

**INAF 5211**  
**Comparative Defence Policy**  
**Fall 2017**

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### **1. Course Description**

This course examines and compares the defence policies and politics of three countries: the United States, Canada, and New Zealand. The course aims to provide students with an understanding of how defence policies are developed in each of these countries, how military affairs are managed, and what factors influence their force structures and defence decisions. As well, the course will examine contemporary defence debates in each country.

By selecting three members of the so-called 'Five Eyes' community of varying sizes and military strength, the course will further highlight how these factors affect the defence affairs of differing states. In addition, the course will allow for an analysis of what challenges affect defence planning across and within different states.

Finally, the course will stress the importance of institutional structures in shaping defence policies and procurement in the states studied. The course will allow students to understand how the Congressional system shapes American defence outcomes and the role that the Westminster tradition plays in structuring how Canada and New Zealand direct and equip their armed forces. As well, the course will examine how the organization of defence and the armed forces within each country contributes to particular policy outcomes.

**Prerequisite:** MA standing in the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs or permission of the School.

### **Learning outcomes**

At the end of this course, students will be:

- Familiar with the history and contemporary politics of American, Canadian, New Zealand defence affairs;
- Able to identify cross-cutting themes and challenges that affect defence decision-making across states of different size and power;
- Understand how institutional and organizational structures shape defence policies;
- Prepared to conduct defence policy analyses working from a national and comparative perspective.

## Expectations:

The success of this course depends on the willingness of students to engage with the readings and to fully participate in class discussions. Students are also expected to complete their assignments on the dates they are due, unless there are attenuating circumstances that justify a late submission.

Accordingly, students are expected to:

- Complete the assigned readings;
- Attend all classes;
- Keep computer use to a minimum, i.e. occasional note-taking (it is also recommended that you take notes by hand);
- Actively participate in class discussions;
- Treat fellow students cordially;
- Respect due dates.

Students are further asked to adhere to the follow proscriptions:

- Do not send text messages or use social media;
- Do not disrespect fellow students or use ad hominem attacks;
- Do not dominate the conversation; if you've spoken a lot, give others a chance.

## 2. Course Structure/Class Format

The class will follow a seminar format. The professor or a student will begin with an overview of this week's topic. We will then go around the room to identify issues that merit discussion and analysis based on the readings. Our discussion will examine these issues in greater depth. After approximately 90 minutes, the class will take a 15-minute break. Following the break, we will identify lingering questions and break into groups to answer them. I will spend time with each group, before we reconvene to present answers to the class as a whole. This question phase may be suspended if our plenary discussion of the issues is proving particularly fruitful.

## 3. Evaluation

<b>Evaluation</b>	<b>% of 100</b>	<b>Due date</b>
Class participation	15%	n/a
Analysis paper 1	20%	2 October 2017
Analysis paper 2	20%	6 November 2017
Class presentation	15%	TBD
Research paper	30%	8 December 2017

### **Class participation (15% of the final grade)**

The class participation grade will be based on the following criteria:

- Your attendance in class (50% of the 15%)
- Your willingness to engage in constructive and respectful class discussions (25% of the 15%)
- Evidence that you have completed and understood the assigned readings (25% of the 15%)

I will email you a report explaining on your participation grade at the end of term.

### **Class presentation (15% of the final grade)**

Students will introduce the class to their seminar topic once in the term. This will involve summarizing key points from the readings and identifying themes and questions for discussion. The presentation should not be a mere summary, nor should it simply be a literature review. Your aim should be to distill the readings and provoke debate.

Presentations should be between 15-20 minutes. There is no need for a deck.

The dates of the presentations will be assigned during the first few classes.

### **Two analysis papers (each worth 20% of the final grade)**

Students will submit two analysis papers for the course. The professor will distribute the questions three weeks before each paper is due. You will be given a choice of two questions for each paper.

The analysis papers are meant to be argumentative, rather than descriptive. You will provide an informed brief on the question you answer. When answering the questions, you should rely on research published in academic or policy journals and government or think tank reports. You can also cite academic blogs and media reports, but these should not be your principal sources.

Each analysis paper should be approximately 1500 words in length. The papers should normally rely on half a dozen sources or more. Students should endeavour to write the papers in a concise, learned style that eschews jargon. Imagine that your audience is a colleague who is not being forced to read the paper; you should aim to make them *want* to read the paper. Accordingly, the paper should be written in a way that entices the reader and contributes to our understanding of defence affairs.

