

Political Science 4806A: Transatlantic Security Issues

Seminar: Mondays 11:35am-2:25pm
This is course will be held remotely online

Instructor: Dr. Aaron Ettinger

Email Address: aaron.ettinger@carleton.ca

Office Hours: By appointment via videoconference

Brightspace link: <https://brightspace.carleton.ca/d2l/home/286240>

All email communication is to be via official Carleton University e-mail accounts and/or Brightspace, not personal emails.

Reading list begins on page 5.

II Course Description

The NATO alliance has long been considered the linchpin of transatlantic security. However, for much of its existence, this seemed to be more of a cliché than fact. Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 has tested that claim like no other event in NATO's seventy-five-year existence. The restoration of Donald Trump to the US presidency only adds urgency to questions about transatlantic solidarity. Indeed, NATO's first secretary general Lord Hastings Lionel Ismay was right when he deemed NATO's purpose to "keep the Russians out, the Americans in, and the Germans down." Eight decades later, Ismay's cheekiness still seems relevant. This class will explore the past, present, and future of NATO. It addresses NATO's historical development during the Cold War, adaptations in the 1990s and 2000s, and the suite of contemporary challenges it faces.

II. Preclusions

There are no preclusions for this course

III. Learning Outcomes

By the end of this twelve-week course, students will be able to:

(1) Identify political trends in the transatlantic alliance in the post-Cold War era;

- (2) Explain how NATO politics has evolved over time;
- (3) Speak clearly about the theoretical and empirical aspects of the transatlantic alliance;
- (4) Write clearly about the complexities of NATO.

IV. Texts & Course Materials

All readings are available on Brightspace or through ARES at no cost to the student.

V. Course Format

This course will be held entirely online. Each week at the scheduled time, we will meet in a synchronous, real-time Zoom class. All communication with the instructor will be undertaken through Zoom meetings or email.

Contact Policy:

Email is the best way to get in touch with the professor outside of usually scheduled office hours. Students should remember the following things when emailing:

ALWAYS USE your Carleton email account! Non-Carleton messages don't always get through
INCLUDE the subject line "PSCI 4806A"

ADDRESS emails to the professor (i.e. Dear Dr. Ettinger).

SIGN OFF with your first and last name and student number.

VI Evaluation at a Glance

Assignment	Due Date	% of Final Grade
Single page written commentaries	Four submissions during weeks 2-6	25%
Policy Critique	February 14	25%
Research Paper	April 8	40%
Course Engagement	Ongoing	10%
		100%

VII Evaluation in detail

25% - Single Page Written Commentaries x 4, weeks 2-6

You will write four (4) single-page commentaries in response to the required readings prior to the reading week. Each commentary will be graded out of 10. The total score out of 40 will be worth 25 percent of the term for this portion of the coursework. Commentaries should be no longer than one page single-spaced. There is no need to provide citations or a bibliography. If you cannot resist the urge to cite, refer to the author of the article in parenthesis and I will assume that it corresponds to the syllabus.

Commentaries must address subject matter raised by the week's readings. Within those parameters, the discussion may address any component of the readings that piques your interest. Treat the commentaries as editorial reflections on the material at hand. This may include specific objections to the literature, broad commentaries, issues you would like to explore, et cetera. Though the direction is up to you, the compositions should avoid trivial concerns or summarizing the readings. The commentaries should be submitted by 11:35am at the start of class.

25% - Policy Critique Essay, 1500 words, due Friday, February 14 at 11:59pm

Students will read the 2022 NATO Strategic Concept and write a critique of the policy. Your policy critique will assess the policy as a practical guide to organizing NATO's posture in the world in the 2020s based on what you now know about NATO. Your paper will make an overall evaluation of the policy (and have a thesis statement) and will offer a well-reasoned analysis of policy strengths and weaknesses.

Your policy critique should include:

- (a) An overall evaluation of the document
- (b) Identified strengths with explanations
- (c) Identified weaknesses with explanations
- (d) Citations and bibliographic entries as necessary

40% - Research Paper Essay– 4000-4500 words – Due April 8

You will write a research paper on a topic of your choice. The essay may cover any issue relating to transatlantic defence issues in the post-Cold War era. This is your opportunity to explore an issue that interests you. Topics may flow from classroom conversations or from weekly reflection papers. Students may also select a topic that is not covered on the syllabus, provided it relates to the course's theme. I recommend consulting with me first.

