

***The North American Security Community:
Its Origins, Evolution, and Likely Future***

Government 85.28

Dartmouth College, Winter 2014

Tuesday and Thursday
2:00-3:50 p.m.
X-hour: Wednesday 4:15-5:05 p.m.

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Tues/Thurs, 4:00-5:00 p.m.

Course Description

The bicentennial of the War of 1812 has already resulted in a number of publications and other means of commemorating the last time Americans and Canadians fought each other. In addition to stimulating a bit of patriotic chest-thumping (mainly from Canadians), the bicentennial events have accorded an opportunity for politicians and others on both sides of the Canada-US border to congratulate themselves (and their predecessors) on having brought about, and preserved, such a “long peace” as that characterizing interstate relations in North America. Our purpose this semester will be to explore critically the origins, evolution, and current state of regional security arrangements on the continent. Particular attention will be given to the Canada-US “security community,” supplemented by analysis of the Canada-US “alliance” (the two dispensations are obviously related, but as we shall see, they are not identical). In our semester-long journey of inquiry into the meaning and consequences of these two security arrangements, we will be placing emphasis upon both theory and policy. As well, toward the end of the term, we will bring a third North American country, Mexico, into the discussion of regional security.

Required Readings

There will two monographs available for purchase at Wheelock Books. As well, a third monograph will be required. The bad news is that I wrote it, but the good news comes in the plural: it is short, and you do not have to buy it, as I will send you a pdf version of the book.

For the rest, you will be expected to read articles that are available in electronic format.

The two books for purchase, in the order in which we will be reading them later in the course, are:

Patrick James, *Canada and Conflict* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Robert A. Pastor, *The North American Idea: A Vision of a Continental Future* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

The monograph I will send you electronically is:

David G. Haglund, *The North Atlantic Triangle Revisited: Canadian Grand Strategy at Century's End* (Toronto: CIIA/Irwin, 2000).

Format

It is desirable (though hardly essential) that students have some familiarity with international relations, as the course is designed from an explicit “IR” point of view. It will be conducted as much as possible as a normal seminar, albeit one that takes place on two afternoons each week, for 110 minutes per session, rather than during one four-hour meeting. I had initially thought to run this seminar so that the first of its two weekly meetings would feature a “quasi-structured” lecture from me, intended to provide background for the subsequent meeting’s discussion of the week’s assigned readings (mostly journal articles, but on three occasions, books). However, I have decided to reverse the pattern: on Tuesdays, we will discuss the week’s reading(s), and on Thursdays I will lecture (well, sort of) on a theme that integrates those readings into my presentation.

By telling you that I will “sort of” lecture on Thursdays I mean to indicate my intent to turn those days as well into as much of a seminar-type discussion as circumstances permit. On Tuesdays, the plan will be to have a proper seminar format, with some students being tapped to serve as “introducers” of the material assigned. I cannot be more precise about this until I have a better sense of enrolment for the class, but for the moment it is important to stress that the introducers’ job is *not* to make a presentation; rather it is simply to flag for purposes of discussion selected ideas contained in the reading. In other words, following each introducer’s shortish (5 minutes or so) statement of what the reading is about and why it makes sense (or not), we will embark on a more general discussion of the day’s topic. There will be time, and need, toward the end of the semester for students to make formal presentations of their own (see next section). A final word here: it will not always be apparent whether, or how, articles assigned for the Tuesday seminars can be made to relate to the themes of the Thursday *ersatz* lectures. Not to worry; it is my task to establish the connection.

Grading

There will be two major written assignments. One is the final exam. The other is a research essay of *no more than* 12 pages, based on a topic selected by you after consultation with me.