The analysis papers will be graded according to the following criteria (each worth 1/4 of the 20%):

- Style, spelling, and grammar
- Argument structure and flow
- Research and sources
- Depth, breadth, and length of the analysis

The analysis papers should be sent by email ([philippe.lagasse@carleton.ca](mailto:philippe.lagasse@carleton.ca)) to me in PDF format before mid-night on the day they are due.

The papers will be sent back to you by email, along with a report that explain your grade and suggests ways for you to improve.

Late papers will be penalized 5% per day, including weekends and holidays.

### **Research paper (30% of the final grade)**

Students will submit a research paper at the end of term. The paper will present an original argument and contribute to the existing literature. You can write on a topic of your choice, provided that the paper touches on American, Canadian, or New Zealand defence policy, and I have given my approval. You are free to apply a theoretical framework or write a policy paper. Students are encouraged to treat the paper as a possible submission to a defence journal, such as *Defence Studies*, *Defense & Security Analysis*, *Parameters*, *Canadian Foreign Policy*, or *Canadian Military Journal*. Doctoral students are strongly encouraged to write the paper with a view to submitting it to a peer-reviewed academic journal.

The research paper should be 3000-7000 words in length. A longer paper is expected of doctoral students. MA students who are planning to pursue a doctorate should also aim for a longer piece. Your argument should rely on research published in academic or policy journals and government or think tank reports. You can also cite academic blogs and media reports, but these should not be your principal sources.

You should endeavour to write the papers in a concise, learned style that eschews jargon. Imagine that your audience is a colleague who is not being forced to read the paper; you should aim to make them *want* to read the paper. Accordingly, the paper should be written in a way that entices the reader and contributes to our understanding of defence affairs.

The research papers will be graded according to the following criteria:

- Style, spelling, and grammar (5/30)
- Argument structure and flow (10/30)
- Research and sources (5/30)
- Depth, breadth, and length of the analysis (5/30)
- Originality of the research question (5/30)

Your research papers should be sent by email ([philippe.lagasse@carleton.ca](mailto:philippe.lagasse@carleton.ca)) to me in PDF on 8 December 2017.

The papers will be sent back to you by email, along with a report that explain your grade and suggests ways for you to improve.

Late papers will be penalized 5% per day, including weekends and holidays.

### **4. Communications**

Please use your Carleton email account for all course-related correspondence.

## 5. Plagiarism and Complementarity

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. The Academic integrity policy can be accessed at <http://www2.carleton.ca/studentaffairs/academic-integrity>.

Complementarity: students are encouraged to build up expertise in areas that may cross multiple courses. It is acceptable to write assignments on related topics. However, you may not simply cut and paste your work from one assignment to another, or essentially submit the same work for two or more assignments in the same or different courses. If you plan on writing on related topics in different courses, you must inform the instructors and discuss what will be acceptable in terms of overlap, and what is not. Failure to notify the faculty members will be viewed unfavourably should there be a suspicion of misconduct.

## 6. Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

**Pregnancy obligation:** write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details visit the Equity Services website: <http://www2.carleton.ca/equity/>

**Religious obligation:** write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details visit the Equity Services website: <http://www2.carleton.ca/equity/>

**Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:** 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](mailto: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*) at <http://www2.carleton.ca/pmc/new-and-current-students/dates-and-deadlines/>

You can visit the Equity Services website to view the policies and to obtain more detailed information on academic accommodation at <http://www2.carleton.ca/equity/>

## 7. cuLearn

This course uses cuLearn, Carleton’s learning management system. To access your course on cuLearn go to <http://carleton.ca/culearn>. For help and support, go to <http://carleton.ca/culearnsupport/students>. Any unresolved questions can be directed to Computing and Communication Services (CCS) by phone at 613-520-3700 or via email at [ccs\\_service\\_desk@carleton.ca](mailto:ccs_service_desk@carleton.ca).

## 8. List of Topics and Required Readings

Week	Date	Topic	Reminders
1	11 September	Studying defence policy and politics	
2	18 September	US defence in an historical perspective	
3	25 September	Institutions and organizations of US defence	
4	2 October	US defence management and procurement	Analysis paper 1 due
5	16 October	US military posture and global obligations	
6	30 October	Contemporary US defence debates	
7	6 November	History of Canadian defence affairs	Analysis paper 2 due
8	13 November	Institutions of Canadian defence	
9	20 November	Canadian defence management/procurement	
10	27 November	Contemporary Canadian defence debates	
11	4 December	New Zealand defence politics	
12	8 December	Summary and discussion	Research paper due

Most course readings are available on cuLearn or via the library website.