Your research should be framed by a question. A good research question allows you to offer an answer – also known as your thesis or argument. Your paper must make an argument about its subject matter. This means that you must advance a normative, theoretical or an empirical claim in response to your research question. Papers that only describe a situation will not suffice.

The ordinary demands of an academic research paper apply. Your essay must have a bibliography and use a proper citation style.

10% - Class Attendance & Course Engagement

The seminar portion of this course will be held over Zoom each week. A modest percentage of the overall grade is apportioned to participation in this setting. I will assess your participation on three general criteria. Class participation during the discussion sessions each week, as well as any one-on-one conversations we may have. Accommodations on a case-by-case basis will be made for those who cannot participate online.

Late Policy:

Where late assignments are accepted, they are penalized at the rate of 1% of the student's final grade in the course per day. An assignment is considered one day late if it is submitted to Brightspace any time up to 23:59 hours after the deadline. If it is submitted between 23:59 and 47:59 hours after the deadline, it is considered two days late, etc.

A waiver of lateness penalties will only be considered in the event of an officially documented extenuating circumstance. See "Accommodations & Extension Policy for Assignments" below.

Final Submission Date for Assignments

The final submission date for assignments is one week (7 days) after their due date (with the imposition of late penalties). The instructor WILL NOT accept assignments for grading after this time without a documented extenuating circumstance. If an extenuating circumstance may prevent the student from submitting an assignment by its submission date, the student must contact the professor as soon as possible and provide documentation concerning the situation.

Accommodation & Extension Policy for Assignments

If a student is registered, the student should consult with the professor regarding necessary accommodations to allow completion of assignments & exams.

All other requests for assignment extensions must be directed to the professor. The instructor will only consider granting an extension in the event of significant extenuating circumstances (that is, serious personal illness, critical personal or family crisis, etc.). If a situation arises that may prevent a student from completing an assignment, the student should contact the professor as early as possible, ideally before the assignment is due.

Grade Appeals:

Any errors of addition may be raised immediately with the professor. Asking for an explanation of your grade is perfectly fine. Asking for a re-grade requires greater effort on the part of the student. If a student is concerned that an assignment was not graded appropriately, the student should first meet with the professor. To request a review of an assignment, the student must provide a 1-page explanation of why the assignment was improperly graded (i.e. what do you think you did that should have been given more weight?). The explanation should be submitted to the professor no later than **2 weeks** after the assignment was made available for return. NOTE: Students must take responsibility for picking up their marked work in a timely manner. No appeals will be considered that have been initiated more than 2 weeks after the assignment/exam was returned. **Grades may be either raised, stay the same, or lowered on appeal.**

Final Grade Approval

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by the instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

VIII Course schedule

January 6	Introductions
January 13	The Transatlantic Scene in 2024
January 20	NATO's Origins & Purpose
February 27	NATO in the '90s
February 3	NATO After 9/11
February 10	NATO & the Authoritarian Great Powers
Reading Week	
February 24	NATO and Russia's War in Ukraine
March 3	Canada & NATO
March 10	Burden Sharing & Defence Spending
March 17	Climate Change & the Arctic
March 24	NATO & the Women, Peace and Security Agenda
March 30	Cyber War
April 7	Conclusions & What's Next?

Week 1 – January 6: Introductions

Bekkevold, Jo Inge. 2023. "NATO's Remarkable Revival." *Foreign Policy*, September 11.
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/09/11/nato-alliance-us-europe-russia-geopolitics-china-military-deterrence/>

Week 2 – January 13 The Transatlantic Scene in 2024 (84 pages)

Colbourn, Susan. 2023. "Donald Trump and the Terrible, Horrible, No-Good, Very Bad Deal." In *Chaos Reconsidered: The Liberal Order and the Future of International Politics*, edited by Robert Jervis, Doame N. Labrosse, Stacie E. Goddard and Joshua Rovner, 160-167. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gheciu, Alexandra. 2019. "NATO, Liberal Internationalism, and the Politics of Imagining the Western Security Community." *International Journal* 74 (1): 32-46.

