**Syllabus**

**TRN 409H (Selected Topics in International Studies)/ GLA 2050H**

**Fall 2019**

**Canadian Defence Policy Since the End of the Cold War**

**Instructors:**

The Hon. Bill Graham

Greg Donaghy

Jack Cunningham

**Time:**

Wednesdays, 2-4

**Location:**

Larkin 200

**Office Hours:**

TBA

Canada’s military stance and defence policies were geared to Cold War challenges for most of the period between the end of the Second World War and the fading of East-West tensions and the dismantling of the Soviet bloc after 1989. The end of the Cold War brought a period of uncertainty to Canadian defence policy and military strategy, to which successive governments tried to adapt.

This course covers changes to Canadian defence policy and military posture since the late 1980s. Early sessions will address Canada’s Cold War stance, the response of Brian Mulroney’s government to the winding down of East-West hostilities, and Canadian involvement in the First Gulf War. Subsequent classes will discuss the impact of the defence spending reductions of the 1990s, the Chretien government’s 1994 Defence White Paper, and the debate over the role of the Canadian military and the military instrument more broadly, in the post-Cold War international environment.

We will look at changes in strategy, tactics, the operational art, and the impact of changes in military technology and doctrine. Questions of procurement and spending will also be considered, along with changes to the organization of the Canadian Forces and interactions with allies and coalition partners in NATO, NORAD, and UN peacekeeping operations. We will discuss the changing nature of the Canadian military, including civil-military relations, the military’s place in the wider society, conditions of service, and the impact of American models on Canadian doctrine and military culture. Later sessions will look at the 2005 and 2018 Defence Policy reviews and the broader approaches to defence policy of the Paul Martin, Stephen Harper, and Justin Trudeau governments.

Individual sessions will examine particular military operations and decisions in detail. These will include the First Gulf War; Somalia; Kosovo; Rwanda; participation in Ballistic Missile Defence and NORAD renewal; and Afghanistan. While the focus is on the Canadian experience, we will also pay attention to the broader literature dealing with post-Cold War warfare, the changing nature of peacekeeping, the “three-block war” and counterinsurgency.

Students will be evaluated on the basis of a research paper proposal and annotated bibliography (10% of final grade), overall participation in class discussion (20%), a major research paper (50%), and leadership of a seminar based on the assigned readings for a given week (20%). You are expected to submit the proposal and bibliography no later than October 2. The research paper is due by our last class, on Dec. 4. The proposal / bibliography should be 3-5 typed, double-spaced pages, and include a description of your proposed topic, an indication of the approach you propose to take, and comments on the usefulness of each item. The paper should be 5-6,000 words in length (approximately 20 double-spaced, typed pages, depending on font, margins, etc.).

Written work should be submitted in class or by alternative arrangement with us.

In the absence of a doctor’s note or similar documentation to justify a late submission, overdue papers will be penalized 5% per calendar day. Papers may not be submitted beyond the last day of classes of the Fall 2019 term. We assume your familiarity with the conventions of academic writing in matters of citation and bibliography. You are responsible for following University of Toronto policies pertaining to plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty. These are set out at: <http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>

Dates are subject to change, e.g. to accommodate the schedules of guest speakers.

This is not a lecture course: it is a seminar driven by student participation. You are expected to come to class prepared to critically discuss the week’s assigned readings, and to take part in each class. With the exception of the first sessions, classes will fall into two categories. Some weeks we will have guest speakers, who will draw upon their own experience and knowledge in speaking to the group, followed by Q&A and general discussion. Other weeks, teams of students will be asked to lead discussion based on the week’s readings. You are expected to present an argument with a point of view backed by evidence drawn from the readings. Your goal is to understand how and why Canadian policy was formulated and implemented. Here are some useful questions to keep in mind while reading: what is the author’s thesis/ What kinds of evidence are presented? How did policymakers perceive the policy options? What were the domestic and external sources of the policy? Do the readings adopt the same point of view? These questions are only guidelines and are not exhaustive.

Presentations on the readings will normally take about 30 minutes. The presenters will then be responsible for leading off the discussion. Ideally, that will involve asking the first question and letting the debate unfold naturally. Be prepared to introduce several topics or issues to keep the discussion rolling for the remaining 90 minutes. The instructors will usually take the final 10 minutes to sum up the discussion and its main themes.

