**September 1, 2015**

**Syllabus**

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

**Fall 2015**

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

**Instructors:**

Prof. John English

Prof. Bill Graham

Dr. 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. 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 Mulroney government’s response 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 Defence Policy Statement and the broader approaches to defence policy of the Martin and Harper 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 (30%), a major research paper (50%), and an in-class presentation based on the paper (10%). You are expected to submit the proposal and bibliography no later than October 7. The research paper is due by our last class, on Dec. 2. Written work should be submitted in class or by alternative arrangement with us. The proposal / bibliography should be 3-5 typed, double-spaced pages, and include a description of your proposed topic, an indication of the topic 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.). 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 2015 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.

**Class Schedule:**

**Sept. 16:** Introduction and Overview of Canadian Defence Policy in the Cold War

*Required Reading:* A Military History of Canada, by Desmond Morton, pts. V and VI; The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World , by Rupert Smith, pt. II (both on short term loan in the Graham Library, Trinity College).

**Sept. 23:**War after the Cold War: Withdrawal from Europe and the First Gulf War

*Required Reading:* 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); “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 through the U of T library catalogue).

**Sept. 30:** Humanitarian Intervention: Somalia, Rwanda, and the former Yugoslavia

*Guest:* Mokhtar Lamani

*Required Reading:* Grant Dawson, Here is Hell: Canada’s Engagement in Somalia (available online via U of T library catalogue).

“A Problem from Hell”: America and the Age of Genocide, by Samantha Power,Ch. X; Nicholas Gammer, From Peacekeeping to Peacemaking: Canada’s Response to the Yugoslav Crisis (both on short-term loan in Graham Library).

**Oct. 7:**

The Anti-Personnel Landmines Ban / Human Security / Disarmament

*Required Reading:* John English, “The Ottawa Convention on Anti-Personnel Landmines” in The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy, Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine, and Ramesh Thakur, eds. (on 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); Mary Wareham, “Evidence-Based Advocacy: Civil Society Monitoring of the Mine Ban Treaty”, Kerry Brinkert, “An Emphasis on Action: The Mine Ban Treaty’s Implementation Mechanisms”, and Jody Williams, “Citizen Diplomacy and the Ottawa Process: A Lasting Model?”, all in Banning Landmines: Disarmament, Citizen Diplomacy, and Human Security, Jody Williams, Stephen Goose, and Mary Wareham, eds.(short-term loan, Robarts Library).

**Oct. 14:** Ballistic Missile Defence, NORAD Renewal, and Continental Defence

*Required Reading:* “Canada and Missile Defence: Saying No to Mr. Bush”, by Donald Barry, *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, 12/3 (distributed electronically prior to class )

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

**Oct. 21:** Defense Procurement

*Guest:* David Collenette

*Required Reading:* Reinventing Canadian Defence Procurement: A View from the Inside, by Alan S. Williams (on short-term loan, Robarts library).

**Oct. 28:** The Martin Defence Review

*Guest:* Eugene Lang

*Required Reading:*  Canada, 2005 *International Policy Statement,* defence section (distributed electronically prior to class);Janice Gross Stein and Eugene Lang, The Unexpected War: Canada inKandahar,chs. 7-9 (short-term loan, Graham Library);

United States Army, Field Manual 3-24, *“Counterinsurgency”* (AKA ‘the Petraeus doctrine”) (distributed electronically prior to class )

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

**Nov. 4:** Counterinsurgency and Nation-Building in Afghanistan

*Guest:* David Mulroney

*Required Reading:* The Unexpected War, chs. 11-15 (Course reserves, Graham Library)

Report of the Independent Panel on Canada’s Future Role in Afghanistan (AKA Manley Report) (distributed electronically prior to class)

Lessons Learned? What Canada Should Learn from Afghanistan, by David Bercuson and J.L. Granatstein (distributed electronically prior to class)

“Afghanistan – some Lessons Learned: A Personal Political Perspective”, by the Hon. Bill Graham; “Afghanistan-some Lesosns Learned: A Personal Academic Perspective” by Adam Chapnick; and “The Legacy of Canada’s Afghanistan Mission” by Roland Paris; all in Australia and Canada in Afghanistan: Perspectives on a Mission, ed. by Jack Cunningham and William Maley (on short-term loan, Graham Library)

**Nov. 11:** Arctic Sovereignty

*Guest:* Tom Axworthy - TBC

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

Government of Canada, Canada’s Northern Strategy (sent out electronically prior to class )

**Nov. 18:** Cyber-warfare

*Guest:* Holly Porteous

*Required Reading:* Cybersecurity and Intelligence: The US Approach, by Holly Porteous, Library of Parliament Background Paper (distributed electronically prior to class)

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

**Nov. 25:** Presentations based on student papers.

**Dec. 2 :**Presentations based on student papers.