However, the following book is not available online and should be purchased:

Harvey Sapolsky, Eugene Goltz, and Catlin Talmage, *US Defense Politics: The origins of security policy*, 3rd edition (New York: Routledge, 2017)

## **Week 1 (11 September): Studying defence policy and politics**

### *Recommended reading*

Colin S. Gray, *Strategy and Defence Planning: Meeting the challenge of uncertainty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), chapters 1-4. [Library eBook]

## **Week 2 (18 September): American defence in an historical perspective**

Harvey Sapolsky, Eugene Goltz, and Catlin Talmage, *US Defense Politics: The origins of security policy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (New York: Routledge, 2014), chapter 3.

Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American foreign policy and how it changed the world* (New York: Routledge 2002), chapter 3.

Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 70, no. 1 (1990).

### *Recommended readings*

George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin, 2006).

Walter A. McDougall, *Promised land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World since 1776* (New York: Houton Mifflin, 1997).

## **Week 3 (25 September): Institutions and the organization of American defence**

Sapolsky, et al., *US Defense Politics*, chapters 3-4, 9-11.

Andrew Feickert, *The Unified Command Plan and Combatant Commands: Background and Issues for Congress* (Washington: Congressional Research Service, 3 January 2013)

Matthew C. Weed, *The War Powers Resolution: Concepts and Practice*, Congressional Research Service, April 2015.

## **Week 4 (2 October): Defence management in the United States**

Sapolsky, et al., *US Defense Politics*, chapters 4-8.

Melvyn P. Leffler, "Defense on a diet: how budget crises have improved U.S. strategy," *Foreign Affairs* (November-December 2013).

Cindy Williams, "Accepting Austerity: The right way to cut defense," *Foreign Affairs* (November-December 2013).

### **Week 5 (16 October): America's military posture and global obligations**

Sapolsky, et al., *US Defense Politics*, chapter 1, 13-14.

Ronald O'Rourke, *A Shift in the International Security Environment: Potential Implications for Defense –Issues for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, June 2016.

Michael Beckley, "The Myth of Entangling Alliances: Reassessing the Security Risks of U.S. Defense Pacts," *International Security*, vol. 39, no. 4 (2015).

### **Week 6 (30 October): Contemporary American defence debates**

Andrew J. Bacevich, "Ending Endless War: A pragmatic military strategy," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 92, no. 1 (September-October 2016).

Mac Thornberry and Andrew F. Krepinevich Jr, "Preserving Primacy: A Defense Strategy for the New Administration," *Foreign Affairs* (September-October 2016).

Stephen G. Brooks, G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth, "Don't come home, America: the Case against Retrenchment," *International Security*, vol. 27, no. 3 (2012-2013).

Philip Gordon, "A Vision of Trump at War: How the President could stumble into conflict," *Foreign Affairs* (May-June 2017).

Walter Russell Mead, "The Jacksonian Revolt: American Populism and the Liberal Order," *Foreign Affairs* (March-April 2017).

### **Week 7 (6 November): Canadian defence in an historical perspective**

R.J. Sutherland, "Canada's Long-term Strategic Situation," *International Journal* 17 (Summer 1962).

Joel J. Sokolsky, "A Seat at the Table: Canada and Its Alliances," *Armed Forces and Society* 16 (1989).

Philippe Lagassé and Paul Robinson, "Reviving Realism in the Canadian Defence Debate," *Martello Paper No. 34* (Kingston: Queen's Centre for International Relations, 2008), pp. 13-39.

Joseph T. Jockel and Joel J. Sokolsky, "Canada and NATO: Keeping Ottawa in, expenses down, criticism out...and the country secure," *International Journal* vol. 64, no. 2 (2009).

#### *Recommended readings*

Brian W. Tomlin, Norman Hillmer, and Fen Osler Hampson, *Canada's International Policies: Agenda, Alternatives and Politics* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 101-154.

Joseph T. Jockel, *No Boundaries Upstairs: Canada, the United States and the Origins of North*

*American Air Defence, 1945-1948* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987).

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

Douglas L. Bland and Sean Maloney, *Campaigns for International Stability: Canada's Defence Policy at the Turn of the Century* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).

### **Week 8 (13 November): Institutions and the organization of Canadian defence**

Major Alexander Bolt, "The Crown Prerogative as applied to Military Operations," Office of the Judge Advocate General, Strategic Legal Paper Series, Issue 2 (2008)

Philippe Lagassé, P. "The constitutional politics of Parliament's role in international policy," in Adam Chapnick and Christopher Kukacha, eds. *The Harper Era in Canadian Foreign Policy: Parliament, Politics, and Canada's Global Posture, 2006-2015* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2016). [Library eBook]

Michael L. Roi and Gregory Smolyne, "Canadian civil-military relations: international leadership, military capacity, and overreach," *International Journal*, vol. 65, no. 3 (2010).