For extra credit of up to 5% (1% per event), students are urged to attend events sponsored by the Bill Graham Centre for Contemporary International History, and write a short (1 p.) reflection on each event. These events will be announced in class.

**Class Schedule:**

**Sept. 11: Introduction and Overview of Canadian Defence Policy in the Cold War**

Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, , pts. V and VI (short term loan, Graham Library).

Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, pt. II (short term loan, Graham Library).

**Sept. 18: War after the Cold War: Withdrawal from Europe and the First Gulf War**

Student Presentation

Kim Richard Nossal, “A European Nation?: The Life and times of Atlanticism in Canada”, in John English and Norman Hillmer, eds., *Making a Difference? Canada’s Foreign Policy in a Changing World* (short-term loan, Graham Library).

George Bush and Brent Scowcroft, *A World Transformed*, pp. 416-492 (short-term loan, Graham Library).

Brian Mulroney, *Memoirs*, pp. 799-804 and 829-835 (short-term loan, Graham Library).

Kim Richard Nossal, “The Middle Powers in the Gulf Coalition: Australia, Canada, and the Nordics Compared”, in Andrew Bennett, Joseph Lepgold, and Darryl Unger, eds., *Friends in Need: Burden Sharing in the Persian Gulf War* (short-term loan, Robarts Library).

Norrin M. Ripsman, “Big Eyes and Empty Pockets: The Two Phases of Conservative Defence Policy”, in Nelson Michaud and Kim Richard Nossal, eds., *Diplomatic Departures: The Conservative Era in Canadian Foreign Policy, 1984-93* (available online via U of T library catalogue).

**Sept. 25:** **Humanitarian Intervention: Rwanda, and the former Yugoslavia**

*Guest:* Mokhtar Lamani

Samantha Power, *“A Problem from Hell”: America and the Age of Genocide*, Ch. X (short-term loan, Graham Library).

John Hilliker, Hector Mackenzie, and Greg Donaghy, “Out of the Cold but Still in the Middle: Canadian Diplomacy and the Zaire Crisis,” in Jean-Bruno Mukanya Kaninda-Muana, ed., *Les Relations entre le Canada, Quebec et l’Afrique depuis 1960* (short-term loan, Graham Library).

Duane Bratt, “Bosnia: From Failed State to Functioning State,” in Michael K. Carroll and Greg Donaghy, eds., *From Kinshasa to Kandahar: Canada and Fragile States in Historical Perspective* (available online via U of T library system).

Misha Boutilier, “The Mulroney Government and Humanitarian Intervention in the Former Yugoslavia,” *International* Journal, 73 / 1, March 2018 (available online via U of T library system).

Bill Graham, *The Call of the World*, Ch. 8 (on short-term loan in Graham Library).

**Oct. 2:** The Anti-Personnel Landmines Ban / Human Security / Disarmament

*Guest:* Dan Livermore

John English, “The Ottawa Convention on Anti-Personnel Landmines,” in Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine, and Ramesh Thakur, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, ( short-term loan, Graham Library).

Greg Donaghy, “’All God’s Children’: Lloyd Axworthy, Human Security, and Canadian Foreign Policy, 1996-2000,” *Canadian Foreign Policy*, 10/2, 2003 (available online via the U of T library system).

Jody Williams, “Citizen Diplomacy and the Ottawa Process: A Lasting Model?,”

 in Banning Landmines: Disarmament, Citizen Diplomacy, and Human Security, Jody Williams, Stephen Goose, and Mary Wareham, eds.(short-term loan, Robarts Library).

**Oct. 9: Defense Procurement**

*Guest:* Hon. David Collenette

Kim Richard Nossal, *Charlie Foxtrot: Fixing Defence Procurement in Canada*, (available online via U of T library system).

**Oct. 16: Afghanistan**

Student Presentation

Janice Gross Stein and Eugene Lang, *The Unexpected War,* chs. 11-15 (short-term loan, Graham Library).

Report of the Independent Panel on Canada’s Future Role in Afghanistan (AKA Manley Report) (<http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2008/dfait-maeci/FR5-20-1-2008E.pdf> ).

David Bercuson and J.L. Granatstein, *Lessons Learned? What Canada Should Learn from Afghanistan* (<http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/3908~v~Lessons_Learned__What_Canada_Should_Learn_from_Afghanistan.pdf>).