Jakobsen, Peter Viggo, and Jens Ringsmose. 2018. "Victim of its Own Success: How NATO's Difficulties are Caused by the Absence of a Unifying Existential Threat." *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 16 (1): 38-58.

Scholz, Olaf. 2022. "The Global Zeitenwende." *Foreign Affairs* 102 (1): 22-38.

O'Brien, Phillips P., and Edward Stringer. 2024. "Planning for a Post-American NATO." *Foreign Affairs*. September 6. Pp. 1-12.

Sperling, James, and Mark Webber. 2019. "Trump's Foreign Policy and NATO: Exit and Voice." *Review of International Studies* 45 (3):511-526.

Week 3 – January 20: NATO's Origins & Purpose (71 pages)

NATO. 1949. *The North Atlantic Treaty*, North Atlantic Treaty Organization. 4 April
https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_17120.htm

Thies, Wallace J. 2009. *Why NATO Endures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters. 3 and 4. Pp. 87-139.

Sayle, Timothy Andrews. 2020. "Patterns of Continuity in NATO's Long History." *International Politics* 57 (3): 322-341.

Week 4 – January 27: NATO in the '90s (82 pages)

Howard, Michael. 1999. NATO at Fifty: An Unhappy Successful Marriage: Security Means Knowing What to Expect. *Foreign Affairs* 78 (3): 164-175.

Sarotte, M.E. 2021. "Containment Beyond the Cold War: How Washington Lost the Post-Soviet Peace." *Foreign Affairs* 100 (6): 22-36.

Sperling, James, and Mark Webber. 2009. "NATO: from Kosovo to Kabul." *International Affairs* 85 (3): 491-511

Mearsheimer, John J. 2014. "Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault." *Foreign Affairs* 93 (5):77-89.

Marten, Kimberly. 2020. "NATO Enlargement: Evaluating its Consequences in Russia." *International Politics* 57 (3): 401-426.

Week 5 – February 3: NATO After 9/11 (82 pages)

Hallams, Ellen. 2009. "The Transatlantic Alliance Renewed: The United States and NATO Since 9/11." *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 7 (1): 38-60.

Giegerich, Bastian, and Stéfanie von Hlatky. "Experiences May Vary: NATO and Cultural Interoperability in Afghanistan." *Armed Forces & Society* 46 (3):495-516.

Carati, Andrea. 2015. "No Easy Way Out: Origins of NATO's Difficulties in Afghanistan." *Contemporary Security Policy* 36 (2): 200-218.

von Hlatky, Stéfanie, and Thomas Juneau. 2022. "When the Coalition Determines the Mission: NATO's Detour in Libya." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 45 (2):258-279.

Week 6 – February 10: NATO and the Authoritarian Great Powers (71 pages)

NATO. 2022. "NATO 2022 Strategic Concept." June 29. Pp. 1-13.

Larsen, Henrik. 2021. "NATO in an Illiberal World." *The RUSI Journal* 166 (3): 84-92.

Larsen, Henrik. 2022. "Adapting NATO to Great-Power Competition." *The Washington Quarterly* 45 (4): 7-26.

Haroche, Pierre, and Martin Quencez. 2022. "NATO Facing China: Responses and Adaptations." *Survival* 64 (3):73-86.

Flockhart, Trine. 2024. "NATO in the Multi-Order World." *International Affairs* 100 (2):471-489.

WINTER BREAK: FEBRUARY 17-21

Week 7 – February 24: NATO and Russia's War in Ukraine (84 pages)

McFaul, Michael. 2020. "Putin, Putinism, and the Domestic Determinants of Russian Foreign Policy." *International Security* 45 (2):95-139.

Kaarbo, Juliet, Kai Oppermann, and Ryan K Beasley. 2023. "What If? Counterfactual Trump and the Western Response to the War in Ukraine." *International Affairs* 99 (2):605-624.