Daniel Gosselin, "The unarmed servants of the state: the evolving role of civilians in national defence," in Irina Goldenberg, Angela R. Febbraro, and Waylon H. Dean, eds. *The Defence Team: Military and Civilian Partnership in the Canadian Armed Forces and Department of National Defence* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2015).

#### *Recommended readings*

Douglas L. Bland and Roy Rempel, "A Vigilant Parliament: Building Competence for Effective Parliamentary Oversight of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces," *Policy Matters*, vol. 5, no. 1 (February 2004).

Stephen Saideman, *Adapting in the Dust: Lessons learned from Canada's War in Afghanistan*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

### **Week 9 (20 November): Defence procurement in Canada**

Aaron Plamondon, *Equipment Procurement in Canada and the Civil-Military Relationship: Past and Present*, Calgary Papers in Military and Strategic Studies, Occasional Paper No. 2, 2008.

David Perry, *Putting the 'Armed' back into the Canadian Armed Forces: Improving Defence Procurement in Canada*, CDA Institute and Macdonald-Laurier Institute, 2015.

Office of the Auditor General of Canada, *Spring 2012 Report*, chapter 2.  
[http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl\\_oag\\_201204\\_e\\_36455.html](http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201204_e_36455.html)

Office of the Auditor General of Canada, *Fall 2013 Report*, chapter 3.

[http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl\\_oag\\_201311\\_e\\_38780.html](http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201311_e_38780.html)

*Recommended readings*

Robert Michael Hartfiel, “Planning without Guidance: Canadian Defence Policy and Planning, 1993-2004,” *Canadian Public Administration* 53 (2010).

Kim Richard Nossal, *Charlie Foxtrot: Fixing Defence Procurement in Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2016).

**Week 10 (27 November): Contemporary Canadian defence debates**

Department of National, *Canada's Defence Policy: Strong, Secure, Engaged*, 2017.

Department of National Defence, Defence Policy Review, *Summary of Roundtable Consultations*, 2016.

<http://dgpaapp.forces.gc.ca/en/defence-policy-review/public-consultation-roundtable-report.asp>

House of Commons, Standing Committee on National Defence, *Canada and the Defence of North America*, 41<sup>st</sup> Parliament, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, June 2015.

*Recommended readings*

David Perry, “A Return to Realism: Canadian Defence Policy After the Great Recession,” *Defence Studies* vol. 13, no. 3 (2013).

Peter Jones and Philippe Lagassé, “Rhetoric versus Reality: Canadian defence planning in a time of austerity,” *Defense & Security Analysis* vol. 28, no.2 (2012).

James Fergusson and Francis Furtado, eds. *Beyond Afghanistan: An International Security Agenda for Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016).

**Week 11 (4 December): Defence in New Zealand**

New Zealand Defence Force, *Governance Structure*

<http://www.nzdf.mil.nz/about-us/governance-structure/default.htm>

Peter Greener, *Timing is Everything: The Politics and Processes of New Zealand Defence Acquisition Decision-Making* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2009)

Ministry of Defence, *Defence White Paper 2016* (Wellington, 2016)

<http://www.nzdf.mil.nz/corporate-documents/defence-white-paper/>

Peter Greener, ‘Continuity and Change in New Zealand Defence Policy Making’ in R.Patman (Ed.), *New Zealand and the World: Past, Present and Future* (World Scientific Publishing Company, forthcoming).

*Recommended reading*

Gerald Hensley, *Friendly Fire: Nuclear Politics & the Collapse of ANZUS, 1984-1987* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013).

Derek Quigley, *The War Against Defence Restructuring: A case study on changes leading to the current structure of New Zealand defence*, Canberra Papers on Strategy & Defence No. 166 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, ANU, 2006)

Ministry of Defence, *Defence White Paper 2016: Public Consultation Summary of Submissions* (Wellington, 2016)  
<http://www.nzdf.mil.nz/corporate-documents/defence-white-paper/>

Office of the Auditor-General, *New Zealand Defence Force: Progress with the Defence Sustainability Initiative* (Wellington, 2009)  
<http://www.oag.govt.nz/2009/nz-defence-force/docs/nz-defence-force.pdf>

New Zealand Defence Force and Ministry of Defence, *Major Projects Report 2015*, volume 1 (Wellington, 2016)  
<http://www.defence.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/Major-Projects-Report-2015-Volume-1.pdf>

**Week 12 (8 December): Summary and discussion**

Colin S. Gray, *Strategy and Defence Planning: Meeting the challenge of uncertainty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), chapters 5-7. [Library eBook]