Bill Graham, “Afghanistan – some Lessons Learned: A Personal Political Perspective,” in Jack Cunningham and William Maley, eds., *Australia and Canada in Afghanistan: Perspectives on a Mission* (short-term loan, Graham Library)

Adam Chapnick, “Afghanistan-some Lessons Learned: A Personal Academic Perspective,” *ibid.*

**Oct. 23: Defence Reviews Then and Now**

*Guests:* Eugene Lang; Hon. Bill Graham (TBC)

Canada, 2005 *International Policy Statement,* defence section (<http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/D2-168-2005E.pdf>).

2017, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada’s Defence Policy* (<http://dgpaapp.forces.gc.ca/en/canada-defence-policy/docs/canada-defence-policy-report.pdf> ).

Janice Gross Stein and Eugene Lang, *The Unexpected War: Canada in Kandahar,* chs. 7-9 (short-term loan, Graham Library).

Eugene Lang, “The Shelf Life of Defence White Papers” (<http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/june-2017/shelf-life-defence-white-papers/> ).

United States Army, Field Manual 3-24, *“Counterinsurgency”* (AKA ‘the Petraeus doctrine”) (<https://fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-24.pdf> ).

**Oct. 30: Ballistic Missile Defence, NORAD Renewal, and Continental Defence**

Student Presentation

Donald Barry, “Canada and Missile Defence: Saying No to Mr. Bush,” *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, 12/3 (<http://jmss.org/jmss/index.php/jmss/article/viewArticle/310>).

James G. Fergusson, *Canada and Ballistic Missile Defence, 1954-2009: Déjà vu All Over Again* (short-term loan, Graham Library).

Bill Graham, *Call of the World*, pp. 361-366 (short-term loan, Graham Library).

**Nov. 13: Canada and the Middle East**

Student Presentation

Christopker K. Penny, “Mandating Responsibility: International Legal Lessons from the Military Intervention in Libya,” in Fen Osler Hampson and Stephen M. Saideman, eds., *Canada Among Nations 2015: Elusive Pursuits: Lessons from Canada’s Interventions Abroad* (short-term loan, Graham Library).

Marie-Joelle Zahar, “Navigating Troubled Waters: Canada in the Arab World,” *ibid.*

Jane Boulden “Syria and the Responsibility to Protect,” *ibid.*

Laura Pelletier and Justin Massie, “Role Conflict: Canada’s Withdrawal from Combat Operations Against ISIL,” *International Journal*, 72 / 3, Sept. 2017 (available online via U of T library system).

**Nov. 20: Cyber-warfare**

*Guest:* Holly Porteous (TBC)

- Holly Porteous, [*Cybersecurity: Technical and Legal Challenges*](https://lop.parl.ca/staticfiles/PublicWebsite/Home/ResearchPublications/BackgroundPapers/PDF/2018-05-e.pdf)*,* Background Paper, Legal and Social Affairs Division, Parliamentary Information and Research Service, Library of Parliament, 2018.

- Richard J. Harknett and Michael P. Fischerkeller, "[Deterrence is Not a Credible Strategy for Cyberspace](https://www.fpri.org/article/2017/06/deterrence-not-credible-strategy-cyberspace/)," *Orbis*, 23 June 2017.

Ronald J. Deibert, *Black Code: Inside the Battle for Cyberspace,* (short-term loan, Graham Library).

**Nov. 27:Arctic Sovereignty**

*Guest:* Tom Axworthy (TBC)

Shelagh D. Grant, *Polar Imperative: A History of Arctic Sovereignty in North America,* chs. 10-13 (short-term loan, Graham Library).

Government of Canada, *Canada’s Northern Strategy* (<http://www.northernstrategy.gc.ca/index-eng.asp>)

Bill Graham, *Call of the World*, pp. 366-372.

John English, *Ice and Water: Politics, Peoples, and the Arctic Council* (short-term loan, Graham Library).

**Dec. 5: Canada and European Security**

Student Presentation

Alexander Lanoszka, “From Ottawa to Riga: Three Tensions in Canadian Defence Policy,” *International Journal*, 72 / 4 , 2017 (available online through U of T library system).

Christian Leuprecht, Joel J. Sokolsky, and James Derow, “Paying it Forward: Canada’s Renewed Commitment to NATO’s Enhanced Forward Presence,” *International Journal,* 74 / 1, 2019 (available online through U of T library system).

Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay, “The Committee to Save the World Order: America’s Allies Must Step Up as America Steps Down,” *Foreign Affairs,*

Nov/Dec 2018 (available online through U of T library system).