Gheciu, Alexandra, and Stéfanie von Hlatky. 2024. "Irreconcilable Differences? NATO's Response to Russian Aggression Against Ukraine." *International Journal* 79 (2):275-296.

Week 8 – March 3: Canada & NATO (89 pages)

Jockel, Joseph T., and Joel J. Sokolsky. 2009. "Canada and NATO: Keeping Ottawa in, Expenses Down, Criticism Out... and the Country Secure." *International Journal* 64 (2):315-336.

Massie, Justin. 2019. Why Canada Goes to War: Explaining Combat Participation in US-led Coalitions. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 52 (3): 575-594.

Ettinger, Aaron, and Jeffrey Rice. 2016. "Hell is Other People's Schedules: Canada's Limited-Term Military Commitments, 2001-2015." *International Journal* 71 (3): 371-392.

Ettinger, Aaron. 2023. "Explaining Canada's Unsurprising Response to Russia's Invasion of Ukraine, 2022-2023." *Desafios* 35 (Especial):1-28.

Week 9 – March 10: Burden Sharing & Defence Spending (62 pages)

Richter, Andrew. 2021. "NATO in the Age of Trump: Alliance Defense Spending During the Trump Presidency." *Comparative Strategy* 40 (3): 285-304.

McGerty, Fenella, Dominika Kunertova, Madison Sargeant, and Andrew Webster. 2022. "NATO Burden-Sharing: Past, Present, Future." *Defence Studies* 22 (3):533-540.

Greco, Sara, and Stéfanie von Hlatky. 2018. "Soft Contributions are Hard Commitments: NATO and Canada's Global Security Agenda." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 24 (3): 273-285.

Lupovici, Amir. 2023. "Deterrence by Delivery of Arms: NATO and the War in Ukraine." *Contemporary Security Policy* 44 (4):624-641.

Week 10 – March 17: Climate Change & the Arctic (56 pages)

Werrell, Caitlin E., and Francesco Femia. 2016. "Climate Change, the Erosion of State Sovereignty, and World Order." *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 23 (2): 221-235.

Milburn, Richard. 2023. "Carbon Warriors: Enhancing NATO's Response to Climate Change." *The RUSI Journal* 168 (4):30-39.

Odgaard, Liselotte. 2022. "Russia's Arctic Designs and NATO." *Survival* 64 (4):89-104.

Depledge, Duncan. 2021. "NATO and the Arctic." *The RUSI Journal* 165 (5-6): 80-90.

Berge, Jonas Vidhammer, and Liselotte Odgaard. 2023. "NATO in the Global Commons: Defending Outer Space Against Threats from China." *International Journal* 78 (4):634-642.

Week 11 – March 24: NATO & the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda (71 pages)

Wright, Katharine AM. 2016. "NATO's Adoption of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security: Making the Agenda a Reality." *International Political Science Review* 37 (3): 350-361.

Hardt, Heidi, and Stéfanie von Hlatky. 2020. "NATO's About-Face: Adaptation to Gender Mainstreaming in an Alliance Setting." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 5 (1): 136-159.

Wright, Katharine A. M., and Annika Bergman Rosamond. 2024. "Sweden, NATO and the Gendered Silencing of Feminist Foreign Policy." *International Affairs* 100 (2):589-607.

O'Sullivan, Mila. 2024. "Women, Peace and Security as Deterrence? NATO and Russia's War Against Ukraine." *International Affairs* 100 (2):549-568.

Week 12 – March 31: Cyber War (71 pages)

Nye Jr, Joseph S. 2022. "The End of Cyber-Anarchy?" *Foreign Affairs* 101 (1): 32-42.

Jacobsen, Jeppe T. 2021. "Cyber Offense in NATO: Challenges and Opportunities." *International Affairs* 97 (3):703-720.

Willett, Marcus. 2022. "The Cyber Dimension of the Russia–Ukraine War." *Survival* 64 (5):7-26.

Leuprecht, Christian, Joseph Szeman, and David B. Skillicorn. 2019. The Damoclean Sword of Offensive Cyber: Policy Uncertainty and Collective Insecurity. *Contemporary Security Policy* 40 (3): 382-407.