That paper will be due at the end of the eighth week of term (i.e., Friday 28 February). The two classes during the last week will be set aside for presentation and discussion of the papers. The grade will be determined on the following basis:

Research Essay	50%
Final Exam	30%
Seminar Participation	20%

As far as deadlines go, I fear my policy is fairly strict. Usually I tell my Queen's undergrads that there are three reasons for an approach to late submissions that some of them have taken to calling the "death penalty." Basically, except in cases where you have a legitimate, and certifiable, exemption (e.g., illness), my policy is not to read or assess any paper I receive late, which in your case means after 5:00 p.m. on Friday 28 February 2014. The three reasons are: 1) it is never in your interest that you be encouraged to fall into the bad habit of putting off commitments – a habit that you can count on coming back to haunt you later in life; 2) it is hardly fair to those (the overwhelming majority) who *do* complete on time to give you a break that I have denied them, so *please do not ask me to punish them and reward you*; and 3) it is an administrative nightmare to try to keep track of who is in on time and who is not.

For this course, I can add a fourth reason: I am leaving Hanover fairly soon after the final exam, which means that even if I wanted to give you an unwarranted extension on your deadline (I don't), it would probably not do anyone much good, as it would raise the possibility of my not getting around to marking the paper and reporting the grade.

Course Schedule

Week 1: *Canada: America's Problem Revisited*

7 January Introduction

9 January **L** What *Did* John MacCormac Have in Mind? Was He Right?

NB: No assigned readings for this week.

Week 2: Symbolism and Realities of the Canada-US Border

14 January • Peter Andreas, "Redrawing the Line: Borders and Security in the Twenty-First Century," *International Security* 28 (Autumn 2003): 78-111.

• Joel J. Sokolsky and Philippe Lagassé, "Suspenders and a Belt: Perimeter and Border Security in Canada-United States Relations," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 12 (January 2006): 15-29.

- 16 January
Week 3: **L** Romanticizing the 49th Parallel: Or, the “Franz von Werra” Problem
North America’s Hobbesian Past
- 21 January • Nathan O. Hatch, “The Origins of Civil Millennialism in America: New England Clergymen, War with France, and the Revolution,” *William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd series) 31 (July 1974): 407-30.
- Greg Russell, “Theodore Roosevelt, Geopolitics, and Cosmopolitan Ideals,” *Review of International Studies* 32 (July 2006): 541–59.
- John Bartlet Brebner, “Canada in North American History,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 34 (March 1948): 653-59.
- 23 January **L** North America as a “Zone of War”: From Woody Allen to Alaska
- Week 4: From Hobbes to Kant, with a Bit of Cant: The Rise of the “Zone of Peace”
- 28 January • Ido Oren, “The Subjectivity of the ‘Democratic’ Peace: Changing U.S. Perceptions of Imperial Germany,” *International Security* 20 (Fall 1995): 147-84.
- Paul Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule Between the British and US Empires, 1880-1910,” *Journal of American History* 88 (March 2002): 1315 -53.
- 30 January **L** 1905 and All That: The Security Community Takes Shape
- Week 5: “Ethnicity” and the Canada-US Security Community: Diasporas and Conflict
- 4 February • Yossi Shain and Aharon Barth, “Diasporas and International Relations Theory,” *International Organization* 57 (2003): 449-79.
- Jennifer Mitzen, “Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma,” *European Journal of International Relations* 12, 3 (2006): 341-70.
- 6 February **L** Getting Their English Up: The “Culture War” of 1914-17

Week 6: The Road to and from Ogdensburg: America's Oldest (Continuous) Alliance

11 February • David G. Haglund, *The North Atlantic Triangle Revisited*

23 February **L** The Canada-US "Special Relationship": Just *How* Special?

Week 7: Current Alliance Issues and Challenges

18 February • Patrick James, *Canada and Conflict*

20 February **L** "In Serious Doubt"? Canada, the US, and NATO Today

Week 8: Mexico and the "North American Idea"

25 February • Robert A. Pastor, *The North American Idea*

27 February **L** "Now, for Something Completely Different": Mexico as North American Ally?

Week 9: Student Presentations

4 March TBA

6 March TBA

Week 10: Course Completion