changer: The Impact of 9/11 on North American Security*, UBC Press, 2014
 - Abelardo Rodriguez Sumano, "Challenges and Contradictions: Mexico and the US in North American Security Cooperation" in Leuprecht, Christian, et al.; (Eds.), *North American Strategic Defense in the 21st Century: Security and Sovereignty in an Uncertain World*, Springer International Publishing, 2018
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March 5, 2019 (Week 8) – - Ballistic Missile Defence, NORAD and Space

- Sloan, Elinor "Airpower", "Nuclear Power and Deterrence" and "Spacepower" in *Modern Military Strategy: An Introduction, 2nd Edition*, Routledge: New York, 2017
- Sloan, Elinor. *Security and Defence in the Terrorist Era*, 2nd Edition, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), Chapter 6: Space and Ballistic Missile Defense
- Chapters by Bessma Momani/Morgan MacInnes, Andrea Charron/James Fergusson, and Joseph Jockel in Leuprecht, Christian, et al.; (Eds.), *North American Strategic Defense in the 21st Century: Security and Sovereignty in an Uncertain World*, Springer International Publishing, 2018
- Parliament of Canada – House of Commons *Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence*, "Canada and the Defence of North America: NORAD and Aerial Readiness", 42nd Parliament, 1st Session, September 2016, available online
- Parliament of Canada – Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence, *Tenth Report*, "Canada and Ballistic Missile Defence: Responding to the Evolving Threat" 41st Parliament, 2nd Session, June 2014, available online

Videos: [Arming the Heavens: The Push for Weapons in Space](#)
[The Space Age: Aeronautics and Telecommunications](#)

March 12, 2019 (Week 9) – The Arctic

- Blunden, Margaret, "Geopolitics and the Northern Sea Route" *International Affairs*, 88, No. 1 (2012), 115-129
- Sloan, Elinor, "Strategic Considerations for Canada's Navy" *Canadian Naval Review*, 12, No. 1 (Spring 2016), 4-9
- Parliament of Canada – House of Commons *Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence*, "The Readiness of Canada's Naval Forces", 42nd Parliament, 1st Session, June 2017, available online
- Conley, Heather A. and Caroline Rohloff, *The New Ice Curtain: Russia's Strategic Reach to the Arctic* (Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2015) Chapter 3, 69-88.
- Rainwater, Shiloh, "Race to the North: China's Arctic Strategy and Its Implications" *Naval War College Review* 66, No. 2 (Spring 2013), 62-78
- Rob Huebert, "Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security in a Transforming Circumpolar World" in Griffiths, Franklyn, Rob Huebert and P. Whitney Lackenbauer (Eds.) *Canada and the Changing Arctic: Sovereignty, Security and Stewardship* (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011) 13-64
- Rob Huebert, "The Arctic and the Strategic Defence of North America: Resumption of the "Long Polar Watch" in Leuprecht, Christian, et al.; (Eds.), *North American Strategic Defense in the 21st Century: Security and Sovereignty in an Uncertain World*, Springer International Publishing, 2018

Video: [The Battle for the Arctic](#)

March 19, 2019 (Week 10) – Canada and NATO

- Parliament of Canada – House of Commons Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence, “Canada and NATO: An Alliance Forged in Strength and Reliability” 42nd Parliament, 1st Session, June 2018, available online
 - Andrea Charron, “NATO, Canada and the Arctic” September 2017, Canadian Global Affairs Institute, available online
 - Elinor Sloan, “NATO in the Post-Crimea Era” Centre for European Studies Policy Brief, June 2017, available online
 - **Alexander Moens, “NATO and NORAD in the Sino-Russo-American Configuration of Power” in Leuprecht, Christian, et al.; (Eds.), North American Strategic Defense in the 21st Century: Security and Sovereignty in an Uncertain World, Springer International Publishing, 2018**
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March 26, 2019 (Week 11) - North American Security and Russia, China

- **Mark N. Katz, “Putin’s Security Policy and Its Implications for NORAD”**
- **Nina Srinivasan Rathbun and Brian C. Rathbun, “Misplaced Prudence: The Role of Restraint in the Nuclear Threat Environment for North American Strategic Defense”**

Both above, in Leuprecht, Christian, et al.; (Eds.), North American Strategic Defense in the 21st Century: Security and Sovereignty in an Uncertain World, Springer International Publishing, 2018

- Suisheng Zhao, “China as a Rising Power Versus the US-led World Order” *Rising Powers Quarterly*, Volume 1, No. 1 (2016), 13-21
 - Mazarr, Michael, Timothy R. Heath and Astrid Stuth Cevallos, *China and the International Order*, (Rand, 2018), Chapters 2, 3, 5 and 6.
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April 2, 2019 (Week 12) - New Threats: Cyber-security, Hybrid Wars etc.

- **Sloan, Elinor “Irregular War: Insurgency, Counterinsurgency and New War” and “Cyberwar” in *Modern Military Strategy: An Introduction 2nd Edition*, Routledge: New York, 2017**
 - Government of Canada – Public Safety Canada, *National Cyber Security Strategy: Canada’s Vision for Security and Prosperity in the Digital Age*, 2018, the *Executive Summary* and *Security and Resilience* chapters; the document is available online
 - David Carment and Dani Belo, *War’s Future: The Risks and Rewards of GreyZone Conflict and Hybrid Warfare*, Canadian Global Affairs Institute, October 2018, Available online
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April 9, 2019 (Week 13) – What have we covered? Revision and Final examination Review

We will complete any unfinished material and conduct a review for the final examination.

Academic Accommodations

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

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 may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of “F” for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline 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. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

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.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

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 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, visit <https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/> 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.