Week 13 – April 7 NATO & the Next World Order

Ikenberry, G. John. 2024. "Three Worlds: the West, East and South and the Competition to Shape Global Order." *International Affairs* 100 (1):121-138.

Political Science Course Outline Appendix

REQUESTS FOR ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATION

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

Student Mental Health

As a university student, you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

Emergency Resources (on and off campus):

<https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

Carleton Resources:

Mental Health and Wellbeing:

<https://carleton.ca/wellness/>

Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>

Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>

Academic Advising Centre (AAC):

<https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>

Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS):

<https://carleton.ca/csas/>

Equity & Inclusivity Communities:

<https://carleton.ca/equity/>

Off Campus Resources:

Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>

Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>

Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389,

<https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>

ood2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>

The Walk-In Counselling Clinic:

<https://walkincounselling.com>

Academic consideration for medical or other extenuating circumstances:

Students must contact the instructor(s) of their absence or inability to complete the academic deliverable within the predetermined timeframe due to medical or other extenuating circumstances. For a range of medical or other extenuating circumstances, students may use the online self-declaration form and where appropriate, the use of medical documentation. This policy regards the accommodation of extenuating circumstances for both short-term and long-term periods and extends to all students enrolled at Carleton University.

Students should also consult the [Course Outline Information on Academic Accommodations](#) for more information. Detailed information about the procedure for requesting academic consideration can be found [here](#).

Pregnancy: Contact your Instructor 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 accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, please contact Equity and Inclusive Communities (EIC) at equity@carleton.ca or by calling (613) 520-5622 to speak to an Equity Advisor.

Religious obligation: Contact your Instructor 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 [click here](#).

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 for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, please request your accommodations for this course through the [Ventus Student Portal](#) 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*). Requests made within two weeks will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. For final exams, the deadlines to request accommodations are published in the [University Academic Calendars](#). 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).

Survivors of Sexual Violence: As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working, and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and its survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: <https://carleton.ca/equity/sexual-assault-support-services>.

Accommodation for Student Activities: Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. 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.

PETITIONS TO DEFER

Students unable to write a final examination because of illness or other circumstances beyond their control may apply within **three working days** to the Registrar's Office for permission to write a deferred examination. The request must be fully supported by the appropriate documentation. Only deferral petitions submitted to the Registrar's Office will be considered. [See Undergraduate Calendar, Article 4.3](#)

INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

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). Permissibility of submitting substantially the same piece of work more than once for academic credit. If group or collaborative work is expected or allowed, provide a clear and specific description of how and to what extent you consider collaboration to be acceptable or appropriate, especially in the completion of written assignments.

WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT ACADEMIC PENALTY

The last day to withdraw from full fall term and fall/winter courses with a full fee adjustment is **September 30th, 2024**. The last day for a fee adjustment when withdrawing from winter term courses or the winter portion of two-term courses is **January 31, 2025**. The last day for academic withdrawal from full fall and late fall courses is **November 15, 2024**. The last day for academic withdrawal from full winter, late winter, and fall/winter courses is **March 15, 2025**.

WDN: For students who withdraw after the full fee adjustment date in each term the term WDN will be a permanent notation that appears on their official transcript.

OFFICIAL FINAL EXAMINATION PERIOD

Fall courses: **December 9-21, 2024**. Winter and Fall/Winter courses: **April 11-26, 2025** (may include evenings & Saturdays or Sundays)

For more information on the important dates and deadlines of the academic year, consult the [Carleton 2024-2025 Calendar](#).

GRADING SYSTEM

The grading system is described in the Undergraduate Calendar section [5.4](#).

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Academic integrity is an essential element of a productive and successful career as a student. Students are required to familiarize themselves with the university's [Academic Integrity Policy](#).

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:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT);
- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, 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 that cannot be resolved directly by the course's instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts 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 can include a final grade of "F" for the course.

RESOURCES (613-520-2600, phone ext.)

Department of Political Science (2777)	B640
Loeb	
Registrar's Office (3500)	300 Tory
Centre for Student Academic Success (3822)	4 th floor
Library	
Academic Advising Centre (7850)	302 Tory
Paul Menton Centre (6608)	501
Nideyinàn	
Career Services (6611)	401 Tory